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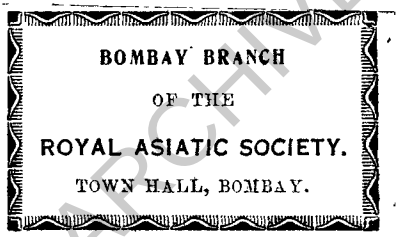

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THE

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS

SIXTH SESSION

26, 27 and 28 December, 1943

ALIGARH MUSLIM UNIVERSITY
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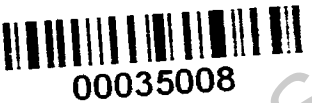

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Printed by Krishna Ram Mehta, at the Leader Press.
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PREFACE

The printing and publication of the voluminous Proceedings of the Indian History Congress has to be carried out under great difficulties during the war. Publishers and printers do not find it easy to provide paper, the supply of which was drastically reduced this year. Other obstacles exist. Those explain why the Proceedings could not be supplied earlier, but it is fortunate that we have succeeded in bringing them out before the next session.

We are obliged to Rai Bahadur Pt. Braj Mohan Vyas, the energetic manager of the Leader Press for overcoming all difficulties and printing the volume in time.

ALLAHABAD :
8th December, 1944.

TARA CHAND,
General Secretary.

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Welcome Speech delivered by Lt.-Col. Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad, Chairman, Reception Committee.

MEMBERS OF THE INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

I first offer my thanks to the Executive Committee of the Indian History Congress for accepting our invitation to hold their Sixth Annual Session at Aligarh, and I cordially welcome the members of the Congress, on behalf of the University and myself on their first visit to Aligarh which I hope, will be repeated at no distant date. I hope you will forgive our shortcomings in not being able to provide the comforts and recreations to which you are accustomed on such occasions.

In an academic gathering it was once argued that history should not be regarded as a major subject and should not be put in the category of scientific subjects. The reason given on that occasion was that in the University stage the text books only become more bulky by the addition of more facts and greater details of the incidents already given in school text books. The reply I gave on that occasion and which I repeat here was that in the school stage we teach 'What happened'; in the Universities we teach 'Why it so happened?'

Ladies and gentlemen, the conception of history has been in recent years very much extended. It is no longer confined to the narration of battles, intrigues, and plots of the high officials of the state, and the conflict of powers between the people and the rulers. Its scope now includes the causes of the rise and fall of dynasties, and races, the great social, economic and cultural movements which affect the world at large, and the development of the arts, and science, on which the prosperity of the people so largely depends. The discussion of the development and fusion of different cultures has now become an integral part of History. Whenever any culture which is fairly well-developed comes into contact with a more powerful culture it passes through three stages. In the first stage the votaries of the old culture resist the new culure, glorify everything of their own, and condemn every aspect of the new culture. In the second stage they blindly accept the new culture and discard their own. In the third they ponder and begin to discriminate between the good and bad aspects of the two cultures and evolve a new culture which represents a fusion of the best elements of the two. With the advent of British rule in India the Hindu and Muslim cultures, which had arrived at an understanding which might have led to the evolution of a

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common culture, came into contact with the new Western culture and a fresh struggle began. We are now in the third stage of this struggle and the entire problem in India today is really a triangular conflict of cultures from which the thinkers with the lapse of time will evolve the formula of a common culture by taking the best element of each. The common culture in the twentieth century can only be based on the principles of liberty, equality and toleration for every group.

It is a hopeful sign that historians in India are now becoming conscious of their responsibilities and are anxious to put their study and research on scentific basis. They are disgusted at the mixing up of legends with historical facts and still more so at the attempts to manufacture history. They are now examining the facts and sifting the truth from fiction and legends. They are testing the accuracy of incidents so far regarded as accepted historical facts, such as the Black Hole Tragedy in India and the burning of the library of Alexandria. The Government and the people are both prepared to give every help, financial or otherwise, in their attempts to save history from degenerating into legends, stories or collection of manufactured facts.

Ladies and gentlemen, the historians who depend mainly for their material on the writings of the Ancients are forced to devise a method for testing the accuracy of documents and examining the personal equation of the writers, similar to the methods evolved by the Muslims in scrutinising the accuracy of the sayings of the Prophet. El Beruni on account of his love of truth, honesty and character stands out prominently in this direction. He bursts out in anger and sarcasm when he finds the perversion of truth. He charges Brahmagupta of committing the sin against conscience for teaching two theories of eclipses, the scientific one and the one of the Dragon Rahu's devouring the luminous body. He rebukes Abdullah Ibn El Mukaffa for adding a chapter in the Arabic translation of Kalila and Dumna with the purpose of adding doubts in the minds of people. He is bitter against Yakoob El Kendi for distorting Mathematical arguments when he found the value of the arc of one degree by adding 1/15th of the value of 15/16 of the arc and he said the methods of Ptolemy and Yakoob El Kendi give correct result to the third order, but Ptolemy understood what he did, and Yakub did not know what he was doing. El Beruni takes special pains in examining and sifting a story he verbally heard. He attempted to formulate mathematical rules for reducing the stories to probable truths. His book on India is a correct appreciation of the state of affairs which existed before Muslims came into this country; a close study of the book published by Prof. Sachau reveals the facts that it is not a complete text. Prof. Sachau himself admitted that the complete

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manuscript was in the library of Constantinople and it would give great satisfaction if a younger Historian republished the complete text of El Beruni's contributions to astronomy, trigonometry, mathematics, history, chronology, general culture, and a large number of other subjects which have given him a foremost place among the savants of the world, so much so that Prof. Sachau, the greatest authority on El Beruni, said on one occasion that he was the greatest intellect that ever lived on this globe. I am publishing a brochure on his researches in trigonometry and Sine quadrant, which I wrote 30 years ago. My own experience of teaching the subject is that El Beruni's method of approach in trigonometry, both plane and spherical, is more intelligible to the beginners than the modern method. I spent one whole day with Prof. Sachau in 1928 and discussed the works of El Beruni and during our discussion he suggested the formation of a Society to edit and publish the extant works of El Beruni.

I welcome in the end the growing tendency among the Historians to study historical events from original sources, to sift facts from fiction, and to eliminate the events that have been coloured by personal motives. The history so written will lead the present generation to the path of progress and prosperity.

Welcome Address delivered by Professor A. B. A. Haleem, Pro-Vice-Chancellor, Aligarh Muslim University.

Mr. President, Delegates to the Indian History Congress, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I deem it a privilege to extend on behalf of the Aligarh Muslim University a very cordial welcome to all the delegates to the Sixth Session of the Indian History Congress. For some years this University lagged behind the other Universities of India in inviting learned societies to meet under its auspices. A beginning was made in 1935 by inviting the Inter-University Board to meet at Aligarh, and we have since then been endeavouring to make up for previous neglect of duty. In December, 1941, the Mathematical Society and the Philosophical Congress assembled at Aligarh, and it is a source of extreme gratification to us that we have succeeded in persuading three learned bodies—the Indian History Congress, the Numismatic Society and the Indian Historical Records Commission—all of them engaged in the field of historical research, to hold their deliberations within our precincts this session. It would not be out of place if I express here my sense of disappointment—a sense of disappointment which I am sure all of you will share—at the absence from our

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midst of some of the leading Historians of India. Rai Bahadur Sardesai, that doyen of Maratha Historians, the veterans Sir Jadunath Sarkar and Dr Krishnaswami Aiyangar, Dr. Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan, one of the founders of this Congress, Father Heras and others have been prevented by advancing age, ill health, or other insurmountable difficulties from attending this session. Their presence would have added to the lustre even of this distinguished gathering and their unavoidable absence is a matter of regret to us all.

Before proceeding further I must request you to forgive any shortcomings in the arrangements we have made for your accommodation. You have been enjoying the hospitality of Indian Princes on previous occasions and have been lodged in palatial guest houses. Being a national institution with very limited resources we cannot vie with affluent Ruling Chiefs and can offer you only the hospitality of a Shirazi banquet. We shall, however, make up for the simplicity of the fare and the rigours of our northern winter—which, out of consideration for our guests from Southern Indian, is not so rigorous this Christmas as it usually is at this time of the year—by the warmth and cordiality of our reception.

The institution to which I have the honour to welcome you today was founded in 1875 by the late Sir Syed Ahmad Khan for the purpose of combining the study of Oriental learning with Western Arts and Sciences and of promoting modern education in this country—especially amongst the Mussalmans who were lagging behind the great sister-community in that respect. The beginnings of this institution were more than modest. It was established first of all as a school with seven pupils and was located in a few thatched bungalows. Even in the initial stage, however, its remarkable founder was planning the establishment of a University and drawing up with a broken pencil schemes of development and expansion. Sir Syed Ahmad Khan belonged to that very rare type of visionary who combines the capacity for dreaming dreams and seeing visions with the grit, the perseverance, the indomitable courage and the practical genius necessary for translating his dreams into realities. He was also fortunate in securing the help of a number of extraordinarily able and loyal co-workers. The school with seven scholars rapidly developed into a first rate college and, in fulfilment of the dream of the founder, was transformed in 1920 into the Aligarh Muslim University. This University is Muslim in the sense that particular stress is laid here on the study of Islamic subjects and attempts are made to fulfil the special educational requirements of the Mussalmans. Our doors, however, are always open to seekers after knowledge belonging to all castes and creeds, and we have on our rolls a large number of non-Muslim students. Relations of warm friendship and fraternal cordiality exist between them and their Muslim fellow-students and

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we are all proud to have them in our midst. The institution within whose doors you are meeting today, draws its alumni from the remotest corners of India and even from ccuntries far removed from our shores and, in keeping with the spirit of large-hearted toleration preached by our faith, we try to develop in them a broad, cosmopolitan outlook on life.

Historical research, Mr. President, is still in its infancy in our land—not from the point of view of the quality of the work done, which in some cases is of a high order, but from the point of view of the very small extent of the ground covered. This is due mainly to our neglect in the past. European scholars were the first to enter the field and they deserve the credit due to pioneers. Their vision, however, was often distorted and some of them consciously or unconsciously looked at our history through coloured glasses. It is only in recent years that Indian scholars have taken up the work of carrying on researches on different periods and aspects of Indian History. Some fresh ground has already been broken and certain valuable contributions made, but a vast field still remains uncovered. The task of covering it, however, though difficult and immense, is by no means an impossible one. For those periods of our history known as medieval and modern, the material is neither scarce nor intractable. On the contrary, the abundance and variety of the material available in public libraries and museums as well as in private collections is more likely to baffle the researcher than its dearth. In the domain of ancient Indian History our difficulties are much greater, but even there they can be, and to a certain extent have already been, overcome by patience and perseverance The efforts hitherto made however, have been more or less individualistic, whereas the magnitude of the task requires a planned and concerted endeavour. It is extremely gratifying that the necessity of making such an endeavour is being realised in various quarters today. The Indian History Congress, besides providing periodic opportunities for teachers of History and scholars engaged in the field of historical research, to meet on a common platform to exchange ideas and to contribute papers on the subjects of their special study, has undertaken the work of bringing out a new History of India. Similar schemes have been launched by the Historical Research Institutes at Aligarh and Benares as well as by other organisations of a like nature in other parts of India. It is necessary, however, for the success of the undertaking that all these organisations should work not in a spirit of rivalry and competition but in a spirit of emulation and co-operation. Above all, it is essential that deep-rooted prejudices should be discarded and parochialism shed, the subject should be approached from neither a racial nor a regional but a scientific point of view, and the many sided activities of the inhabitants of this land through the ages should

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be treated with fullness and accuracy of knowledge, with coolness and impartiality of judgment, with understanding sympathy and insight. If we keep the ideals of our craft in view there is no reason why the big and arduous task of bringing out a comprehensive history of India, covering all its varied aspects, worthy of our great past, should not be successfully accomplished.

In conclusion, Ladies and Gentleman, I extend to you once more a very warm and fraternal welcome on behalf of the staff and the students of the Aligarh Muslim University.

MESSAGES

(Extracts)

His Excellency the Governor of U. P.

The Indian History Congress is fortunate in having chosen Aligarh for joint conference this year and the University is fortunate in being able to entertain the members of these learned bodies together at this Congress. Just because so much that is historically precious has been destroyed in the last four years, it is essential to see, especially in India which has escaped any major destruction, that the continuity of learned research is maintained. I wish your conferences every success.

H. E. the Governor of Madras.

His Excellency's good wishes for the success of the Congress.

H. E. the Governor of Bombay.

His Excellency the Governor of Bombay sends greetings to the Sixth Session of the Indian History Congress and wishes it every success for its deliberations.

H. E the Governor of C. P.

I very willingly add my contribution to the words of welcome which will greet the historians assembled at the Aligarh Session of the Sixth Indian History Congress because not only am I myself an ex-History Honours School man but I still find in history and historical biography my surest form of relaxation. Never has there been a time when the historian, and especially the Constitutional historian, can be of greater service to his fellowmen.

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H. E. the Governor of Assam.

His Excellency the Governor of Assam was interested to hear of the gathering of so many learned Societies under the aegis of the Muslim University and he wishes the Session all success.

H. E. the Governor of Sindh.

I sincerely hope that the Sixth Indian History Congress will have a most successful and fruitful session under the aegis of the Muslim University at Aligarh this year.

H. E. the Governor of Orissa.

His Excellency wishes all success to the gathering of historians at Aligarh. Their function is particularly important in these times of change since the reading of history may help us to understand not only the past but the future.

H. H. the Maharaja of Bikaner.

I send you my best wishes for the success of the Sixth Session of the All-India History Congress and other associated bodies and hope that under the guidance of impartial historians the work of writing a comprehensive history of India will register fresh progress this year.

H. H. the Nawab of Junagad.

I am pleased that Aligarh the centre of Muslim culture and Muslim University should have been selected as the venue for holding the Indian Historical Records Commission, Indian History Congress, Islamic History Conference and Numismatic Society. I wish the conference every success.

Vice-Chancellor, Allahabad University.

"I am sure, however, that under the distinguished Presidentship of Mr. Dikshit and with you as General Secretary the Congress will be a great success. It is of the utmost importance that work in connection with the projected History of India should be taken up without further delay."

Vice-Chancellor, Punjab University.

"I send you the felicitations of the University of the Punjab and I add my own good wishes."

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Vice-Chancellor, Delhi University.

"I am glad to know that the final scheme of the Indian History which the Congress have decided to publish is to be considered at this session ; and all of us who are interested in historical research will join in congratulating the Congress on this great contribution to learning. I think that I can promise that this University will respond to your appeal for financial support, though not, owing to our limited resources, to as great an extent as we could wish.

I hope that I may be permitted to wish the Congress a most successful session."

Vice-Chancellor, Lucknow University.

"I am sure, as a result of the effort of eminent historians who will assemble together on the occasion of the Congress, many problems of Indian History which face the historian will find a solution."

Vice-Chancellor, Agra University.

" On behalf of the University of Agra I send you our felicitations and good wishes for the success of the Indian History Congress which is to be held at Aligarh on the 26th, 27th and 28th December, 1943."

Nawab Ali Yawar Jung Bahadur, Hyderabad Dn.

"The scheme which I saw and discussed with you here is pre-eminently suited to serve that object and merits the co-operation of all scholars of Indian history and of all those administrations and persons in India who believe in the need for a correct perspective being introduced into the study and the writing of Indian history."

Sir P. C. Sivaswamy Aiyer, Bangalore.

I approve of the proposal for the publication of a revised version of Indian history, and I wish all success to the scheme."

Sardar K. M. Panikkar, Prime Minister, Bikaner.

"I am keenly interested in your scheme of a history of India through the co-operative effort of scholars all over the country. The scheme that you have undertaken is undoubtedly a monumental one. We have so far been depending on histories written by outsiders and our own point of view has been unconsciously biased to a large extent by the very partial and in many cases distorted versions that have passed for Indian history up till now.

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I need not assure you that you have my fullest sympathy and support and I trust the present Session will be able to report further progress in the matter."

Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyer, Dewan of Travancore.

"I wish the Congress and its contemplated scheme all success'

The Chief Minister, Government of Orissa.

"I wish the Congress all success."

Dr. Panna Lall, I. C. S., Adviser to H. E. the Governor of U. P.

"I trust that the Session will be completely successful."

Sir R. P. Masani, Bombay.

"I wish all success to this session and I trust that the decisions taken will enable the Congress to launch the final scheme of Indian History as early as possible."

Sir H. P. Mody, Bombay.

"Congress must carry with it the good wishes of every lover of the country in the work it has undertaken. I hope the scholars whom it selects will not succumb to the temptation to 'write up' our history, and will not allow racial or communal considerations to cloud their judgment. Our Past stands in no need of glorification, and its appraisal must be undertaken in a spirit of scientific research."

Sir Shri Ram, New Delhi.

"The need for authoritative books on Indian History written from the Indian point of view was never so great as now, and I hope, therefore, that your Congress will take such decisions as will ensure the publication of the projected Indian History at as early a date as possible.

Wishing the Congress success and thanking you once again."

The Hon'ble Sir Rahimtoola Chinoy, Bombay.

"I am keenly interested in your scheme to publish Indian History in all its glory and variety. I wish the Congress every success in its undertaking and hope that your deliberations will be entirely fruitful."

The Hon'ble Hasan Imam, Patna.

"I have great pleasure in wishing the Sixth Session of the Indian History Congress all the success it rightly deserves. This I do with

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fervent prayers to the almighty GOD to guide the chroniclers of our History to real Truth, right Perspective, unbiased Zeal and brilliant Success. Amen !"

Raja Sir Maharaj Singh, Lucknow.

"I wish all success to the Sixth Session of the Indian History Congress."

The Hon'ble Sir Sita Ram, Meerut.

"I have read with great interest of the undertaking by your Congress of writing Indian history covering a vast field. I sincerely wish every success to the Congress and specially to its new endeavour which is a noble one, though arduous in all conscience."

Syt. P. V. Kane, Bombay.

"I wish the Congress all success."

Dr. Chu Chia-Hua, Chungking, China.

The Sino-Indian Cultural Society in China takes the opportunity of Dr. Li Fang-Kwei's visit to India to send its greetings to the All India Historical Congress. Chinese scholars in the past took a profound interest in Indian thought, and brought back valuable gifts from India in the form of Buddhism, philosophy, and art. The accounts of their travels form an the important document in history of Sino-Indian relations. The researches of Indian historians are held in high esteem by scholars in this country, and it is our belief that increased knowledge of Indian and Chinese history will strengthen the friendly relations which have always existed between the two countries.

On behalf of the Academia Sinica, I am most happy to inform you that Dr. Li Fang-Kwei, a distinguished philologist of our Institute of History and Philology, is coming to convey to you our greetings and good-wishes, and to represent us in your meeting.

It is my pleasure to express to you that your learned activities have aroused great interest and admiration among our scholars. We hope that the time is not far ahead when, having set aside the forces of evil, we shall have the pleasure of uniting our efforts to apply unhampered the results of our researches for the progress of mankind.

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Presidential Address delivered by Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit M. A., Director-General of Archaeology, Government of India.

At the outset I must express my sense of gratitude to the delegates of the Indian History Congress for making me the recipient of their special confidence and signal favour in that they chose to elect me to the onerous responsibility attached to the office of President. The Indian History Congress, though yet in its sixth session, has made rapid progress in establishing its reputation and status among similar all-India congresses and conferences of greater standing. It is not only a deliberative body and a forum where all scholars interested in the critical study of the History of India meet and discuss papers and subjects of common interest but has proceeded several steps forward in its plans for a comprehensive scheme of Indian History in 12 volumes, divided equally between the ancient, mediaeval and modern periods of India. To be elected as the President of such a body is indeed an honour but the attendant responsibility is so great that I was feeling myself unequal to the task and unable to shoulder the burden. Had it not been for the urging and encouragement of some valued friends and the opportunities it offers of serving the cause of history and pressing forward the point of view I have always held about the necessity of having one unified scheme, I might have refused the honour. Without claiming any position comparable to the brilliant galaxy of historians who were your Presidents in the past and being conscious of the position of archaeology as a handmaid of history, I accepted the office in the hope of being able to serve historians and particularly to do all in my power to help the speedy materialisation of the scheme of Indian History on which historians in India have set their heart.

For over a decade now there has been a considerable amount of feeling among historians and orientalists that with the enormous and ever-growing material and an increasing number of Indian scholars of real merit India urgently stood in need of a comprehensive scheme of Indian History brought out by the cooperative efforts of Indian scholars. The late Drs. Hiralal and Jayaswal spoke from the Presidential chair at the 6th and 7th Sessions of the All India Oriental Conference held in Patna and Baroda respectively, stressing the need of such a history. This Congress took up the project 5 years ago at its Second Session (really the first session of the full-fledged Indian History Congress) at Allahabad but the progress done so far has not been such as to inspire confidence in the public who feel considerable bewilderment at the multiplicity of schemes which are published in the papers from time to time. While one year a committee was appointed

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by the Indian History Congress to examine the feasibility of preparing a scientific and comprehensive history of India ; the next year it was decided to appoint another committee to explore the financial possibilities of the scheme. Neither of these committees seem to have met during the year and their appointment served little useful purpose in the eyes of the interested public except to postpone the serious consideration of the scheme. At the Lahore session in 1940 the work was entrusted to a committee of the past Presidents of the Congress, which again meant procrastination and two years ago at the Hyderabad Session it was finally decided to frame committees for the three main sections, a decision which could with advantage have been taken as early as 1938, when the progressively menacing war situation had not arisen. The leisurely way in which the scheme has progressed is due to a variety of reasons which it is not necessary to discuss here. This, however, has not prevented other similar schemes from being pursued or even freshly launched which indicates that the obstacles and difficulties in the way of fruition of the scheme of the Indian History Congress are such as can be surmounted. Indeed if the Indian History Congress is the only institution representative of every period of Indian History and every school of thought among India's historians and is supported by almost every individual worker in the field (as it should be) the organizers of the scheme should be able to count upon full and ample support from the public in their endeavours to establish an efficient and permanent organization of a truly all-India character to speed up its scheme of history. It is my earnest appeal to all who have the interest of India at heart and who believe in the supreme necessity of the appearance at the earliest practicable moment of a comprehensive Indian history, to rally round the banner of the Congress, so as to accelerate the progress of the project. There is plenty of material now available for writing a continuous history of this vast and hoary land of ours from the appearance of the earliest man to the modern times, nor is there a dearth of competent scholars in every way fitted to undertake the great task in its different aspects and phases. What is certainly needed is the impelling will to yoke ourselves to effort in a cooperative project of this type and to build up a strong organisation which will work all the year round. If from now onward historians will resolve not to allow any other considerations but that of achieving this long cherished goal in the quickest possible time, the task will not be impossible of achievement within a reasonable time. A central organisation as well as provincial centres or bureaus of research will be needed, if the work is to be truly national, every part of this vast sub-continent should feel interested in the work and the accomplishment of the work should forge a new link for the unification of this great country. Its authors should, by precept and example, be the high priests of the

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common culture of this land, which perhaps exhibits the noblest example on earth of cultural unity in the midst of the greatest diversity of physical type and environment.

Your previous Presidents have nearly exhausted all that could be said about the methods of tackling historical material with a view to bring out a scheme of Indian History and the different ideals and considerations which should actuate us in writing history. In fact, there has been so much discussion about this topic that it is difficult to fix a particular line of policy as that commending itself to the Congress, as judged by authoritative pronouncements. Thus while it has been urged that the essential Indian unity must be properly brought out by historians who must trace it through the various periods of India's age-long history, others have warned that the varying margins and lacunae between the various periods and the multitude and varieties of peoples inhabiting this land will seriously complicate the conception of unity and continuity of Indian history. It is also difficult to judge whether history is to confine itself to a bare narration of facts as ascertained for all times on unassailable grounds or permit itself to be the vehicle of expression of the highest historical thought or uptodate research; and whether the proposed history of India is to be left to be written by a future literary genius with a broad outlook and infinite capacity for labour and we have to content ourselves for the time with establishing societies or bureaus of historical information and research and preparation of bibliographies or whether we should attempt to carry out a cooperative scheme in which scholars from every part of the country and specialising in every period of Indian history should write for their own generation. I believe that such questions should not trouble us in the least. Where historians can discover unity and continuity even to a limited extent and within a particular field, it will be their duty to bring it out, but if the chain of continuity is broken or if there is a serious rift in the unity in certain periods the historians' duty is to bring it out unflinchingly. This emphasis on impartial but sympathetic treatment of history has found expression in more than one weighty presidential utterance and it is not necessary for me to dilate upon it. What I do feel is that while with the fast growing interest in historical studies and the establishment of more and more institutions devoted to oriental learning and historical research a large number of special studies, monographs and articles are sure to be published in ever-increasing numbers, the need is all the greater for the concentration of the work of the best scholars on a scientific and accurate national history of the land and its people. If the necessary financial backing for such a scheme is forthcoming and a central scholarly and editorial organization is instituted, the work is bound to be accelerated.

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The accomplishment of schemes of provincial histories is to my mind a very essential task that is bound to accelerate but not retard the progress of an all-India scheme, inasmuch as it will give a clearer idea of what is involved in this national effort and make available for it a body of experienced historians who have accomplished a similar task. Besides, the all-India scheme can only be perfect and comprehensive to the extent it draws on and reflects the best in its component parts. I therefore propose to pass in review the position as it obtains in different parts of India.

The first volume of the history of Bengal which has recently been published under the distinguished editorship of Sir Jadunath Sarkar and Dr. Ramesh Chandra Majumdar shows what could be done by Indian scholarship in placing before the public a neat record of the history and culture of their motherland. Bengal is indeed fortunate in having a galaxy of brilliant scholars and historians but there is no reason why their example should not stimulate other provinces and states of India in a spirit of healthy emulation but not inter-regional jealousy. The distinguished Professors of the two advanced Universities of Bengal, aided by a number of individual scholars and learned societies have been able to achieve this, and there is no reason why the learned professors in other areas which may have an equal amount or even more materials for the reconstruction of their history should not succeed. The project of a history of the Deccan which has recently been entrusted by H. E. H. the Nizam's Government to the competent hands of Mr. Ghulam Yazdani, the distinguished Director of the Archaeological Department, Hyderabad State deserves high commendation. This is indeed a work which will be anxiously awaited by historians particularly as several distinguished historians have been asked to cooperate in this task. We can hope that the wave of enthusiasm which has been recently set in motion in Malwa by bi-millennium celebrations of the Vikram Era will be harnessed to the work of producing a proper history of Malwa.

In Assam, the materials for writing up a new history of the province, after the worthy attempt of Sir Edward Gait, have fast accumulated, thanks to the monographs on the various hill tribes, and the work of the Department of Historical Research and the Kamarup Anusandhan Samiti. It is hoped the work will be taken up after the war. In Bihar, the activities in the historical and archaeological field, which were so prominently in evidence in the past have dwindled of late and there is little hope of any sustained scholarly work being done in the near future for want of public interest. This is indeed a great pity, as this home province of the great Mauryan Empire has as yet a wealth of unexplored material in its ancient capitals, sites and collections, although the existing collections in

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the provincial Museum and the Oriental Library are about the finest in India. With the establishment of a new University for Orissa we might expect that the vast historical and cultural material within this province will eventually find adequate treatment at the hands of Orissa's historians. One handicap here is likely to be the division of Orissa into a number of states, whose history and antiquities are closely bound up with those of the province, but the facilities for research would not be so readily available. The backward state of education also reflects on the progress of cultural activities, but things are bound to improve in the future.

The establishment of a Department of Kannada Research 4 years ago at Dharwar by the Government of Bombay has resulted in the addition of considerable knowledge of the Karnatak culture through the ages. If a co-operative scheme for the history of Karnatak can be organised by the enlightened Government of Mysore the output of whose Archaeological Department during the last 60 years of its existence far exceeds that of any other unit, we can expect a fine set of volumes on the history of Karnatak which will be particularly valuable and instructive. At the present time Fleet's 'Dynasties of the Karnatak Districts' and Rice's 'Mysore and Coorg from inscriptions' both of which were written in the 19th century are our only sources of knowledge and the prodigious amount of new and important material brought to light since their times necessitates the task of writing a history of Karnatak being treated as a whole. Although at present parts of the land are divided between different jurisdictions, this should in no way stand in the way of the great task of writing a history of united Karnatak the glory and grandeur of which should not only be a source of provincial pride to the Karnatak people, but form part of a wider heritage of India. I commend this work to the special notice of the enlightened Government of Mysore and the authorities of the Mysore University on whom lies the responsibility of carrying through such a scheme as the inheritors in the bulk of the Karnatak land of the achievements of the Kannada people. Fortunately they have in their Professor of History, an experienced archaeologist, who has built up a reputation for solid work in every field of history.

In the Andhra country a new Journal of Andhra History and Culture has been recently started at Guntur, which has also become the seat of the Andhra University. Though a large part of the Andhra country is included in H. E. H. the Nizam's Dominions the Andhra districts in the Madras Presidency constitute an area in which there is a great scope for historical and archaeological research and the existing institutions including the Andhra Historical Research Society and the recently started Oriental Research Institute at Bezwada will be hardly able to do justice to the work involved. The

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great Buddhist culture of the lower Krishna Valley in the time of its Ikshvaku rulers exemplified by Amaravati, Nagarjunikonda, Goli, Ghantasala, Gummadidurru and scores of other sites has not yet been comprehensively studied, as to its extent or duration and more intensive search is necessary. I should welcome a separate historical or archaeological association in the north-western (Ceded) districts, known as the Rayalasima, where the prospect of archaeological work is immense and is fraught with consequences of the hightest importance to the study of Indian history and archaeology. The Bellary District which has been the pivot of the lower Deccan, the seat of the great Vijayanagar empire and the junction between the Kannada-Telugu linguistic areas holds the key to the study and understanding of the various epochs of India's history from the paleolithic age over fifty thousand years old to the dawn of the Mauryan period. No other area in India holds similar promise of a better harvest to the investigator of prehistoric cultures. Palaeolithic man strayed here, as in other widely disputed areas of the Peninsula, in the river valleys where his implements are still to be found. Neolithic sites and factories have been distinctly recognised and the birth of the iron age in India was ushered in this tract. The exact stages by which metal gradully supplanted the use of stone in the tools and implements of man can be studied. Antiquities of the early iron age and the pre-Mauryan cultures of which vestiges have recently been recovered in the adjoining strip of Mysore territory included in the Chitaldrug District and in the Raichur District in the Nizam's Dominions give the hope that the intervening Bellary area is also bound to reveal to the systematic investigator similar finds of far-reaching importance. The occurrence of animal bones in the floor deposits in the Karnool caves and the find of pottery and iron implements in Banganapalle State show how promising this region is. The lower Godavari valley is yet to be systematically searched for ancient relics and ought to yield as rich a harvest as the Krishna valley. It would not be too much to expect that in the near future consistent attempts will be made to develop the vast field before the systematic investigator of the soil of Andhradesa. Meanwhile the project of a history of the Andhras is one which the Andhra University cannot do better than inaugurate in the interest of crystallizing the efforts of the Andhras on their own history and culture from the humblest beginnings to the present day.

The growth of historical studies in the southernmost or Tamil part of India has been enormous, thanks to the school of history in the Madras and to a less extent the Annamalai Universities. The wealth of epigraphical and architectural material available for the reconstruction of political and cultural history in the Pallava, Chola, Pandya and Vijayanagar periods is enormous, far transcending the

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number of inscriptions in the rest of India and the articles and monographs on various aspects of history and culture in these periods published in recent years bear testimony to the zeal of scholars in utilising the available materials. Tamilians have been the greatest temple builders during the last 1500 years and they have also invariably recorded all donations made to their temples on metal and stone. This material has been assiduously studied for the last 60 years when the Government of Madras organised an Epigraphical Department to which the task of copying and deciphering inscriptions and bringing out the historical import of the records was assigned. Although more than 20,000 records have thus been copied the work is far from complete and the village to village search for the records of the past may take another half a century to complete. Obviously the temples together with their records, which are expected to yield this harvest must first be saved for us from decay by natural causes and more particularly from misguided zeal and vandalism. The programme of temple renovation which was briskly proceeded until two years ago and even now has not ceased altogether is fraught with the gravest consequences for the temples, their carvings and epigraphic records inasmuch as the ingorance and indifference of the pious donors is often responsible for the destruction of old monuments and repeated appeals to their good sense have not been of much practical consequence. It is sad to think that the trustees and donors of temples which constitute the greatest heritage of Hindu India have not yet been actuated by noble feelings of reverence and appreciation for ancient works of art, architecture and history as one would expect from the advanced state of higher education in the Madras Presidency. Reverence for the old monuments and an aesthetic sense have yet to form part of the conservative and ancestor-worship, characteristic of the South India mind, but there are signs that better sense is likely to prevail in the near future with the broadening interest and more effective central control from the Hindu Religious Endowment Board.

Apart from the great mass of material available for the history of the periods from the Pallava downwards no attempt has yet been made to explore systematically the archaeological wealth of Tamil Nadu in the service of history. Except the great cemetery at Adichanallur which has been somewhat extensively studied and the chance discovery of remains of burials with their attendant sarcophagi and funereal pottery and iron implements the age of which has yet to be exactly determined, no material has yet been unearthed which will throw light on ancient culture. It is hoped that the newly started Archaeologieal Society at Madras will initiate a survey and study of all the historic and prehistoric sites in the presidency particularly in the Tamil Nadu and take up detailed investigation of promising sites in collaboration with the Archaeological Survey of

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India and the Universities. City or palace sites of the times of Pallavas or Cholas such as the Pallavamedu and other sites near Conjeeveram, the Chola palace site at Cholamaligai near Kumbakonam and early Pandya sites near Madura have yet to be tackled. It would not be impossible to find a site going back to the Asokan period, as we know that the Pandyas had their realm outside Asoka's Empire. Towns not far from the seaside like Korkai in Tirunelveli District and Arikamedu in Pondichery are sure to yield important material bearing on South India's contact with the outside world. On the whole, the prospect of successful archaeological investigation in the Tamil country is very promising.

The beautiful southern tip of the west coast of India, known as Kerala, comprising Malabar, Cochin and Travancore is a part of India with a distinct culture the history of which deserves a separate treatment. Unfortunately the fertility of the soil and the abundance of monsoon rains combine to produce conditions detrimental to the preservation of ancient remains that may be regarded as source material for history. With the lead taken by Travancore State in establishing a Department of Archaeology and forming a University we can expect that the history of Kerala will have a chance of being brought out at an early date with the cooperation of scholars from Malabar and Cochin.

Turning to the Bombay Pre-idency we find signs of great activity both in Maharashtra and Gujrat where a number of societies and individuals are furthering the cause of history and oriental learning. In Poona, the intellectual centre of Maharashtra, the Bhandar kar Oriental Research Institute has already made a great name for itself and for India by pushing on with the work of critical edition of the Mahabharata which after the lamentable death of Dr. Sukhthankar is being continued by the veteran orientalist Dr. S. K. Belvalkar. The Bharat Itihasa Samsodhak Mandal which was the first to conceive of the idea of a History Congress has shown the way in which the work of intensive collection of historical material and contemporary documents can be utilized to the best account, especially for the history of the Maharatha period. The work done by the veteran historian, Rao Bahadur Sardesai, in publishing select documents from Peshawa Daftar deserves to be specially mentioned. It is to be sincerely hoped that this doyen of Maratha Historians who has almost reached the four score mark will be spared to write the history of the Marathas in English. The third institution in Poona which has started work recently with great energy is the Deccan College Post-graduate Research Institute. Besides work in other branches of oriental learning the Institute has Departments of Ancient, Maratha and Medieval Histories and the field work carried out by the Ancient

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History Department in Maherashtra and Gujrat has already yielded striking and solid results.

In Bombay the establishment in recent years of the Gujrat Research Society and Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan and the newly rejuvenated Bombay Historical Society not to mention the St. Xavier College Historical Research Institute of long standing have been carrying on important research work in the field of history. The Bombay Historical Society has stepped into the breach created by the disappearance of the Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology brought out by the Kern Institute at Leiden which has ceased publication since the German occupation of Holland. The Bombay Bibliography started from 1938 has been attempting a progressive development and its coming issue for 1940 is expected to be a considerable advancement over those already published. The Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan has been maintaining a staff of able professors who are carrying on research in different branches of Indian history and maintaining a Journal in English and Gujrati. The Gujrat Research Society and Gujrat Vernacular Society have a comprehensive programme of research including historical, and these were among the institutions which cooperated with the Archaeological Department in the first Gujrat Pre-historic Expedition. It is hoped they will spread its net far and wide in Gujrat and Kathiawar. Indeed with the ample materials available for every period of its history and the munificience and enlightenment of the rulers of States, merchant princes and captains of industry Gujrat (including Kathiawar) is likely to undertake the task of writing a full-fledged history earlier than many other parts of India. One of the main difficulties of the investigator in Gujrat and Central India is the large number of States comprised within these regions which make it difficult to follow up such studies in continuity. It is encouraging to learn that the state of Rajpipla has opened a History Department and employed a trained archaeologist.

Turning to Rajputana, a part of India, which can well be considered as a living storehouse and microcosm of ancient India, its inspiring history has found historians like Todd and Mahamahopadhayaya Gauri Sankar Ojha the octogenarian historian of Rajputana, but an upto date and comprehensive history is still a desideratum. Each of the historic States is anxious to bring out its own history, and history and archaeology officers exist in the bigger States of Jaipur, Jodhpur, Udaipur, Bikaner, and Kotah. The record of the first two has been particularly noteworthy. In Jaipur special arrangements have been launched for publishing old records which have recently yielded valuable information in the hands of eminent historians like Sir Jadunath Sarkar. The record of archaeological excavation and investigation during the last eight years is splendid and it is hoped that the excavation at Nagar, the chief city of the Malawas, which has been

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untouched since its discovery by Carlleeyle, General Cunningham's Assistant, nearly 60 years ago will yield valuable material for reconstructing history. In Bikaner and the neighbouring state of Bhawalpur as also in the State of Las Bela beyond the borders of Sind lay the last season's field work of the world's foremost explorer Sir Aurel Stein whose sudden death at Kabul two months ago has deprived India and the world of the greatest living scholar combining vast oriental learning with an insatiable zeal for exploration in an unequalled manner. The problem which Sir Aurel Stein iuvestigated in Rajputana and Bhawalpur was the existence of prehistoric settlements on the banks of the Hakra river, the ancient Saraswati, lost in the great Indian desert. This expedition resulted in the addition to our knowledge of nearly 2 dozen settlements of prehistoric period known from the Indus Valley proper.

In Sind there are signs that the history of Sind is after all going to receive its quota of votaries. Apart from the tremendous discoveries in the prehistoric period conducted on behalf of the Archaeological Department unfortunately suspended now for over a decade, the work of the Sind Historical Society during the last few years and the growing number of scholars working on the early manuscript and epigraphical sources available for the early Muslim period give the hope that sufficient material for a comprehensive history will be forthcoming. The wide gap that still exists betwcen the end of the pre-historic and the beginning of the historic period has yet to be filled up. One great drawback in a province of Sind is the backward state of general education and the lack of interest of the literary classes in the rich heritage of their province which has evoked the greatest enthusiasm elsewhere.

A similar shortcoming though to a less extent may be noticed in the province of the Punjab where in spite of the presence of a University and an intensive programme of excavations as carried out by the Archaeological Department at Taxila and Harappa no attempt yet seems to have been made for projecting a history of the Punjab. The period for which least material is at present available is that for which immense material exists in many other parts of India, namely that from the Gupta period to the Muslim invasion but excavations in places like Kurukshetra and Theh Polar in the Karnal District, Agroha in Hissar District, Rohtak and Bhira (which were started but not resumed) are likely to yield good results. It is time indeed that Punjab were to awaken to a sense of responsibility with regard to its past and attempts were made to delineate a complete plan of its unusually interesting history. With the discovery of more sites in the Ambala region which go back to the Harappa period there is great possibility of finding sites which will connect the historic and prehistoric periods and this indeed is the work which

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more than any other in the archaeological field is needed at the present moment. The latest period of Punjab's history *viz.*, Sikh history is lately being assiduously studied, but so many of the other antecedent periods require to be intensively studied that a continuous and comprehensive history of this great province yet appears a distant task. The varying fortunes of the Punjab in successive periods of history have so mightily affected India's history that a wider and deeper study of its history is fraught with the greatest importance.

In the North-West Frontier Province the investigations have so far centred round one ancient period only *viz.*, the Greaco-Buddhist and very little is likely to remain for the investigator to survey in the future. It is a matter of great concern that since the termination of the prolonged disturbed conditions, which prevailed upto the middle of 19th century and were responsible for the preservation of the hundreds of ancient sites, in the Peshawar District, these have been gradually and increasingly encroached upon by cultivators during the last century of comparative peace and within a few years we may have very little scope for further discoveries. The existing monuments such as the fine monasteries of Takh-i-bahi and Jamalgarh will perhaps be all that will be left. It is perhaps too much to hope that in the case of the sturdy inhabitants of the frontier tracts the spread of education will bring about the growth of the feeling of reverence for relics of past ages.

The beautiful and secluded valley of Kashmir is indeed in a unique position, being the only part of India where an attempt was made by Hindu historians to record the chronicles of their country. Kalhana's 'River of Kings' is indeed a successful attempt to write a faithful history of his own and immediately preceding times and he has found very able scholars to expound and translate him. A proper history of Kashmir on the basis of the Sanskrit history and later chronicles is, however, yet to be attempted and it is hoped that the Government of H. H. the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir will turn their attention at an early date to this important project and to the revival of archaeological activities that were once a very prominent feature.

Among the hill States of the Punjab the State of Chamba can be singled out as one in which a systematic attempt has been made to bring out a history and antiquities from the earliest period. The second volume which deals with history and culture of the medieval period only awaits the return of the normal conditions for its publication. The Sikh States of the Sutlej basin have yet to be investigated for the presence of historical and archaeological material.

Among the Central Indian States, Gwalior holds the premier position and its record of archaeological work in the last generation

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is exemplary. The State has a deep consciousness of its heritage of history and the presence of such famous capitals within its borders like Vidisa, Ujjain, Padmavati and Dasapura has been availed of to start a consistent programme of archaeological research. The present year has witnessed an unprecedented wave ef enthusiasm in Gwalior owing to t e occassion of the bi-millenium of the Vikram Era and schemes have already been launched for volumes in different languages bearing on the history of Malwa and Ujjain, the traditional seat of Vikramaditya. It is hoped that the cause of history will receive substantial impetus and a permanent organization for the furtherance of oriental research and history will result as a consequence of the great interest in the past that has been evoked. In other States such as Indore, Dhar and Dewas attempts have been made from time to time to carry on historical and archaeological investigations with good results but more satisfactory permanent arrangements are still needed. There is yet considerable wealth of material in the Central Indian States which remains to be investigated, particularly in Bundelkhand and Baghelkhand where except in Rewah State no attempt has yet been made to set up a Department of History and Archaeology.

In the Central Provinces and Berar no active programme of research work in history has been pursued except in the matter of epigraphical investigations and the formation of historical societies in Berar, Mahakoshal and Nagpur has not quickened the pace of research. Individual scholars of eminence have, however, done intensive work like the late Rai Bahadur Hiralal and Professor V. V. Mirashi. The latter's volume on the Kalachuri inscriptions is expected to be an outstanding contribution to the history of these Provinces. No archaeological work exept some exploratory work in the Mahadeo hills has, however, yet been attempted throughout the Province which contains a number of promising sites throughout its extent owing to insufficiency of staff in the Archaeological Department and lack of public interest in such work in the province.

Lastly I turn to the United Provinces, the Madhyadesa of old which continues to be the heart and kernel of the whole of Northern India. There is no period of India's history in which these provinces do not fully represent India as a whole and no aspect of India's age-long culture and its vicissitudes which is not represented more fully. In each of the districts of U. P. there are hundreds of sites and mounds representing ancient cities, towns and settlements of various periods, but much more extensive exploratory work is needed, before an adequate idea about their period and extent can be obtained. For this purpose it would be helpful if an archæological Institute could be founded, with branches or regional societies at suitable centres like Allahabad, Benares, Mathura, Lucknow and

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Aligarh. It is in the fitness of things that schemes of an all-India History have emanated from and woven round the historical cities and Universities of these provinces. The Gangetic valley has been the hub of activities throughout India's history and the growth of historical studies along with the extension of University education has stimulated the effoats of scholars during the last generation. Here I may offer my meed of tribute to the Aligarh Muslim University, under whose auspices we meet today for the keen interest with which it has pursued historical studies particularly in the Medieval period of India's history. The present week designated the Aligarh history week will, it is hoped, stimulate historical studies.

I have referred at the outset to the position of archæology as a handmaid of history, but this handmaid is thoroughly faithful and can be relied upon to bear the torch correctly to the dim recesses of long-forgotten passages of history. The aims and methods of archæology are scientific and practical and its results do not admit of much controversy except in matters of interpretation of discoveries. It is unfortunate that there is no Indian Archæological Institute or a journal devoted to archæology in this country, the reason apparently being the vague and inadequate conception as to the scope of archæology. I may here briefly mention the way in which archæological investigations conducted during the last few years in one of the old Indian capitals, *viz.*, Ahichchhatra, have yielded results which set the standard over the larger part of Northern India. Here is a city in which life was lived for over a thousand years ending with the 9th century A. D. now represented by about 30 feet of accumulation relegated to some 8 main strata apart from sub-strata. Although there are more ancient cities like Rajgir and far richer in small antiques are other ancient capitals like Kausambi, near Allahabad, Ahichchhatra, the capital of Panchala is the best situated for a large scale excavation and training centre in as much as it is a well-defined walled city with plenty of jungle covered mounds and is unencumbered by subsequent habitations for the last thousand years. Having been continued to be inhabited over a pretty long period it is particularly suitable for laying out for once a sequence of pottery, the absence of which has been commented upon by European critics as a great drawback of Indian archæology, although India has had a regularly organised Achæological Department for nearly 40 years. The situation of Achichchhatra far away from any large city has saved it from denudation, for systematic work according to approved methods of excavation. The results obtained here by the systematic study of structural remains and such common moveable objects like pottery, and terra cotta are laying the standard for the whole of North India. Although in other countries like Egypt it has been found possible to lay down regular sequence dating by a thorough

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study of pottery through the whole of Egypt's long history, here in India it was only since the discovery of Mohenjodaro that pottery began to be studied at all. The results of an intensive study of the designs of the painted pottery of the pre-historic period found in Sind and Baluchistan have been very valuable but the application of the same principles to the study of the pottery of the historic period was for a time impeded by the notion that the innate conservatism of the Indian potter was responsible for his apparent inability to produce new forms and shapes in different periods. The last 3 years' work at Ahichchhatra has now definitely resulted in establishing the sequence of pottery forms distinctive of each of the main historical epochs of India's history which will have important bearings in the future study of Indian archæology. The beautiful polished wares of the Mauryan period, the wide grey-coloured bowls of the Sunga period, a variety of new and beautiful shapes on the Kushan period, the floral designs of the Gupta times and the degenerate forms of the mediæval period have now been standardised in an unmistakable manner and are sure to afford the best means of ascertaining roughly the period of any site or mound in the same way that archæologists in other Oriental countries have furnished such aids to knowledge. Not only in the immediate vicinity of Ahichchhatra but almost all over the United Provinces and even in far off Bengal the general tests which the study of Ahichchhatra pottery is establishing hold good. The unity of Indian culture through successive historic ages can hardly be better established than by the fact that the products of the humble village potters have been of the same character through such wide areas as from Bangarh in Bengal to Rohtak and Hissar in Punjab. Work in the future in different areas is bound to establish more affinities although differences of local character will always be apparent.

The evolution of the Indian temple is another subject on which the excavations of Ahichchhatra have a distinct contribution to make. It can now be asserted that North India which has no other permanent material but burnt clay evolved for its shrines, a type of temple elevated in successive stages to a considerable height which forms the elevated plinth of the central shrine. Such is indeed the type which is now found throughout the Gangetic valley and was taken by Indian colonists to further India and Indonesia where it formed the most prevalent type of temple both for Buddhist and Brahmanical worship. The main efforts at decoration in this type consisted of ornamental designs in bricks and plaques illustrative of various popular subjects connected with the subject of worship. Some beautiful examples of such plaques have been recovered from the excavations at Ahichchhatra, though not in such profusion as in the Bengal temples of which the latest examples come from the site of Mainamati, ancient Patikera in East Bengal.

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I have devoted a large part of this address to the subject of the present state and future prospect of historical and archæological researches in different parts of India, which together form part of the whole complex of Indian historical studies. The cultural heritage of a country must be considered as primarily the concern of its own scholars and historians to develop and elucidate for the benefit of their less privileged countrymen and the common people have a right to expect from the advanced students and workers the highest results of their researches brought out in a popular form. The capacity of Indians to produce a concerted effort in the historical and particularly in the arehæological field is being seriously doubted elsewhere and it is up to the people of India to take up the challenge and show how their individual scholars and organised institutions can achieve the highest results in the study of history and archæology of their own country. If my earnest appeal helps in the consolidation of the national effort of India in the field of history and archæology, I should consider myself richly rewarded. Finally I crave the indulgence of all those fellow workers and collaborators in the field of history whose work may not have found any or adequate mention in my rapid survey and would assure them that it is not due to any want of appreciation on my part of their labours but owing to the limitations of space and knowledge. May the Almighty bless the great projects which historians in this country are launching for bringing out the story of the past of their motherland, according to the most approved methods of the present for the guidance and enlightenment of the future.

Section I

ANCIENT INDIAN HISTORY UPTO 711 A. D.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

BY

Dr. P. C. Bagchi, m. a. Dr. 'es Lettre (Paris).

Fellow Workers.

I am grateful to you for the honour you have done me by asking me to preside over this august assembly. The responsibility that you have assigned to me is indeed very great and I am afraid I am not the person who can discharge it to your satisfaction. It seems that the most difficult task of a President is to choose the subject of his address. I have failed to discover a strict principle that might guide us in this matter and make our task easier. The two alternatives before us, I believe, are either to give a survey of the work done in our field of study since we last met or to deal with a particular problem

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that would interest every one of us. A survey without a proper consideration of the values will be a simple catalogue of works that are more or less known to us. An evaluation of the merits and demerits of such works again is beset with difficulties of which we are all aware. I shall therefore choose the other alternative and discuss some problems of the ancient history of India which, although studied on numerous occasions for more than half a a century, have not yet lost their interest to us. I am however fully conscious of my shortcomings and I hope you will be indulgent towards me if I ill fulfil my task.

The problems to which I should like to draw your attention are connected with the role of the Central Asian nomads in the history of India. While dealing with these invaders we have been in the habit of attaching greater importance to the foreign sources of information than to our own literature. I do not however deny that for nearly one thousand years, from the end of the second century before Christ up to the eighth, the Chinese sources supply us with more definite information on the movements of the Central Asian nomads than any other source but there is no reason for attaching greater importance to the Greek and Latin texts than to our own for their early history. In fact the classical writers derived their knowledge of these people either from the Persians or from the Indians. The recent researches into the Central Asian antiquities have shown that the ancient Indians possessed a fairly precise knowledge of these people.

The region beyond the Himalays was never so isolated from India as we often think. The people of Northern India and specially the people of the Punjab possessed some knowledge of this region and were in contact with the nomads almost in every age. They did not consider them foreigners as we do now, simply because the distinction between them, both physical and cultural, was not so great as to create a sharp difference between them. Conflict arose only in cases when the newcomers tried to unsettle the established political conditions but peaceful infiltration was generally a welcome feature as it contributed to the prosperity of the country and proved an added military strength to the local ruler. The Brahmanical social code always provided them with an independent place in the society. Although it meant the formation of new castes it did not hurt their *amour-propre* but made them willing partners of an ever-growing civilisation.

As early as the later Vedic period the Indian writers show an acquaintance with the people beyond the northern and north-western frontiers. In the *Atharvaveda* (V. 22, 5-9) the fever *takman* is wished away not only to the country of the Gandharis but also further beyond, to that of the Bahlikas. In the Brahmana literature we again come across with these people (*Sat Br.* 1,7,3-5). Two new

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people are also spoken of—the Uttarakurus and the Uttaramadras as distinguished from the Kurus and the Madras settled in the Punjab (*Ait Br.* VIII, 14,23). The next writer Yaska who comes immediately after, speaks of another new people—the Kambojas probably for the first time (*Nirukta*, II, 2).

The Bahlikas are well known. It appears that the Uttarakurus and Uttaramadras as well as the Kambojas too belonged to the still undefined region of Central Asia beyond the Himalayas. The existence of an Uttarakuru in this region is noted by the Greek writers till the fifth century A. D. Ptolemy is the first to speak of a town named Ottorokorrha and of a river and a mountain bearing the same name in the Serique (Chinese Turkestan) near the mountain Emodos (Himalaya). Later writers speak of the same place under the name Oporrocorra (*apara* and *uttara* here having the same meaning). The tradition survived till the 5th century as Orosius still speaks of the Ottorogorras. The name Uttaramadra might suggest a connection with the Median tribes (the Mada) and an attempt was made a few years ago to prove that the Maddas or the Madras of the Punjab were Median immigrants to India. Amongst the reasons adduced in favour of this hypothesis stress has been laid on the unorthodox customs prevalent amongst them and mentioned by the *Mahabharata*. The epic distinctly speaks of the king of the Madras as Bahlika-pungava and thus suggests his connection with the Iranian world.

The Kambojas also point out to the same direction. Although they are contantly associated with Gandhara still it is impossible to find out their trace on the frontiers of India. The name of Gandhara survived for long centuries but that of the Kambojas was soon forgotten. This makes it probable that they belonged to the nomad hordes of Central Asia which were moving from place to place. One of their branches seem to have entered India in very early times but they must have soon lost their identity as a distinct people. Other branches of the same people seem to have entered Eastern Tibet and the valley of the Mekong from another direction, By this assumption only we can explain why the name Kambuja was given to the kingdom founded in the middle valley of the Mekong. In Eastern Tibet also their name can be traced in the name of the province of Khams and it is probably from this region that the Kamboja invasion of Assam and Bengal took place in later times.

In the early Budhist texts, the Epics as well as the Puranas we get a more eleborate scheme to systematise the geographical knowledge possessed by the Indians not only of India but also of other Asiatic rigions. The principles which guided the compilers of these texts are not always evident but as some of their notions correspond to actuality it is not fair to reject the cosmology presented by them as fanciful.

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The Buddhist texts mention four continents spread around the central mount Meru in the following order : in the south Jambudvipa, in the north Uttarakuru, in the west Aparagodana and in the east Purvavideha. Jambudvipa was generally speaking India, according to the Buddhists. Uttarakuru, as we have seen, was the name given to Chinese Turkestan. Godana was the name by which Khotan was known in ancient times. The oldest form of the name of Khotan is preserved in the Chinese transcription of the Han period as Yu-t'ien. The Chinese words were pronounced in the Han period as *(*g*)*iu-den i. e.* Godana. The name Apara-godana thus seems to have been used with referenee to the region of Khotan. Purvavideha must have meant the eastern zone to the east of Videha—Videha being the eastern limit of the North Indian world at the time when this geographical notion was first formed.

The Brahmanical cosmology which is sensibly of a later period gives us a more eleborate scheme. Jambudvipa, according to it, is no longer India alone but the entire central belt of the continent as known to the compilers of that age. It is divided into seven *varsas* or regions of which the first is the Bharatavarsa or India. Another khown varsa is Uttarakuru. The five other varsas are the Kimpurusa, Hari, Bhadrasva, Ketumala, Ilavrta and Ramayaka. As the central mountain of the Kimpurusavarsa is mentioned as Hemakuta it is possible that this was the name given to the Himalayan zone. Ilavrta might suggest a connection with the rigion watered by the Ili river further to the north. Jambudvipa is again only one of the seven continents. Amongst the other continents two, the Sakadvipa and the Kraunchadvipa, have been described in detail in the *Mahabharata*. As we shall see later on, at least the former corresponded to reality.

But although we cannot do full justice to the cosmological notions contained in the Buddhist and Brahmanical texts, there is ample evidence to show that the Indian compilers were acquainted with most of the people of the Central Asiatic regions in the age when these cosmological notions were systematised. For example, one of the early Sanskrit Buddhist texts mentions—Cina, Kausika, Khasa, Bahli, Tukhara, Pahlava, Parata, Saka, Vokkana, Ramatha. The *Ramayana* locates to the North of Gandhara and Madraka—the Yavana, Saka, Parada, Bahlika, Rsika, Paurava, Kimkara, Cina, Aparacina, Tukhara, Barbara, Kamboja, Darada, Kirata, Tankana, Pasupala. The *Mahabharata* speaks of the Yavana, Cina, Kamboja, Sakrdgraha, Kulattha, Huna, Parasika, Ramana (*sic.* Ramatha), Abhira, Darada, Kasmira, Pasu (pala), Khasira (?Khasa), Panhava (Pahlava), Girigahvara etc. amongst the people living in the North. The Puranas locate in the same region : Bahlika, Vatadhana, Abhira, Kalatoyaka, Pallava, Carmakhandika, Parada, Harabhusika, Dasamalika, Kamboja, Darada, Barbara, Harsavardhana, Cina, Tukhara, Culika, Sulika etc. The *Brhatsamhita*

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attempts at a more precise classification : in the West—Haihaya, Vokkana, Ramatha, Parata Saka ; in the NW—Tusara, Madra, Kuluta, Carmaranga, Ekavilocana (Ekanetra), Sulika ; in the N—Kuru, Uttarakuru, Vatadhana, Huna and in the NE—Pasupala, Cina, Khasa, Ghosa, Kucika.

I will not waste your valuable time on the identification of these tribes, many of which are known to us from previous researches. Yavana, Saka, Parada, Kamboja, Huna, Parasika, Cina are well-known. The Tusaras or Tukharas were the people of Tokharestan. The Carmakhandikas are supposed to have been tne people of Samarcand. The Sulikas, also known as Culikas were the Sogdians. The Kucikas or Kusikas may be identified with the anciet people of Kuci or Kuchar. Vokkana is identified with Wakhan. The Ekavilocanas remind us of the one-eyed people whom Herodotus locates in the extreme north of Central Asia above the Issedones. The Tanganas or Tankanas may have been connected with the Donki or the Tunguse. Although we cannot identify other tribes in the lists referred to above the identities already noted are quite sufficient to prove that from about the second century B. C. to about 500 A. D. the Indian writers possessed a fairly accurate knowledge of the nomadic hordes that were moving about in Central Asia. The cosmological notions recorded by these writers reveal that they possessed also a fairly precise knowledge of the lands beyond the Himalayas. Compared with this, the Greek sources, although indispensable for our modern studies, do not appear to be of any greater value.

Under these circumstances I should like to attach a greater importance than hitherto done to the Puranic accounts of the foreign dynasties that ruled in India after the fall of the Imperial Andhras. The accounts say :

"When the kingdom of the Andhras has come to an end there will be kings belonging to the lineage of their servants : 7 Andhras, and 10 Abhira kings, also 7 Gardabhins, 18 Sakas. There will be 8 Yavanas, 14 Tusaras, 13 Murundas and 11 Hunas (or Maunas)."

"The Sriparavatiya Andhras will endure 52 years, the Abhira kings 67 years, the Gardhabhins 72 years, the 18 Sakas 183 years, the 8 Yavanas 87 years. The earth is remembered as belonging to the Tusaras 7000 years, according to some accounts 500 (but apparently either 107 or 105 is meant). The 13 future Murundas along with low caste men, all of *mleccha* origin will enjoy it half 400 years (*i.e.* 200 years). The 11 Maunas will enjoy it 103 years, When they are overthrown by time there will be Kailakila kings. Then after the Kilakilas, Vindhyasakti will reign. He will enter upon the earth after it has known those kings 96 years."

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The Abhiras and Gardabhins mentioned in the list are regarded as kings of foreign origin but we know almost nothing about them. The Yavanas or the Bactrian Greeks have been recently treated by M. Tarn, a recognised authority in classical studies. I propose to discuss here the problems concerning the Saka, the Tusara, the Murunda and the Huna.

The Saka Problem

If we take the Puranic accounts literally we have to admit that the Saka conquerors preceded the Yavanas or the Greeks in India. At least they were elder contemporaries in their Indian adventures. The Puranic evidence has however not been given any credence for want of corroborative facts. The Chinese evidence has been relied upon to prove that the Sakas could not have entered India before the commencement of the 1st century B. C. The Greek rule had been established in the Punjab and in the Kabul valley about a century earlier. In fact this is regarded as the reason for which the Sakas came to India not directly by the Kabul route but from Drangiana which they had conquered in the middle of second century. Let us now examine the evidences again and see how far they are precise enough to admit of such interpretation.

The Greek writers from the time of Herodotus speak of the Sakas as a branch of the Scythic people which occupied Central Asia in early times. Herodotus says that the Persians used the designation Saka in a loose way. Strabo (58 B. C.—21 A. D.) tells us that the Caucasus separated the Sakai, the Scythes and the Seres in the North from the Indians in the South. Ptolemy in the second century B. C. says that the eastern frontier of the Sakai was Scythia.

The Old Persian Inscriptions speak more clearly of the Sakas than the Greek texts. Thus in the Behistun inscription there is mention of Bactria, Sogdiana, Gandhara, Saka, Tathagush, Arachosia and Maka, and again after Parthia of Margiana, Tathagush and Saka provinces which revolted against Darius. In the Persepolis inscription we are told that the eastern provinces of the empire were Arachosia, India, Gandhara, Saka and Maka. In the Nakshi Rustum Inscription there is mention of Zranka (Drangiana), Arachosia, Tathagush, Gandhara, India, Saka Haumavarka, Saka Tigrakhauda, and in the Gold Tablet Inscription of Darius we are told that his empire extended from Saka beyond Sogdiana (para-sugdam) to Ethiopia and from India to Sardis. The Saka Tigrakhauda or the "Sakas who wore pointed helmets" were according to Herodotus the neighbours of the Bactrians and most probably occupied the Jaxartes region. The Saka Haumavarka who were the same as the Amyrgian Scythians of Herodotus were those who had settled in the Persian Province of Drangiana. The Behistun and the Persepolis

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inscriptions really locate them near Gandhara. The old Persian Inscriptions therefore make it clear that the Sakas were living near the frontiers of India long before the Greeks had come to the region.

The Indian literature speaks of them but only at a time when the Greeks had settled in Bactria. This is the reason for which the Sakas are closely associated with the Yavanas in these texts specially in the *Ramayana*, *Manusamhita* and the *Mahabharata*. But a particular chapter of the *Mahabharata*, inserted in the Bhismaparva which gives the description of the Sakadvipa or "the land of the Sakas" seems to bear an earlier stamp. It is said that there are seven mountains in Sakadvipa, named Meru, Malaya, Jaladhara, Raivata, Syama, Durgasaila and Kesara. The land is divided into seven varsas: *Mahakasa* near Meru, *Kumudottara* near Malaya, *Sukumara* near Jaladhara, *Kaumara* near Raivata, *Manikancana* near Syama, *Maudaki* near Kasara and *Mahapurusa* near Durgasaila. The text then says that there are four Janapadas or kingdoms in the land of the Sakas, *Maga* (or *Manga*), *Masaka*, *Manasa* and *Mandaga*. These regions are watered by different branches of the Ganges *viz* Sukumari, Kumari, Sitasi, Venika Manijala, Caksu (*i. e.* Vaksu), and Vardhanika. Regarding the character of the people the text then says that the Magas are Brahmin by vocation, Masaka Ksatriya, the Manasas Vaisya and the Mandagas Sudra.

According to Rapson this Sakadvipa would be the name given to the lower Indus valley after the Sakas had settled there in the first century B. C. This identification has been suggested by the use of the word *dvipa* in this connection. The word *dvipa* however was used in the Puranic and Epic cosmology in a much broader sense and not in the narrow sense of island. Then again there is little doubt about the identification of the river Vaksu (Oxus) which flowed through the country of the Sakas. Another river, the Sitasi may be the same as the Sita which is the name given to the Yarkand river in some texts. According to an old notion all the four rivers, Ganga, Sindhu Vaksu and Sita, issued from the same source, the Anavatapta lake and hence they could be known under the same name Ganga. Of the four people mentioned above the Maga reminds us of the Magians, the Maka of the old Persian inscriptions who according to Herodotous were a Median tribe. The Masakas may be very well identified with the Massagetae another Scythic people mentioned by Herodotus as a powerful and valiant people dwelling towards the east beyond the river Araxes over against the Issedonians. It may be noted that the Masakas are also described in the *Mahabhartas* as Ksatriyas. The Mandagas or Madagas might have been the same as the Mada or the Medes. The names of two of the *varsas* seem to correspond to things known from other sources. Kumudottara may be connected with the Komedoi of the Greek

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writers which extended from the Oxus to the river of Karategin. Mahakasa reminds us of Akhasa which the classical authors place in Scythia. The difficulty in identifying the names of mountains and rivers is due to the fact that the old names have often been replaced by new ones in this region.

That the Sakas were known in India before the establishment of the Greek rule is also indirectly suggested by the Jaina account as preserved in the *Kalakacaryakathanaka*. In order to punish the autocratic Gardabhillas of Ujjayini Kalaka sought for outside help. He could have gone to the Yavanas as well had they been settled in the upper Indus valley. But instead of doing that he went to the Sagakula *i. e.* the Saka race beyond the Indus. He induced some of the Saka chiefs to accompany him. They crossed the Indus in ships and went to Kathiawar. These chiefs first occupied the kingdom of Surastra and divided the country amongst themselves. Next they went up to Ujjayini, imprisoned the Gardabhilla king and set up one of their chiefs as ruler there. In course of time (*kalantarena*) Vikramaditya the king of Malava ousted the Saka dynasty and established his own era (58 B. C.). This dynasty also was destroyed by another Saka ruler after 135 years of the Vikrama era had elapsed (78 A. D.). Prof. Sten Konow has given full credence to this story. The route followed by the Saka chiefs indicates that they were coming from the other side of the Indus, probably from Seistan where Saka settlements had been established already in the Achaemenian period. But how long did they rule in Ujjayini before the rise of this legendary Vikramaditya in 58 B. C. is not known. The account vaguely says *kalantarena* ; after the lapse of sometime. Prof. Konow has referred to a late Jaina tradition which says that the Saka ruled at Ujjayini only for four years. Accordingly the Saka occupation of Ujjayini may be placed in 61-60 B. C. But the same account attributes a reign of only 13 years to the Gardabhillas. A little examination shows that it is only a distorted version of the Puranic accounts which however assign a reign of 183 years to the Sakas and 72 years to the Gardabhillas.

One of the oldest Saka rulers of India, Maues had extended his rule up to Taxila and Gandhara but we do not know from which direction. Most of the scholars now agree that it was from the Saka settlements in the lower Indus valley. But we should not forget that although some of his coins appear as imitations of the coins of Demetrios and Appollodotus the great majority of them bear Parthian influence in the regal formula—Basileus basileun Megaloy Mayoy. Orosius speaks of a Parthian invasion of India up to the Hydaspesby Mithradates I (171-138 B. C.). But this account has been given little credence for insufficient reasons.

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If we attach less importance to the story of the foundation of a powerful Greek kingdom extending from the Kabul valley to the Punjab after the invasion of Demetrios, and Menander—a kingdom which would be a sort of impenetrable barrier against a possible Parthian or Saka invasion from the side of Bactria-then we can explain things more clearly. The Sakas had undergone a great Parthian influence, the language they spoke was the Eastern Iranian dialect and they had rendered a great help in the foundation of the Arsacidan dynasty. So a possible Parthian invasion of the Punjab by Mithradates I, as Orosius tells us, might have brought the Sakas to the Punjab along the Kabul valley. The Greek opposition would be futile in that case. The Sakas of Kathiawar and Ujjayini represented an altogether different branch of the same people that had penetrated through the lower Indus valley at a much earlier period possibly with local help as the *Kalakacaryakathanaka* would have us believe.

What is then the importance of the Chinese account regarding the movement of the Saka people from the region of Ta-hia ? The annals of the former Han dynasty *Ts'ien Han shu* contain the following account which is now well known :

" Formerly when the Hiung-nu subjugated the Ta Yue-che the latter migrated to the West and gained the dominion over Ta-hia whereupon the king of Sai moved south and ruled over Ki-pin. The Sai were scattered and at times formed several kingdoms. North-west of Shu-lei, the Heu-suen, Suen-tu and consanguinous nations are all dsscendants of the ancient Sai."

The Chinese word Sai was pronounced in Han times *Sek* and hence it is certain that the word was used to render the name of the Sakas (Greek Saces). The Ta Yue-ches were defeated by the Hiungnus in 176 B. C. They ousted the Sakas from the Jaxartes region in about 160 B. C. The Sakas then migrated to Ta-hia (later Tokharestan). Pressed by the Wu-suns the Yue-ches moved to the south and occupied Ta-hia, It was then that the King of the Sakas was obliged to move further south and to go to Ki-pin. This must have taken place before 128 B. C.

The route to Kipin which the Saka king followed is clearly stated. He passed the *Hien-tu* or the hanging passage while moving towards Ki-pin from his original seat in Tahia. This route was recognised by Chavannes and Sir Aurel Stein as the Bolor route through the Yasin valley. This was the route which was usually followed by the ancient travellers from the region of Wakhan to the Indus valley and to Kashmir and Udyana.

If we follow this Chinese account literally we are driven to two conclusions ; the first, that the Sakas who were turned out of

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Ta-hia by the Yue-ches entered India by the Bolor route and the second, that Ki-pin which they conquered was Kashmir. The first conclusion has been discarded on the ground that the Bolor route was impracticable and the second has been rejected on the ground that Ki-pin could not be Kashmir but must be identified with Kabul-Kapisa. It has therefore been supposed that the Sakas went south from Ta-hia and as it was impossible for them to enter the Kabul valley owing to the presence of the Greeks in that region they went westwards to the direction of Herat and thence southwards to Seistan. From Seistan they entered India by the lower valley of the Indus in the first century B. C. and thence extended their influence northwards to the Kabul valley.

I think that the assumption is not necessary at all. The Sakas of Ta-hia seem to have represented an entirely different group and had no relation with the Sakas of Seistan. The Bolor route again was probably not so impraticable as has been supposed. At least it does not appear to have been impracticable in the end of the 4th century A. D. when the first Chinese traveller, Fa-hien and his associates came to India.

Then again the identification of Ki-pin with Kabul-Kapisa is an impossibility. Levi and Chavannes were the first to propose the identification of Ki-pin of the Chinese annals with Kashmir. They pointed out that in a number of Chinese translations of Buddhist texts the translators use Ki-pin for translating the name Kashmir up to 581 A.D. Since 581 A.D. the Buddhist translations as well as other Chinese documents use the name Ki-pin to denote Kapisa and not Kashmir. In recent years there has been a tendency to take these conclusions too lightly. Eor example Tarn in the book "The Greeks in Bactria and India" while identifying Ki-pin with Kophene (Kabul) refers to Levi only to point out that "the Chinese mixed up Kapisa and Kashmir in their Ki-pin." The Chinese writers made this confusion only after 581 A. D. as Ki-pin had by then become too old a name to convey a precise geographical import. But there is no ground to believe that the same confusion existed prior to 581 A.D. In the oldest Chinese translation of the Milindapanha which belongs to the 4th century A. D. Kasmira of the original text is twice rendered in Chinese as Ki-pin. The Chinese biography of Kumarajiva contains another corroborative evidence. Kumarajiva was taken from Kucha to Kashmir by his mother for proper education in the third quarter of the 4th century A. D. Kashmir was then a reputed centre of Sanskrit learning. While coming from the west they crossed the river Sin-t'eou (Sindhu) in order to go to Kashmir which is called Ki-pin. Of the description of Ki-pin which we get in the Chinese annals of the Han and Wei periods, the following points may be noted: (i) Ki-pin was to the south-east of Ta Yue-che i.e. Ta-hia.

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The kingdom of Nan-tu was at 9 days' journey to its north-east and Wu-yi-shan-li to the south-west. Nan-tu seems to be Dar-du *i.e.*, Darada. Wu-yi-shan-li which is a transcription of the name Alexandria has been identified with Kandahar. (ii) The valley of Ki-pin was surrounded by hill ranges on four sides. It was a flat country having a length of 800 li from east to west and a breadth of 300 li from the north to the south. These accounts seem to refer clearly to Kashmir and not to Kabul-Kapisa. The name Ki-pin itself seems to suggest the same. In Han pronounciation the first word *Ki* was definitely a *Ka* probably followed by some consonant which might have been a *s*. *Pin* was pronounced almost certainly in early time *pir* or *wir*. Hence Ki-pin clearly stood for *Ka* (*s*)-*pir* or *Ka* (*s*)-*wir*. This form of the name is also found in the early Greek records in which Kashmir is either Caspiri or Kaspeira. Ki-pin was thus a correct phonetic transcription of the old name of Kashmir. The Sakas of Ta-hia could not have come to Kashmir *via* Seistan and the lower Indus valley—they must have come there by the shorter route—*i. e.*, the Bolor route from Ta-hia.

The Tukhara Problem

The next problem is what I should like to call the Tukhara or Tokharian problem. In the dynastic lists of the Puranas it is said that the Tusara kings succeed the Yavanas in India. Their number is given as 14. According to the *Matsya* the world belonged to them for seven thousand years (*sapta-varsa sahasrani*) whereas according to the *Vayu* and *Brahmanda* they ruled for *pancha-varsa-satani* which may be interpreted either as five hundred years or as 105 years. Five hundred years would be too long a period for 14 kings and so it is just probable that they ruled only for 105 years. *Matsya* account may be accordingly corrected as *sapta-varsa-sataniha* and interpreted as 107 years. Some of the early Puranas give Tukhara as a variant of Tusara. It is certain that the cerebral was pronounced as *kha* when the name was adopted by the Puranic chroniclers. The *Ramayana* gives the name as Tukhara. The name is given in the same form by the *Mahabharata* as well as by two old Buddhist texts the *Saddharma-smrtyupasthana* and the *Mahamayuri*. The Chinese pilgrims tell us that the Tukhara Buddhists like the Ceylonese had a special monastery built for them at the Mahabodhi in the 7th century. In the same century Bana writes in his *Harsacarita* that Harsa used to get taxes from the mountainous and inaccessible region of the Tusaras (*atra paramesvarena tusarasailabhuvo durgayah grhitah karah*). This only shows that Tukhara as a distinct people and the land of the Tukharas (Tokharestan) as a distinct country in the mountainous regions beyond the frontiers of India were known to the Indians as late as the middle of the 7th century A. D.

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The classical authors mention the people under the same name. Thus Pliny says—"After the Attacores (the same as Ottorokorras) come the Phuni (Phruni). Thocari and Casiri (which seems to be a mistake for Caspiri), the last belonging to India." Ptolemy speaks of them as Thagouroi, Periegetes (2nd century) and all later writers up to the 4th century as Tochari. The Tokharians therefore according to these sources were a central Asian people living to the north of the Caspiri or Kashmir.

The Chinese sources of the Han period speak of a people named Ta-hia. They were living as early as the 2nd century B. C. in the Oxus region. The two Chinese words Ta and hia were pronounced in early times as D'a-g'a and it stood in all probability for the name Dogar or Tukhar. From the 5th century the name appears in the Chinese annals as T'u-ho-lo *T'u-xuo-la *i. e.* Tukhara. The king of that country sent ambassadors to China in 453, 457 and 465 A. D. At the time when Hiuan-tsang visited the country it had passed into the hands of the Western Turks. The pilgrim tells us that Tokharestan in that period was a very extensive kingdom. It reached the Tsong-ling (the Pamirs) on the east, Persia on the west, the Hindukush on the south and the Iron Pass or Derbend in the north. The Oxus flowed through this country. Henceforth contact with China remained almost uninterrupted for about two centuries. It is in this period that the Tibetan texts speak of the country of Tho-gar or Tho-dgar and of the Buddhist monks of that country who had gone to Tibet to participate in the work of translation of Buddhist texts. The Uigurs also speak of them as Toxri and of their country as Twxrstn *i. e.* Tokharestan.

We therefore see that from about the second century B. C. to about the middle of the 7th century A. D. all sources of information, Sanskrit, Greek, Latin and Chinese concur in recognising a people called Tukhara living in the country which came to be known in later times as Tokharestan. The original seat of the people was the Upper valley of the Oxus in the region of Badakshan. The Puranic sources would have us believe that kings of this Tukhara origin conquered India from the Greek and set up their own rule. Fourteen of their rulers reigned in India for a little over hundred years.

These are precisely the rulers who are designated Kushan by the modern historians of India. The Greek legends on the coins of these rulers give them the name Karsano Kosano etc. and the Kharosthi Inscriptions Kusana, Khusana and Kusana. The name of a king of this group of rulers called Maharaja Gusana may be conneeted with the same name. The occurrence of the initial letter as *g. k. kh.* and Greek *k* and *x* shows that it was probably a guttural fricative which could not be exactly rendered into an Indian form. Prof. Konow probably rightly considers that the word is an Iranian form with the

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genitive plural suffix of *ana* which is used as a rule with the Iranian ethnic names. In that case the base would be Gusa or Kusa. In fact one of the Kushan rulers, Kanishka is described as a member of the Kusa race in a Buddhist text ascribed to Asvaghosa who according to the Buddhist tradition was contemporaneous with that great ruler.

In order to explain the origin of this family name an evidence contained in the old Han annals has been referred to. According to it the Kusanas would be a branch of the Ta Yue-che nomads of whom a branch was called Kuei-shuang. The passage which contains this evidence occurs in the annals of the later Han dynasty *Heou Han shu*. Let us consider this passage again :

"Previously the Yue-ches were conquered by the Hiungnus. They then went away to Ta-hia and divided this kingdom into five hi-heous namely Hieu-mi, Shuang-mi, Kuei-shuang, Hi-tuen and Tu-mi. More than hundred years after this the hi-heou of Kuei-shuang named K'ieu-tsieu-k'io attacked and vanquished the four other he-heou, called himself king and the name of his kingdom became Kuei--shuang. He invaded Ngan-si, conquered Kao-fu, became victorious over P'u-ta and Ki-pin and possessed these kingdoms entirely. K'ieu-tsieu-k'io died at the age of more than 80 years. His son Yen-kao-chen became king in his place, in his turn he conquered T'ien-chu (India) and established there a chief to administer it. From this time the Yue-ches became extremely powerful. All the different countries call their king, the king of Kuei-shuang but the Han call them Ta Yue-che retaining their ancient title."

The names of the two kings K'ieu-tsieu-k'io and Yen-kao-chen have been corrected as K'ieu-tsio-kie and Yen-kao mi by no less a Chinese authority than Prof. Pelliot. When these corrections are admitted the names appear in their archaic pronunciation as K'ieu-dz'ieu-kiap and Iam-kau-mjie. These may be restored accurately as Kuju Kapa and Vema Kapi which are exactly the names of Kujula Kadaphises and Wema Kadphises. According to the latest interpretation of the passage it would appear that tbe five hi-heous belonged to the old kingdom of Ta-hia or the Tukharas. They temporarily became vassals of the Ta Yue-che but later on the hi-heou of Kuei-shuang supplanted the Yue-che rule and established his own. He was therefore a Tukhara but the Chinese writers followed the old custom and continued to call them Ta Yue-che. Thus Kujulo Kadphises who supplanted the Yue-che rule was primarily a Tukhara and secondarily a Kuei-shuang. So far as the first appellation is concerned the Indian sources amply confirm it. It was the Tukharas who followed the Greeks in India and they were not known by any other name. As Chinese evidence shows, Kuei-shuang was the name of the principality over which Kujula ruled as a hi-heou. This was the name given to the kingdom founded by him after the overthrow of the Yue-che rule

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simply because the nucleus of that kingdom was his own principality. Kuei-shuang was not an ethnic name and hence the Sanskrit sources do not mention it but retain the name Tukhara.

The connection between Kuei-shuang and Kusana is not very clear. Kuei-shuang, in old pronunciation Kjwei-siang, was something like Khusana or Kusana. Kadphises I uses both Kosano and Xosano on his coins. In the Panjtar inscription of the year 122 there is mention of a Maharaja Gusana and in the Taxila silver scroll inscription of the year 136 there is mention of Maharaja Rajatiraja Devaputra Khusana. The titles show that they were two different rulers but who they were, we do not know. There is again reference to the Gusanavamsa and its scion General Lala in the year 18 of Kaniska in the Manikiala Stone Inscription.

This uncertainty in the use of the name Kusana is more the reason why we should attach greater importance to the ethnic name Tukhara given not only in the Puranas but also in all other sources.

We have said that the Tukharas were not the Ta Yue-ches. They continued to be so called by the Chinese historians by mistake. The Ta Yue-ches had probably merged into the Tukhara people and adopted the local culture. This is the reason why they are only vaguely remembered by the Chinese historians. They are last mentioned only in connection with the Kidarites. A Chinese annal (Pei-she) tells us that king Ki-to-lo (Kidara) of Ta Yue-che, driven by the Juan-juan shifted to the town of Po-lo (B'ak-la : Balkh) and then conquered Northern India and the 4 kindgdoms to the north of Gandhara. The annal then says that Kidara had asked his son to occupy the city of Fu-leu sha (Purusapura) and that this is the reason why the kingdom of his son was called Siao Yue-che or Little Yue-che.

This brings us to another question, that of the Little Yue-ches. Some scholars are still inclined to hold that Kaniska belonged to the Little Yue-che and that he entered India from Chinese Turkestan by a different route. The late Baron de Stael Holstein was the first to put forward this theory. He was of opinion that the Kidarities were called Little Yue-che because the tradition of the Little Yue-che was being perpetuated at Peshawar by the successors of Kaniska. But we have seen that the Chinese text is quite clear on this point. The text first speaks of the Great Yue-che kingdom of Kidara then of the kingdom founded at Peshawar by his son. The latter was called Little Yue-che so that it could be distinguished from the kingdom of the father. The annalist had no knowledge of the fact that there was a king called Kaniska and that his capital was at Peshawar. And he was writing in the middle of the 5th century A.D.

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There is a slight earlier evidence on the Little Yue-ches. In a Buddhist text translated in 413 Kumarajiva translates the name Tukhara as Siao-Yue-che or Little Yue-che. Kumarajiva was a native of Central Asia and therefore the information supplied by him on this point should be seriously considered. Prof. Pelliot would like to explain it thus: "After the rupture of relation between China and the West in the last quarter of the 3rd century the Great Yue-ches had been forgotten in China. Only the Little Yue-ches were spoken of. As Kumarajiva was writing for the Chinese he used the terminology known to them in his times and rendered the name Tukhara as Little Yu-che because they were the only Yue-ches whose name was still understood. Otherwise it is inconceivable that a native of Central Asia would explain the name Tukhara as Little Yue-che who had never come to Ta-hia and had been driven by the Hiungnus to the South-East to Kan-su".

There is therefore no reason to think that Kaniska was a Little Yue-che. The Little Yue-ches had lost their identity amongst the barbarians of South-Eastern China just as the Great Yue-ches had lost theirs amongst the Tukharas. Besides these Little Yue-ches had no connection either with Ta-hia (Tukhara) or with Kuei-shuang (Kusana).

There is another point to which I should like to draw your attention in this connection. It is the confusion in late literature between two different names the Tukhara and the Turuska. In the *Garuda* and *Vamana Puranas* we have Turuska and Turaska in the place where we should have expected Tukhara or Tusara. Kalhana while speaking of the Shai rulers of Afganistan who claimed descent from Kaniska calls them Turuska. Hemachandra in his *Abhidhana-chintamani* probably refers to the same Shahi rulers as Turuska sakhi (959-Turuskastu sakhayah syuh). But we know definitely that the Turuskas were the Turks and different from the Tukharas. In a Chinese-Sanskrit lexicon of the 7th century A.D. which I edited a few years ago the Sanskrit name of the Tu-kiues (Turks) is given as Truskagana. Tokharestan had passed into the hands of the Western Turks in the 7th century and since then it was natural for all late Sanskrit writers to make an easy confusion between Tukhara and Turuska just as the earlier Chinese writers had done in calling the Tukharas Yue-che after the Yue-che conquest of the country.

The Murunda Problem

Although the Murundas are regarded as a separate dynasty of rulers who succeeded the Tukharas some scholars would consider them as identical with the Sakas. Sten Konow explains the word as a Saka word meaning "Lord", "Master" and takes it to be identical

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with the Chinese expression Sai-wang "the king of the Sakas" which the annalists use in connection with the Saka migration from Central Asia. Konow's reading and interpretation of the word muroda in the Zeda inscription is far from certain. Its connection with Murunda is still more improbable.

On the contrary the Puranas consider the Murundas as quite distinct from the Sakas. All of them agree in stating that the Murundas followed the Tukharas in India and that 13 of their kings ruled in India along with low caste men, all of Mleccha origin. The duration of their rule was according to some sources 400 years whereas according to other sources 200 years. Who were these Murundas ?

We know that the Murundas were in India before the foundation of the Gupta empire. The Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta tells us that the Murundas were amongst those who accepted the vassalage of the Guptas. The name next occurs in the Khoh copper plate inscription of the beginning of the sixth century. We are told there that the mother of the Maharaja Sarvanatha of Ucchakalpa was Murunda devi, also called Murandasvamini. She was so called probably because she was a princess of the Murunda dynasty.

The mention of the Murundas is found in earlier texts too. Prof. Levi was the first to deal with these texts. The Chinese annals have preserved the record of a political mission which was sent to India from the Hinduised kingdom of Fu-nan in Indo-China in the 3rd century A.D. We are told that in the period 222-277 A.D. the king of Fu-nan sent one of his relatives to India. The ambassador started from Fu-nan, went out of the mouth of the river Teu-kieu-li (Takkola ?) and following the great bend of the littoral right towards the north-west entered a big gulf which bordered on different kingdoms. At the end of a little more than a year he entered the mouth of the river of Tien-chu (India). He went up this river, covered a distance of about 7000 li and arrived at his destination. The king of India was taken by surprise to learn that there were such men on the distant shores of the ocean. He sent with him various presents to the king of Fu-nan and amongst them there were four horses of the Yue-che country. The Indian ambassadors who went to Fu-nan along with this mission were met by the Chinese ambassador at the Funanese court. Being questioned he told the latter that the title of the king of India was *Meu-lun* and that the capital where he resided was guarded by two consecutive circles of ramparts and that the ditches were constantly fed by the water carried by canals from the river. The description of the city and the palace as given by the Indian ambassadors reminds one of the spendour of Pataliputra.

The Chinese name, as Prof. Levi has shown, is a faithful transcription of the name Murunda. Ptolemy locates the Marundai in the same region, in Eastern India, on the right bank of the Ganges.

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The Jaina version of the *Simhasanadvatrimsika* tells us that a Marunda-raja was the king of Kanyakubja. The *Prabandhachintamani* of Merutunga tells us that the Marundaraja had his capital at Pataliputra. Another Jaina legend would have us believe that Padaliptasuri who was a contemporary of Nagarjuna had cured a Murundaraja from a serious disease and converted him to Jainism.

Although these evidences are few and insufficient they are conclusive enough to prove the existence of Murunda kings in India from the Kushan period up to the Gupta period. The geography of Ptolemy and the Chinese evidence discussed above definitely show that the Murundas were established in Eastern India in the 2nd and 3rd centuries A.D. and that they possessed at least two important cities, Kanyakubja and Pataliputra, the latter being probably their capital till the rise of the Guptas.

It is therefore permissible to suggest that the Murundas had come to India along with Tukharas and that they had set up a kingdom in Eastern India first as vassals of the Tukharas and then on their downfall as independent rulers. Their connection with the Yue-ches is suggested by the present of the four horses of the Yue-che country which they sent to Fu-nan. Then again when Hemachandra in his *Abhidhanachintamani* connects them with Lampaka (Lamghan) it does not mean that they were known in his times. He got this information from some older sources which knew that the Murundas had come by way of Lamghan. That was not the way followed by the Sakas in course of their invasion of India. The Sakas again had gone up to Eastern India and none of the old sources connect the Sakas with Pataliputra. The Murundas therefore in all probability were a Tukhara tribe like the Kushans and partially filled up the gap in the political history of India from the downfall of the Imperial Kushans to the rise of the Guptas. This fact was known to the Puranic chroniclers.

It seems we can trace the Murundas in Central Asia alongside the Tukharas. The classsical writers such as Strabo, Pliny and Periegetes speak of a people called Phrynoi who lived near the Tochari. If we are to believe the evidence of Pliny the Phrynoi or Phruni lived to the south of the mountain Attacoris, the Tochari lived to the south of the Phrynoi and the Casiri *i.e.*, Caspiri or Kashmir to the south of the Tochari. The name of the Phrynoi could be very well rendered in Sanskrit as Mrunda or Murunda. The Puranic chroniclers had probably some hesitation in rendering the name as such. Thus the *Vayu-purana* which is in many respects one of the most trustworthy texts renders the name not exactly as Murunda or Muranda but as Purunda or Puranda. The cerebralisation of the original dental final does not really make any difficulty as it has other examples too.

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The Huna Problem

The Huna question, I believe, still remains a problem in Indian history. The reason is this. Kalidasa in his *Raghuvamsa* in connection with the *digvijaya* of Raghu speaks of the Hunas as living on the banks of the Vaksu or the Oxus. Prof. K. C. Chattopadhyaya in a very learned monograph on Kalidasa has tried to establish the priority of Kalidasa on Asvaghosa in the field of artificial poetry. He is of opinion that Kalidasa lived in the first century B. C. If we accept this theory we have to admit that the Hunas were known in India already before the Christian era. On the contrary we have so long maintained that the Hunas were not known in India before the fifth century. They appeared for the first time on the Indian soil in the time of Skandagupta (455-467 A. D.) under the distinctive name Huna. They were at that time driven away. They appeared again towards the end of the same century and this time succeeded in establishing an independent Huna kingdom in the Punjab. They ruled up to the second quarter of the sixth century as paramount rulers when they received a crushing defeat in the hands of Yasodharman of Malwa.

These Hunas who appeared in India in the fifth century A. D. were the Hepthalite Huns or the White Huns. Hepthal, Chinese Ye-t'a, was the anonymous hero of the race who in 484 A. D. defeated and killed Peroz, the king of Persia. In Iran the principal centres of these Huns were Badakshan and Bamiyan. It was in this region that Song-yun met them in the beginning of the sixth century. It was from this region that they penetrated into India. It has been so long maintained that they were the only Huns known in India.

But what about the old Hiung-nus of the Chinese annals ? After they had driven the Yue-ches away from the eastern part of Chinese Turkestan in the second century B. C. they continued to play an important political role in the history of Central Asia for long centuries. Such a powerful people must have been known to the Greek, Latin and Sanskrit writers long before the appearance of the Hepthalites. But under what name were they known ?

The Indian literature is not silent on the Hunas. The *Mahabharata* speaks of the Hunas and generally in association with the Parasikas (*hunah parasikah saha*). Amongst the Puranas the *Brahmanda* and the *Visnu* only mention them. But none of these texts can be definitely placed before the 5th century A. D. The *Ramayana* which bears the stamp of a more definite age does not mention the Hunas. The oldest translation of the *Mahamayuri* which belongs to the 5th century does not either speak of the Hunas. Both these sources however know the Sakas, Yavanas and Palhavas.

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The classical writers do not speak of the Hunnus before the sixth century. The earlier writers mention another people which may be identified with them. Thus Orosius who wrote in the beginning of the fifth century or towards the end of the 4th says: "Between the sources of the Ganges and those of the river Ottorogorras situated to the north in the region of the Paropanisades mountains, the Taurus mountain extends. The Caucasus mountain extends between the sources of the Ottorogorras and the town of Ottorogorras through the country of the Chuni, Scythes and Gandarides." The variants given in the different manuscripts for Chuni are Chunos, Funos, Hunnos, Hunnus.

The Hiung-nu of the Chinese annals looks like the Hunnus of the Latin writers of the sixth century and like the Huna of the Sanskrit literature and inscriptions mentioned from the end of the fifth century onwards. We should however bear in mind that Hinug-nu is the pronunciation of about the same period. The earlier pronunciation of the Chinese name was xi^{w} ong-nuo. It commenced with a guttural fricative which disappeared in later pronunciation. This guttural fricative was transcribed by the earlier classical writers as *Khu*. Towards the end of the fifth and the beginning of the sixth it had already changed into *Hu*. It is to this stage that the Latin Hunnus and Sanskrit Huna belong.

It is thus clear that although the Hiung-nu hordes might have been known in India under a different name, they could not be mentioned as Huna before the fifth and sixth centuries A. D. In this connection I would propose to make another correction of a common error. A Roman historian of the 4th century tells us that in *circa* 358-360 A.D. the king of the Chionitae named Grumbates helped king Shapur II of Persia against the Romans in the siege of Amida. Cunningham suggested that the Chionitae were either the Kushans or the Tokharoi. But we have just seen they were probably the same as the Chuni or Hiung-nus. It is possible that they were in this period quite mixed up with the Tokharoi but they cannot be on any account called Kushan.

The Puranic accounts tell us that the Murunda kings were followed in India by the Huna rulers. Although some texts give the variant Mauna, Huna seems to be the correct reading. They had eleven rulers who reigned for three hundred years. From the inscriptions however we know only of two Huna rulers namely Toramana and Mihirakula. They reigned from about 490 A. D. to 540 A. D. Yasodharman's victory only put an end to the growth of the Hunas as an imperial power in India. The Huna rule must have continued in the Punjab for several centuries that followed and the Puranic chroniclers are probably right in attributing to them a reign of about 300 years. It was the disintegration of the Huna kingdom

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in the Punjab that led to the rise of different ruling clans in Northern India.

The problem of the Hunas is interconnected with the problem of the rise of some of the early medieval dynasties in Northern India and although these problems fall outside the scope of our section I shall take the liberty of making some suggestions regarding them here. I will not enter into the origin of the Rajput clans who are now regarded by most of the scholars as of Scythic or Huna origin. My remarks will be confined only to the consideration of certain facts which have not been so far properly noted. The first of this concerns the origin of the Gurjaras. They are looked upon as a Huna race although their name has not been as yet traced to any Central Asian source. In order to do this we have probably to go to the old race movements in that region. The Han annals speak of three different people, the Hiung-nu, the Wu-sun and the Yue-che. When the Hiung-nus turned out the Yue-ches from their original home the latter were compelled to migrate first to the country of the Wu-sun which was in the region of the Ili river. The Wu-sun subsequently drove the Yue-ches out of their country with the help of the Hiung-nus. We are told in this connection that the minor king of the Wu-sun was brought up amongst the Hiung-nus. It is just possible that the Wu-sun had Hun affinities. The old pronunciation of the name 'Uo-suen in all likelihood commenced with a consonant which was later on dropped and that consonant was most probably a guttural. In the 4th century the name was something like *Gusur* which gave rise to the name Gujar. The Wu-sun or the Gujars must have moved to India along with the Huns in the fifth century A. D. and on the downfall of the Hun kingdom set up their own rule.

The Turks were also of Hun origin. The ancestors of the Turks were a group of Hiung-nu families bearing the clan name Assena. The word Turk in old Turkish meant "mighty." The Chinese name Tu-kiue was based on a Mongol plural Turk-kut. The Sanskrit name Turuska was established through such intermediate forms as Turuk, Turukkhu. The Turkish power rose in the 6th century and in the 7th century, shortly after 638 A. D., the chief of the Turks drove back the Persians to the West and conquered all the old Hepthalite dominions up to the frontiers of Kabul. The Turks had taken Balkh and Herat as early as the year 589 and in 599 we hear that they were assisting their vassals the Kushans and the Hepthalites against the Armenians and the Persians.

The Turks had a hierarchical organisation beginning with the princes of the blood up to the officer of high ranks. The first was called *teghin* who were princes of the blood. The officers of the highest official rank were called Kuluchur. It was suggested long ago that the Sanskrit word Thakura was an adaptation of the Turkish

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word *teghin*. It is just possible that the dynastic name Kalachuri is also of Turkish origin. The founders of the dynasty were at first the Kuluchur or the highest Turkish officials. They had set up an independent kingdom when the central power had weakened. It is to be noted in this connection that the Kalachuris claimed descent from Sahasrabahu Arjuna. Inspite of the fact that the latter is celebrated in Indian mythology he reminds us of Assena from whom the innumerable Turkish hordes claimed their descent. If we thus assume that the Turks had come to India along with the Huns or shortly after them we can explain a significant reference to them in a Haihaya Inscription. We are told in this inscription that Kokkalla "plundered the treasuries of Karnata Vanga, Gurjara, Konkana and Sakambhari kings and also those born of the Turuska and Raghu families." The Gurjara-Pratiharas claimed descent from the Raghu family. But who were those born of the Turuskas? I believe that they were the Kalachuris and such other Turkish tribes that had followed the Huns in India.

* * *

I have now come to the end of my address. If I have not quite solved the problems, I hope, I have succeeded in impressing on you that the problems exist. The migration of the Central Asian nomads to India is an essential corollary to the Indo-Iranian conquest which brought the Vedic civilisation to this country. The Central Asian nomads represented other ramifications of the same civilisation that spread from eastern Iran right up to the frontiers of China through mountain gorges and desert sands. Hence their contribution to the development of Indian civilisation increased its complexity by introducing traits that were analogous but distinct in forms. This phenomenon repeated itself almost in every age throughout the period with which we are just now concerned. I therefore believe that not only the political history but also the history of the art, society and religion of the entire period has to be studied against this wider background. Only then we will be in a position to follow step by step the evolution of our great civilisation.

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A NOTE ON THE DRAVIDIANS

BY

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We have today a large number of allied languages scattered over wide areas of the vast sub-continent of India which are usually designated by the name *Dravidian*. Of the total population of India in 1931 more than 71 millions spoke as their mother-tongue some language of this family or some of its intermediate forms[1]. It may be assumed that all these languages in some unrecorded time in the past branched off from one common mother. This latter language can be conveniently designated proto-Dravidian. It is often accepted that this proto-Dravidian was spoken by a distinct ethnic group who professed a distinctive culture of their own.

Now the problem arises whether we have any means of finding out the physical characteristics of the people who spoke this proto-Dravidian. There is at present a wide divergence in the physical features of some of the speakers of the Dravidian languages. The Todas of the Nilgiris are "well proportioned and stalwart, with straight nose, regular features and perfect teeth"[2] They have a rich brown colour, lighter than most of the Dravidian speaking peoples of South India and have dolichocephalic head (73·3) and a tall stature[3]. The Pariyans of the area extending from North Arcot to the Tinnevelly districts have mesorrhine (77·9) noses while the Paniyans of Malabar have platyrrhine (95 1) noses. Both these tribes are dark brown in complexion; but while the Pariyans have a mesocephalic head (80.) the Paniyans are distinctly dolicocephalic (73 to 75). The Brahuis of Baluchistan who speak a Dravidian type of language have a fair complexion, a tall stature, broad head (81·5) and a long prominent nose (70·9). From these facts it is clear that the Dravidian speaking people do not at present belong to any uniform physical type. In other words it is difficult to find out which of these different ethnic elements represent the original ethnic group who were the creator of the original Dravidian language and culture. If the Brahui type is accepted to have been altered by the admixture of Iranian blood there is no guarantee that the Dravidian speaking tribes of South India were not also altered by contact with other peoples. Again the examples of the Oraons of Chota Nagpur and the Bhils of the Udaipur State show that even animistic and primitive peoples of India have somtimes adopted the language and culture of foreign groups. So it would be risky to accept any particular ethnic group as the typical representative of the original speakers of Dravidian speech.

1. Hutton, *Census of India*, 1931, Vol. I, part I, p. 351.
2. Keane, *Man : Past and Present*, Cambridge, 1920, Revised and largely re-written by Quiggin and Haddon, p. 549.
3. Hoddon, The Races of Man, p. 110.

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The next question which I wish to discuss is the evidence on which the assumption is made that the original speakers of proto-Dravidian belonged to a homogenous ethnic group. I have already indicated elsewhere that the Vedic word *dasa* was probably used in general to denote the pre-Aryan tribes who opposed the Vedic Aryans in India. In that case, the term may not have had in the Vedic period any definite ethnic sense to designate a compact racial group. The Indus Valley Civilization is regarded by some as Dravidian. The skeletal remains so far discovered at Mohenjo-daro, Harappa and other sites however seem to support the conclusion that the authors of this civilization were a mixed one. Analysis of some of the cultural elements of this culture also support this conclusion. Thus it is reasonable to assume on present evidence that there is no definite proof to support the conclusion that the original speakers of proto-Dravidian belonged to the same physical type even as early as the 2nd or the 3rd millenium B. C. The assumption of Dr. Hall that the Sumerians of the Euphrates Valley in the 4th millenium B. C. show a resemblance to the Dravidian ethnic type of India is based on the view that there is now in India a definite ethnic group with distinctive physical features[1] which can be designated "Dravidian". We have seen that the attempt to find out a homogenous ethnic type from the various speakers of Dravidian speech is impossible. All that Dr. Hall can say is that certain Sumerian portrait statues and reliefs show decided similarity to certain Indian ethnic types. It is possible that some of these groups now speak Dravidian. But the farther assumption that these Indians represent the physical type of the speakers of proto-Dravidian is clearly unwarranted.

Another question which interests us here is the question of the original home of the speakers of proto-Dravidian. Certain scholars point out that South India had cultural contacts with the Nile and the Euphrates Valleys from prehistoric times. They have drawn our attention to certain facts in the Tami Sangam literature, which is generally referred to the first few centuries of the Christian era which in their opinion mention the submergence of a vast tract of land south of Cape Comorin in the waters of the Indian Ocean. This submerged land is identified by these scholars with the so called "lost continent of Lemuria" which according to certain geologists once connected South India with Africa, Malay Archipelago and Australia[2]. Some of these scholars further assume that Man himself was evolved in this zone and that the "Dravidian ethnic type" was indigenous to this area. This ethnic group again, in the opinion of some of these scholars sent a branch into the Euphrates Valley to become the progenitors of the ancient Babylonians. I have already referred to Dr. Hall's theory that the forefathers of the Sumerians came from India and also that these progenitors of the ancient Babylonians were Dravidians. We have seen that his assumption of a Dravidian physical type in India is based on

1. Hall, *The Ancient History of the Near East, p. 173.*
2. *Cultural Heritage of India*, Vol. III, p. 676.

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very uncertain data. The view summarised above on the indigenous origin of the speakers of proto-Dravidian has also at present no definite evidence to support it. It is a mere assumption unsupported by any reliable data. Some other scholars suggest that the original speakers of Dravidian came from outside India. They have drawn our attention to the historic fact that foreigners have throughout the ages come into India along the various frontier gateways specially those located in the north-west. These scholars also draw our attention to the fact that the Dravidian speaking Brahui reside not so very far from the Bolan pass—one of the great highway utilized by many foreign invaders of India. Some of these scholars who believe in a foreign home of the original Dravidian speaking races of India suggest that they possibly came into the Indus Valley from the "fertile crescent" of the lands of the Eastern Mediterranean along the coastal Mukran route[1]. The land bridge connecting north-western India with Iran, they point out was much more favourable to the growth of intimate communications between these two regions. Though these views are supported by some evidence of a general character we shall not be wrong if we agree with Dr. Haddon that at present there is no definite "evidence to suggest when this immigration took place, nor do we know whether it arrived by land or by sea. Neither do we know whether the immigrant were a relatively pure or a mixed people"[2]. Thus the position taken up by me in the *Dynastic History of Northern India* in 1931[3] that we have as yet no means of discovering the physical features of the speakers of proto-Dravidian remains substantially unaltered today.

HARSA AND BHASKARAVARMAN

BY

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[Summary.—Formerly it was usually believed that Bhaskaravarman (c. 600-50) king of Kamarupa was a feudatory of Harsa (606-47) emperor of Kanauj. and that Kamarupa practically formed a part of Harsa's empire. Some recent writers on the subject are however inclined to believe that Bhaskaravarman was equal in political status with his mighty ally Harsa and that his kingdom was free from Harsa's influence[4]. Both the above theories appear to be unconvincing. Bhaskaravarman was no doubt an ally of equal standing during the earlier years of Harsa's reign; but towards the close of the latter's rule *i. e.*, about the year 643 A.D., the position of the king of Kamarupa was apparently no better than that of a subordinate ally. It is however not meant that Kamarupa formed an integral part of Harsa's empire. To quote modern

1. *Census Reports*, 1931, Vol. I, part 1, p. 453.
2. *The Races of Man*, p. ?
3. Vol. I, *Introduction*, p. ?
4. Cf. R. S. Tripathi, *History of Kanauj*, p. 104ff.

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illustrations, the ruler of Tippera in Bengal is a feudatory of the British government ; but the ruler of Nepal is a subordinate ally.]

An adhernt of the older theory affirms that "the king of distant Kamarupa (Assam) offered him (Harsa) allegiance of his own accord and was anointed king by his liege lord"[1]. The first part of the theory goes completely against evidence. It appears that Sasanka, king of Gauda, had a natural *ari* in his western neighbour the Maukhari king and another (called *parsnigraha* in the style of the *rajackra* or *mitramitracakra*) in his eastern neighbour the king of Kamarupa[2]. The Maukhari and Kamarupa kings were *arimitras*, and therefore natural friends, to each other and had probably combined their strength against the intervening empire of Gauda. When Harsa stepped into the shoes of the Maukharis Bhaskaravarman naturally greeted him as a friend. Harsa was not so powerful about the very beginning of his career as to inspire submission on the part of the king of Kamarupa.

The second part of the theory is based on a wrong identification. The passage *atra deven-abhisiktah kumarah* of the *Harsacarita*[3] does not refer to Kumararaja *alias* Bhaskaravarman, as he was already a crowned king apparently from before the accession of Harsa. It seems probable that Kumara, mentioned in the *Harsacarita*, is no other than the Malava price Kumargupta who, according to the same work[4], had been living together with his brother Madhavagupta at the court of Thaneswar. like the Stuart Pretenders of England at the court of France[5]. After the death of Mahasenagupta the powerful king of Malava, very probably East Malwa, the throne was usurped by one Devagupta apparently belonging to the same dynasty, and Kumaragupta and Madhavagupta, sons of Mahasenagupta, fled to the court of Prabhakaravardhana, king of Thaneswar, whose mother Mahasenagupta may have possibly been a sister of Mahasenagupta. Devagupta, the new king of Malava, allied himself with Sasanka of Gauda. The first fruit of this alliance was the defeat and death of Grahavarman, the Maukhari king of parts of Bihar and U. P. Rajyavardhana, successor of Prabhakaravardhana and an ally of the Maukhari king, soon fell upon the Malava army which was annihilated (c. 606 A. D.). But there is no reason to believe that this defeat put an end to Devagupta's power[6]. A new enemy however was just th en standing at the gate of Malwa. This was the Kalacuris who, from the ir later claim to have been descended from the Haihaya king Arjuna, son of Kartavirya[7], appear to have originally held sway over the Mahismati region on the Narmada. The Aulikaras and other powers of West Malwa were subdued and in 595 A.D. Kalacuri Sankaragana issued a charter

1. R. K. Mookerjee, *Harsa*, p. 44 ; cf. Tripathi, *loc. cit.*
2. Cf. Kulluka's commentary on the *Manusamhita*, VII, verse 156.
3. Ed. K. P. Parab, p. 91.
4. Ibid. pp. 79,138ff, etc.
5. Thatcher and Schwill, *Modern Europe*, p. 433ff.
6. *Harsacarita*, p. 227. The word *sadhana* meaning "wealth, booty" used in this connection is usually but wrongly translated "force, army." See Tripathi, *op. cit.*, p. 72.
7. H. C. Ray, *Dynastic History of Northern India*, II, pp. 743, 749, 752.

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from Ujjayini[1]. In 608 A.D., Buddharaja, son of Sankaragana, issued a charter from Vidisa, the old capital of East Malwa[2]. The northward push of the Kalaccuris may be due to the pressure of the Chalukyas of Badami[3]. But we do not know if the Kalaccuris had any hand in the usurpation of the East Malwa throne by Devagupta. It is not impossible that Devagupta was overpowered by Harsa in Malwa. About the fourth decade of the seventh century, Harsa advanced against Valabhi in Kathiawar.[4] As he appears to have passed through the Malwa region, it is probably that the Kalaccuris had to be first subdued. But Harsa possibly did not establish Kumaragupta or Madhavagupta in Malwa. From the later supremacy of Adityasena, son of Madhavagupta, over Magadha, it seems that Kumaragupta and Madhavagupta may have been placed in that region. They probably rose to prominence by serving Harsa in some of his many compaigns and began to rule as Harsa's viceroys.

There is thus no reason to doubt that Bhaskaravarman's status was equal to that of Harsa during the earlier years of the latter's reign. About the close of Harsa's rule however the position seems to have been substantially changed. This is suggested by several facts.

There is an interesting story in the Life of Hiuen Tsiang[5]. Harsa led an expedition about 643 A. D. against Kongoda (East Ganjam) apparently through Gauda and Orissa, formerly territories of Sasanka who appears to have been dead by that time. While returning from that campaign, Harsa encamped at Kajangala (Rajmahal) and learnt that the Chinese pilgrim Huen Tsang was then residing at the court of Bhaskaravarman of Kamarupa. It is said that "he bade Kumararaja (Bhaskaravarman) to send the priest of China to him at once". Bhaskaravarman told the messenger of Harsa, "He can take my head, but he cannot take the Master of the Law yet". Harsa was greatly enraged and sent another messenger with the words, "Send the head that I may have it immediately by my messenger who is to bring it here". Bhaskaravarman, deeply alarmed, immediately started with Huen Tsang and with a force of 20,000 elephants and 30,000 ships and passed up the Ganges to meet Harsa at Kajangala. Just after reaching Rajmahal. Bhaskaravarman was going at once "to explain matters" to Harsa who however "did not repeat his former threatening words". Now, even if we do not accept the details of this story as authentic, the central fact cannot possibly be overlooked that the king of Kamarupa personally escorted the Chinese pilgrim to his friend the long distance from Assam to

1. Bhandarkar, *List*, No. 1206 (Abhona grant of 347).
2. *Ibid*, No. 1207 (Vadner grant of 360).
3. *Ep. Ibid.*, VI, p. 4ff (Aihole inscription, 1.6); cf. Mahakuta and Nerur inscriptions Fleet, Boml. Gaz, I. ii, p. 347.
4. *Ibid. Ant.*, XIII, p. 77ff (Nausari grant of Gurjjara Jayabhata III).
5. Beal, *op. cit.*, p. 173. The fact that Harsa traversed Gauda and Oriss and Bhaskaravarman the whole courses of the Ganges lying in Bengal without reference to any adversary shows that north and east Bengal practically lay prostrate at the feet of the kings of Kanauj and Kamarupa about 643.

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Rajmahal. No ally of equal political status is expected to have escorted the priest in person ; he would have at most sent him protected by an army under a high official or a prince of the royal blood.

The same work, while describing a meeting between Bhaskaravarman and Harsa, says very significantly, "As Siladityaraja (Harsa) marched he was always accompanied by several hundred persons with golden drums, who beat one stroke for every step taken ; they called them the 'music-pace-drums.' Siladityaraja alone used the method—other kings were not permitted to adopt it".[1] The fact that Bhaskarvarman was apparently not allowed the music-pace-drums, as suggested by the above story, goes no doubt to show that, as an ally, his position at the time was inferior to that of Harsa.

Bhaskaravarman's subordinate position is further indicated by his stay at Harsa's court about 643 A. D. for a considerable length of time in the company of the faudatory "kings of the eighteen countries of the Five Indies" in connection with the unimportant celebrations known as the assembly of Kanauj and the quinquennial assembly of Prayaga.[2] It is most unlikely that an ally of equal standing would attend in person his friend's court on a business of this kind and live there for months as did Dhruvabhata of Valabhi and Bhaskaravarman of Kamarupa at Harsa's court. If the status of the allies was equal to that of Harsa, they would have naturally responded to their friend's invitation to those gatherings by sending proxies such as a minister or a prince of the royal blood. Dhruvabhata himself is known to have held such gatherings in his realm[3] and there is no reason to believe that his father-in-law Harsa ever attended any of them. It has however been observed that the attendance of Dhruvabhata and Bhaskaravarman at Harsa's court does not indicate political subordination, and the only analogous instance to which we are referred is the "installation ceremony of Chakrayudha, which was attended by nine independent powers".[4] The *bhupas* referred to in the Khalimpur inscription are however described as *vyalola-mauli-pranati-parinata* and were apparently not of an independent rank. The word *bhupa* may here indicate a feudatory prince who stood proxy for the king of his country. But there is actually a considerable amount of the conventional element in the verse of the Khalimpur grant.

The above are the evidences that tend to show that Bhāskaravarman of Kāmarūpa was a subordinate ally of Harsa about the year 643 A. D. Of course there may still be difference of opinion as regards their value as proofs. It must however be remembered that there is hardly any proof at all for the other theory that Bhaskaravarman was equal in status to Harsa even about 643 A. D.

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1. *Loc. cit.*
2. Cf. Tripathi, *op. cit.*, pp. 151-61.
3. *Ibid*, p. 112.
4. *Ibid*, p. 105, n. 4.

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THE ASURA-VIVAH AND THE ARSA-VIVAHA.

BY

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I

1. All the forms of marriage we find in the Ancient Indian sources are represented there in a parallel manner that means that in every law-source we meet simultaneously with all the above mentioned forms of marriage. On considering and interpreting the forms of marriage from this point of view a statement could be made that all the authors consider all the forms of marriage as being in contemporary use at the validity of the individual Smrtis.

After having acquainted oneself with the problem in question, this stand-point seem to be wrong. I dare say that the forms of marriage had experienced the same evolution in Ancient India as they generally developed everywhere and some the rules contained in the Smrtis were only archaic ones.

On the basis of sociology of law based on examples found among the peoples of antiquity and the peoples of a lower stage of civilisation and other peoples we can establish that the first form of marriage was marriage by capture represented in India by Raksasa and Paisaca-vivaha, marriage by purchase (or by consideration), represented in India by Asura-vivaha, marriage by shame-purchase, represented in India by Arsa-vivaha, marriage based on choise of a husband by the girl's father independently of her consent and marriage based on the free consent of the bride and the bridegroom.

The task of this short paper will be proved on the basis of legal rules found in the Dharmasastras, that in Ancient India marriage by purchase (Asura-vivaha) was thrust out by marriage by sham-purchase (Arsa-vivaha).

II

2. From the most important law-sources the Asura-vivaha and the Arsa-vivaha are known in Mn., Y., Vi., Vas., Ap., B., G., N., Sankh Dev., (Paith.), K., Asv, Grh, (Kam.), (Panc.),

3. The Asura-vivaha, (called also Manusa) is difinied clearly, very well and in few words only in Vi/XXIV-24/. We read that "if the damsel is sold to the bridegroom" it is called an Asura-marriage. In others words this form of marriage is based upon the purchase of the maiden by the suitor.

In this form of marriage the maiden/bride / Mn. III-31, Vas. I-35, B. I-II, 20, 7, Sankh, IV-5, Asv. I, 6, 6, Vi. XXIV-24, Nar. XII-42, K. III-2, Paith, (Vir. Sams. 853 MBh. XIII-44 and I-102, Panc. by Schmidt 527/can be married or wedded/Mn. III-31, Ap. II-5. 12, 6, Vas. I-35, B. I-11,20, 7, Asv. 1-6, 6, Paith, in Vir. Sams 858, MBh. XIII-44,

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Asv. I-6, 6/when the bridegroom/suitor/ /Ap. Ii-5, 12, 1, Asv. I-6, 6 etc./ gives to her father or her kinsman/Ap. II-6, 13, 12, N. XII-42, B. I-11, 20, 7. Mn. III-31, MBh. XIII-44/or as says very well G./IV-11/to those who have authority over a girl money or other valuable goods/Mn. III-31, Ap. II-5, 12, 1, G. IV-11, Vas. I-35, B. I-11, 20, 7, Sankh IV-5, Vis. XXIV-24, N. XII-42, K. III-2, Y. I-61, MBh. XIII-44, I-102, Panc. by Schmidt 527. Paith (Vir. Sams. 858). On another place K. says that the father and the mother receive money (sulka) (K. III-2). We know that the woman can never be independent; she had to be protected by her father in her infancy, by her husband during her youth, by her son during her seniority/Mn. IX-3, V-148, MBh. XIII-46, 14, Y-I, 85, 86, B. II-3, 45, Vas. V-3, Vi. XXV-13, Apar 109 and others. For that reason it has to be accepted that the best expression for the designation of persons to whom the bridegroom or suitor gives money for the maiden is "these who have authority over the maiden".

4. The most difficult question regarding this form of marriage is the question how much the suitor has to pay for the maiden. We do not find a clear answer. We find in BMh./I-102/the statement that a fixed amount has to be paid for the maiden whereas we find in Ap/II-5, 12, 1/that the suitor has to pay according to his ability, similarly in Mn./III-31/there we read that the suitor has to pay as much wealth as he can afford. We see there for the first time that the price for the maiden has to be high and that the bridegroom has to make an effort for paying the price for the maiden. A similar definition for the amount paid for the maiden is to be found in K./III-2/where we read that plenty of wealth has to be received (scillicet by the persons who have authority over the maiden). Similarly in Y./I-64/. This Dharmasastra designs this form of marriage as marriage in which money is largely given/see Mit. ad I-61. Bal. gives a philological explanation for the word (अदानात्) which can be found in the text, According to him this word means "the giving (दान) of a large quantity (आ)" also in MBh (XIII-44) and Panc (by Schmidt 527) we read that the cost paid for the maiden must be high.

The precise amount which has to be paid for the bride, can be found in Vas. (XXIX-21) where we read "if a gift of one thousand oxen fit to draw a carriage (has been bestowed) according to the rule on a perfectly worthy man, that is equal to giving a maiden," It is seen from this passage that the price of a maiden amounts to 1000 oxen and a carriage. But in the same Dharamasutra in another place we find that 100 cows besides a carriage should be given (Vas. I-36). That is a passage from the Vedas, and we find the same passage (only enlarged) in Ap. (II-16, 13, 12). Surely neither of the passages is absolutely binding but these passages give an idea of the scale of the amount paid for the maiden; this amount was of course, very high in those times.

Vas. (I-35) mentions that the suitor makes a bargain with the father. (See B. II-1, 2,27).

5. It has to be pointed out that according to Mn. (III-31) and Panc. (in Schmidt 527) the bridegroom has to give wealth for his future

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wife not only to her kinsmen *i. e.* to "those who have authority over the maiden" but also "according to his own will to the bride herself" He has to give according to Panc. (in Schmidt 527) vestments, jewels, and gold (similarly Asv. XVI-1, 6).

6. As the girl is an article of merchandise, all her defects have to be mentioned by the person who gives her in marriage (Mn, VIII-205, Y. I-66, Nar. in Apararka p. 95). If this person gives way the girl without mentioning the defects he should be punished with the highest amercement (Y. I-66, Nar. in Apararka p. 95) and if he mentions her defects he will be free of punishment (Mn. VIII-205). These defects are : madness (Mn. VIII-205), chronic and loathsome disease (Nar. in Apararka p. 95), like elephantiasis (Mn. VIII-205) and shortness of limbs (Nar. in Apararka p. 95), loss of virginity (M. VIII-205, Nar. in Apararka p. 95) or immodesty or attachment to another man (Nar. in Apararka p. 95). It is doubtless that these "defects" are mentioned in the sources as example only. Although these relative rules do not mention that they have to be applied to Asura-vivaha, it must be, however, admitted that these rules have also to be applied to this form of marriage because these rules are placed amongst the rules, which relate to the sale of a merchandise (Mn.).

The preceding sentence in Mn. related to the sale of another marchandise other than to that which was chosen. We read there that if after one girl has been shown another be given to the bridegroom, he may marry them both for the same price (Mn. VIII-204). In other words if he who concluded an agreement concerning the sale of the maiden gives another girl than the one promised he has to give the promised girl as well as an amercement. This rule found only in Mn, is very strange on account of the standpoint represented in Mn. but this Dharmsastra in other places does not allow the form of marriage by purchase to be practised. Therefore, it has to be admitted that this rule, like other rules in Mn. concerning the Asuravivaha is archaic.

Another very interesting law-case is disussed in Mn. *i. e.* what happens if the buyer dies after having paid the price but before the girl was given by her father or guardian. (Some commentators like Kull. (to Mn. IX-97) add "before the cosummation of the marriage." According to Mn. if after the nuptial fee has been paid for a maiden the giver of the fee dies, she shall be given in marriage to his brother, in case she consents (Mn. IX-97). This rule is a consequence of the fundamental notion which is to be found in Mn. IX-69. According to this rule if the betrothed of a maiden dies afther she has been promised to him she shall be given in marriage to his brother (see Vas. XVII-72, Katy. in Vir Sams p. 739).

The difference between these two rules is not inconsiderable because in the case of a marriage by purchase in such a case the girl must give her consent to the marriage to the brother of the buyer.

From the interpretation of these two rules (Mn. IX-97 and IX-69) we can see in the Manava-Dharmasastra, perhaps, the first stage of the restriction of the admissibility for this form of marriage, more so

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as according to other law-sources in the case of Asura-vivaha the girl will belong to the father (Vas.XVII-72) or shall wait for three menstrual periods and then marry another person (Katy. in Vir. Sams p. 739).*

7. The Asura-vivaha is confirmed by the gift of a bull and cow.

It can be said that the marriage was contracted according to this form when the father/Ap. II-5, 11, 18, K. II-2/ or, more correctly speaking who had authority the maiden/G. IV-8, B. I-11, 20, 4/gives away *i. e.* gives for the marriage his daughter/bride//Mn. III-29, Ap. II. 5, 11, 18, Sankh. IV-4, K. III-2, Y-1-59. MBh. Adi Parva 112. Dev. (Vir. Sams. 851)/or approves this marriage after receiving/Mn. III-29, Ap. II-5, 11, 18, G.IV-8, N. XII-41, Y. I-59 MBh. Adi Parva 112/from the bridegroom/Mn. III-29, Ap. I-5, 11, 18, Dev (Vir. Sams. 851)/who have to be praiseworthy and not belonging to the same *gotra*/Dev. (Vir. Sams. 851)/, which reservations have to be understood more as a counsel that as a order, a cow and a bull/Mn. III-29, Ap. II-5, 11, 18, G. IV-8. Vas.II-32, B. I, 11, 20, 4, Sankh. IV-4, Asv. I-6, 4, N. XII-41, and similarly Dev. (Vir Sams. 851,) Vis, XXIV-21, Sankh. Likh. (Vir. Sams. 851,) K. III-12, Kam-23, Y-I-59).

Some times we find in the Smrtis other expressions for instance in Y. II cows/, but always the Smrtis mean a cow and a bull. And so the two well known commentators on Y-Mitaksara and Bal. explain that under the expression "two cows" have to be understood "a cow and a bull." But sometimes instead of a cow and a bull can be given to the maiden "a suit of clothes"/Sankh. Likh. (Vir Sams. 851/or besides a cow and a bull a dress/N. XII-41/or generally speaking—wealth/Kam. 23/.

This present of a bull and a cow has to be given "for the fulfilment of a sacred law"/Mn. III-29/*i. e.* according to the commentators of Mn. "pronouncing the words prescribed for making a gift"/in S. B. E. XXV, ad Mn. III-29/. It has to be offered "after the first of the burnt oblations of parched grain which are prescribed for wedding" according to the commentaries on B./Gov. cited in S. B. E. XIV. ad B. I-11, 20, 4/.

8. The Asura-vivaha takes according to the rules, the first or the second place in the list of the forms of marriage behind the orthodox forms of marriage. It takes the fifth place in the general list of the forms of marriage (Mn. III-21, Y. 1-59-61, Sankh. IV-2, VI. XXIV-19) after Brahma, Daiva, Arsa and Prajapatya and in Ap. (III-5, 12) the fifth place after Brahma, Arsa, Daiva and Gandharva. According to the rest of the Smrtis the Asura-vivaha takes the sixth place after Brahma, Prajapatya, Arsa, Daiva and Gandharva (K. III, G. IV. B. I-11, 20, N. XII-38, 39, Asv. Grh. I-6) but only according to Vas. the sixth and last place in the list of forms of marriage, after Brahma, Daiva. Arsa, Gandharva and Raksasa (Vas. does not mention Prajapatya and Paisaca). (Vas. I-29).

* It has to be pointed out that a completely different definition of the Asura-vivaha is to be found in Har. This definition given probably in more recent times, has nothing to do with the classical definition of this form of marriage. We find there the following sentence: "When the girl is given away to a man who is suspected by other people of hypocrisy end deceit, it is Asura-vivaha". (Vir. Sams. p. 853.).

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9. The Arsa-vivaha takes a high place in the list of the form of marriage in Ancient India. It takes the third place after the Brahma-Daiva-vivaha in Mn. (III-21) Y. (I-59-61), Sankh. (IV-2), VI. (XXIV-18) and Vas. (I-29) and the second place after the Brahma and Prajapti-vivaha in G. (IV), B. (I-11, 20), N. (XII-38, 39), K. (III) and Kam. (23) ; it takes the second place after the Brahma-vivaha in Ap. (III, 5, 12) and the fourth place after the Brama, Deva and Prajapati-vivaha in Asv. Grh. (I-6).

10. The Asura-vivaha is similar to the Roman coemtio especially " coemtio uxoris". The initiative for the marriage of this form lies in the hands of the suitor and the girl has no right to choose her husband for herself, because the person who exercised power over the girl under takes the choise on her behalf (the mother or the father, or the guardian). This choice did not depend on any good qualities of the suitor but primarily on his pecuniary position and on the price he was prepared to pay for the gift.

The fact that the agreement was concluded between the suitor and the person who exercised power over the girl, was not considered enough to make the marriage complete. It is very probable thatthe marriage was concluded only after the marriage ceremony had taken place, although, as it appears, the participation of the priest was not necessary in this matter.

11. As in the Asura-vivaha, in Arsa-vivaha, the marriage depends not on the choice exercised by the girl, but on the choise exercised by her father or guardian. This form of marriage differs from the other orthodox forms of marriage. In the other orthodox forms of marriage, the marriage always depended on the father or guardian and sometimes on the fathers and guardians of both parties (for example in the case of the marriage of children), while in the marriage carried out " according to this form of marriage " the first stage was the choice executed by the suiter and the next stage was the supplementary consent on the part of the father or guardian.

As in the Asura-vivaha, in this form of marriage too, the matrimonial ceremony did not take place before the " payment of the price " although it is likely that the participation of a priest was not necessary.

12. The Asura-vivaha is considered as an unlawful (unrighteous, improper) form of marriage, probably for the Brahma-caste (N. XII-44, MBh. XIII-44, MBh. Adi Parva 73) and in such a manner unlawful that it should never be practised (MBh. XIII-44, MBh. Adi Parva 73, Mn. III-25), but on the other hand it is considered in another place in Mn. as lawful probably for the Brahmana (Mn. III-23). According to G. even some say that this form of marriage is lawful for the Brahmana (G. IV-15). But this form of marriage is permissible for Vaisyas and Sudras according to B. (I-11, 20, 13, Mn. III—34, and Panc. 10, 2526), and to Ksatryas, Vaisyas and Sudras according to the Smrtis last mentioned (Mn. III—23) and to Ksatryas according to both. (Adi Parva 73). And here again the author of Mn. gives some theories on the same

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subject. These conflicting opinions are an attempt to reconcile the various tricks of interpretation.

The Asure-vivaha should be avoided according to Mn. (III—42) and Yama (Vir. Sams. 865) because it is a blameworthy marriage.

From this marriage blamesworthy offspring are born (Mn. III—42, Yama (Vir. Sams 865)

13. Because the Arsa-vivaha is considered as praiseworthy (Ap. III—5, 12, 3) it is considered also as lawful (धार्म्य) and righteous probably for the Brahma caste (G. IV—14, B. I—11, 20, 10, N. XII-44, Vi. XXIV—27, Kam, 23, MBh. Adi Parva 73 and XIII—44, Panc. 10. 2526, see Sankh. IV—31). According to Mn. (III-23) which law-source gives some theories on this subject, there can be found two expressions *i. e.* that this form of marriage is lawful for Brahmanas and commended (approved) for Brahmanas (III—24) as Mn. gives the view-point of many law-teachers on this subject. According to MBh. (Adi-Parva 73) this from of marriage is proper also for a Brahmana and Ksatriya.

The sons born in this form of marriage are endowed with Brahmanic glory and are respected by cultured persons. Endowed with beauty and the quality of goodness, possessing wealth and fame, with full enjoyment and righteous, they live for a hundred years (Mn. III-39, 40, Yama (Vir. Sams. p. 865) see B. I-11, 21, 1, Ap. II-5, 12. 4).

A son born of the wife married according to this form of marriage saves three ancestors from the hell (G. IV-30). According to Y. (I-59) six men and Mn. explains that he purifies three ancestors and three descendants *i. c.* six men. According to Vi. he purifies seven men (XXIV-31) and according to Asv. Grh. (I-6-1) and Saunaka (Vir. Sams. p. 863) seven men on the father's and seven on the mother's side *i. e.* together 14 men and according to Sankh Likh. (Vir. Same. p. 865) only five men on the father's side and five on the mother's side and oneself *i. e.* togther 11 men. It is a purely laudatory exaggeration*.

Also the father or the guardian whe gives the girl in marriage according to the Arsa-vivaha gains a merit for himself and for the girl. We read in Vi. (XXIV-31) "(He who gives a girl in marriage) according to the Arsa rite (brings her) into the world of Visnu (and enters that world himself).

14. It must be pointed out that concerning the Asura-vivaha the law-sources may be divided into two groups. One group of law-sources although it contains relative rules relating to the Asura-vivaha, in other places say that the conclusion of an act of the sale of the daughter was a crime and that for that reason this form of marriage was not to be concluded; on the other hand the second group of law-sources finds its basis on the Vedas and on other rules as well allows the conclusion of this form of marriage. To the first group belong: Ap., B and Mn to the second group: Vas. Other law-sources do not discuss this case.

*See Bhasya to Mn. III –37 cited in Brahma-vivaha.

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There seems to be no doubt that the rules which resolve the non-permissibility of this form of marriage belong to the more advanced and more recent rules although the law-sources belong sometimes to the oldest law-sources. Knowing the history of the origin of the Smrtis it can be easily understood.

15. Concerning the first group of the law-sources it has to be pointed out that out we find in Mn. (III-51) a sentence which says that the father of a girl who knows the law should not accept even a small consideration *i. e.* nuptial fee (sulka); by accepting a consideration, through avarice, he becomes a childseller *i. e.* commits a sin. That this was a great sin appears for instance from B. (I-11, 12, 3) where we read: "Those wicked men who, seduced by avarice, give away a daughter for a fee, who (thus) sell themselves and commit a great crime, fall (after death) into a dreadful place of punishment and destroy their family down to the seventh (generation). Moreover they will repeatedly die and be born again. All (this) is declared (to happen) if a fee (is taken)." We read also in B. (I-1, 2, 27) that he who gives away his daughter making a bargain sells a portion of his spiritual merit. Even Ap. clearly declares that the acceptance of gift and the right to sell (or buy) a child are not recognised) (Ap. II-6, 13, 11) *i. e.* not allowed. The same can be seen from another passage of Mn. *i. e.* from III-52. This sentence is not easy to understand. According to Medh., Nar, and Nand., commentators of Mn. this passage has to be understood in the following manner: "But those (Male) relations who in their folly live on property obtained by (the sale) of women (*i. e.*) carriages or beasts of burden and clothes (receive for) females commit sin." Also in the IX. book of Mn. we read "Even a Sudra ought not to take a nuptial fee when he gives away his daughter, for he who takes a fee sells his daughter, covering the transaction by another name, (IX-98)". The more, if a member of a lowest caste cannot sell his daughter a member of a higher caste cannot do it. "Nor, indeed," concludes Mn.—"have we heard, even in former creation of such (a thing as) the covert sale of a daughter for a fixed price, called a nuptial fee" (IX-100).

But not only he who sells his daughter commits a great sin, but it is declared that a female who has been purchased for money is not a wife; she cannot assist at sacrifices offered to the gods or the manes (B. I-11, 21, 2). Kasyapa has stated that she is a slave (B, I-11, 21, 2).

From these rules it can be clearly her father seen that these law-sources accept that the sale of the daughter by or guardian is not permitted and in consequence that the form of marriage by purchase is not permitted.

16. But contrary to this we find quite a different sentence in Vas. where we read that the purchase of a girl is mentioned in the following passage of the Vedas; "Therefore one hundered (cows) besides a chariot should be given to the father of the bride "(Vas. I-36). In the next sentence the author of Vas, in reference to Caturmasyas says : "She who has been bought by her husband commits sin as afterwards she unites herself with a stranger" (Vas. I-37). In these two sentences the author says clearly, that the form of marriage by purchase can be concluded.

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But the author Vas. cites only other authors (Veda, Caturmasyas) and does not give his own opinion on this question.

The author of Ap. evidently knows also the same sentence from the Vedas when he says : "It is declared in the Vedas that at the time of marriage a gift, for the (fulfilment of) his wishes should be made (by the bridegroom) to the father of the bride in order to fulfil the law. Therefore one hundred (cows) besides a chariot should be given". But the author of Ap. gives his opinion, his own point of view on this case. His opinion originates from the time of the origin of this Dharmasastra *i. e.* from a time later than the Vedas and is nearly the same as the opinion of Mn. We read in Ap., "In reference to those (marriage rites), the word "sale" (is only used as) a metaphorical expression ; for the union (of the husband and wife) is effected through the law" This "sale" is a metaphorical expression—says the author of Ap. because of the fact that the "gifts" have to be returned to the giver, and the marriage has to be effected through the law *i. e.* through an action being in accordance with the legal rules. As the act of selling the daughter is not recognised (Ap. II, 6, 13, 11) contrary to the archaic rules of the Vedas, at the time of the legal validity of the Smrtis, the form of marriage by purchase was not allowed.

17. This interpretation of the legal rules gives me the basis for the statement that all the Smrtis (although-like Vas. they recognise the admissibility of the form of marriage by purchase) contrary to the ancient rules (found, for instance, in the Vedas) did not admit the form of marriage by purchase. If the author of Vas. states that this form of marriage is admissible, he did not give his own opinion, but the opinion of the Vedas only, and 'per analogiam' it has to be admitted that this rule from the Vedas has to be interpreted in Vas. like in Ap. in which Smrti we find a clear and doubtless interpretation of the same sentence *i. e.* that the form of marriage by purchase is not permitted. (We find in Vas. other examples of existence of archaic rules in a Smrti which were not in use at the time of the legal validity of this Smrti).

So we can admit that according to all Smrtis, although many of them give a different opinion or do not meddle with this question, the father or the guardian has not to sell the girl, because on selling her, he commits a sin, and the girl does not become a legal wife of the buyer.

18. In the Arsa-vivaha there is no doubt that the price paid for the maiden amounting to a cow and a bull and sometimes to a cow and a bull as well as wealth was not the real price for the maiden. This price being ever the same scale and not high in comparison with the price paid according to the Asura-vivaha could not be the real price for the girl. Therefore it can be said, that this form of marriage is based on sham-purchase.

That this form of marriage is based on a sham purchase and is not a purchase of a girl to a man results clearly from the following words which we find in Mn./III-29/ : "When the father gives away his daughter according to the rule after receiving..a cow and a bull". These words are understood by the commentators on Mn. as follows ; "it is not with

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the intention of selling his child". The commentators go father when they say that the bridegroom shall give to him who has power over the maiden a bull and a cow and receives them back together with the bride/ /Gov. ad B. II-11, 20, 4, in S. B. E. XIV ad B. II-11, 20, 4, MBh.—Anusa 81, 1-2 ; XIII-46, 1-2/ ; therefore, if the bridegroom received his "price" for the girl from this person who has power over the maiden it cannot be said that the maiden was sold by this person or purchased by her future husband. The price what was given was returned probably in a form of a dowry, and therefore cannot be considered as a price nor the marriage, as a marriage by purchase, but only by sham-purchase.

It must also be pointed out that according to Sankh. Likh. besides the gift of a cow and a bull or of a suit of clothes, ornaments and dowry have to be given /Vir. Sams. 851/, which can be taken as a proof that not only the commentator but also the later Smrtis represent the point of view that this form of marriage is not a marriage by purchase but only a marriage by sham purchase.

19. Interpreting the Asura-vivaha it was pointed out that the selling a girl was a sin. The question is whether a bovine pair given to the father or a guardian of the girl and accepted in this form of marriage are to be regarded as 'consideration' (शुल्क) or "selling" (विक्रय). According to Mn. III-52 it is "vikraya"—a selling, because it is all the same if the gift is small or large (identically MBh. XIII-80, 20-21, XIII-45, 20).

But this would only be the case if the value of the girl did not exceed the value of one cow and one bull *i. e.* if it were a real marriage by purchase (Asura-vivaha). Regarding this circumstance we find in the next sloka of the Manava-Dharmasastra the following sentence ; "In the case of girls whose relation do not appropriate the bride's gift, it is not "sale". It is only a means of honouring the maidens and is entirely harmless" (Mn. III-54 identically MBh. Anusa. 81, 1-2, and XIII-46, 1-2) which means that there is not the slightest taint of sin in this act (Bhasya on Mn. III-54).

We have seen that the gift for the girl was according to Mn. and other sources of law returned to the bride or bridegroom, therefore, this gift "is only a means of honouring the girl" but not a sale. The words "means of honouring are interpreted by Bhasya, the commentator on Mn., in the following manner : "The receiving of presents on behalf of brides becomes a means of honouring them ; it raises the girls in their own estimation ; they come to think that 'we are so good that we are being married after receiving proper presents'. They rise in the estimation of the people also, who looks upon such brides as very handsomely fortunate" (Bhasya on Mn. III-54).

20. We find the same opinion in MBh. (XIII-4-2) where we read "that maiden, in respect of whom nothing is taken by her kinsmen in the form of dower, cannot be said to be sold..Her sire and brothers and father-in-law and husband's brother should show her every respect and adorn her with ornaments, if they be desirous of reaping benefits, for such conduct on their part always leads to considerable happiness and

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advantages. If the wife does not like her husband or fails to gladden him, from such dislike and absence of joy, the husband can never have issue for increasing his race." This adorning of the girl with ornaments is the dowry. So we can see in this quotation of MBh. the passage from the marriage by purchase to the marriage by sham-purchase and to the marriage in which the dowry has to be given to the future husband of the girl. This dowry in the "essentiale negotii" of the orthodox forms of marriage to which the Arsa-vivaha may also belong.

We have seen that the Smrtis consider the Asura-vivaha an unlawful and allowed form of marriage and even consider the sale of the daughter *i. e.* the 'essentiale negotii' of the Asura-vivaha a great crime. On the contrary the Smrtis consider the Arsa-vivaha as a lawful form of marriage and reckon it among the orthodox forms of marriage.

Therefore it seems to be evident that the respective rules contained in the Smrtis which refer to the Asura-vivaha are archaic and are only relics in the Smrtis and that the only valid form of marriage based on purchase *i. e.* on sham-purchase was the Arsa-vivaha.

EARLY INDO—SLAV CONNECTIONS

BY

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The data of my subject are scanty, they are obtainable only by putting together separate pieces of heterogeneous evidence, and the subject itself is anything but obvious at a glance : on the contrary, the geographical distance of the territories concerned does not favour the supposition that their populations might have shared, at any moment of the remoter past, historical element in the sense of developments at the one end affecting, even indirectly, developments at the other end. It is therefore natural that the possibility of such a subject did not occur to historians. I have been led to it, not by any a priori considerations, but by purely a posteriori facts, as, in the course of various research subsidiary to quite different subjects, and not pertinent to history in the narrower sense, I repeatedly stumbled upon surprising parallelisms that could not be explained by coincidence or by some generic affinities inherent to the human spirit, for the definite reason that these parallelisms mostly implied some very specific factors conditioned by a whole set of specific circumstances at the Indian end, so that they were emphatically not of the category of notions and figurations that may spontaneously occur anywhere. Nor could they be accounted for by assimilation from some secondary source, *i.e.* from another, and nearer, established sphere of culture in which the results of early Indian influence may have permanently survived and so have been derived at any later date by the Slavs : because, firstly, some parallel elements are not found at all anywhere else, and the most outstanding complex of such elements occurs exclusively at those two distant ends ; and, secondly, wherever further separate instances are

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extant, they do not cover all the parallel features of the element in question, and so are of no use as hypothetic links. This leaves only a third issue, namely to postulate connexions, in historical times necessarily mediate, but of primary nature ; and through such intermediaries as played the accidental role of vehicles rather than the creative role of independent cultural agents, therefore leaving no trace except in the connexion they brought about. And to see who, in the single cases, those intermediaries were-

This is obviously not the place for unfolding a preliminary catalogue of points of analogy with the requisite circumstantial illustrations ; not only because many of them range beyond the pale of history proper, but also because they belong to various periods, while in the programme of this session provision is made only for subjects within the limits of 5 chronological subdivisions of Indian History. I shall therefore take my departure not from the rich material that called forth the problem, but from the scanty evidence that makes for its solution at a definite period, and utilize a few items of the material only as opportunity occurs within these limits—although I am perfectly aware that the specific weight of the subject comes out only in the cumulation of its instances and an adequate impression of its entity can be derived only from a survey of the whole, not from a detached portion. I have chosen the earliest period, because the results of the connexion traceable in those remote times are of the most fruitful and far-reaching in later cultural history at the western end.

We must premise as a matter of fact that there were good reasons why, if impacts were effected mediately, the factors introduced should have found more congenial conditions for permanent assimilation and local development in the ethnical sphere of Slavonic culture than in some geographically nearer regions lying along the way, or for that matter with the intermediaries themselves (if these were mainly of foreign stock). Such plain and good reasons are that Aryans and Slavs were contiguous neighbours in the original habitats of the Indo-Europeans, as has been conclusively proved by comparative philology, and that in the mirror of linguistic history it appears that the differentiation of two contiguous cognate peoples is a gradual process, involving a residual maximum of common characteristics. Close ethnical and linguistic relationship thus spells close kinship of tendencies and dispositions, and innate faculty of response.

The fact that the Aryans were the first to migrate need not lead to the over-simplifying assumption that the close neighbourhood was totally severed at that early age ; proof to the contrary is furnished by the common development of the Aryan and the Slav languages in the complex aspects of the noun and verb systems that are not shared to any comparable extent by other Indo-European languages—the latter being shared only partly by Greek and the former partly by Armenian—, which goes a long way to show that the detachment of the Aryan tribes took place only by degress, as successive waves started on the eastward migration, and that their final severance from the Slav

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neighbours was far later than most other processes of disruption within the IE family.

The hypothesis of successive waves of Aryan migration, a long stretch of centuries intervening between the earliest and the latest, is confirmed by the evidence of the Boghazkoi tablets ; the worship of Aryan deities by the rulers of Mitani about 1400 B. C. is usually explained as a trace of the eastward route of the Aryans—while the date of this apparently short-lived phenomenon excludes the attribution of its origin to their first passage, since by that time Vedic culture in India must have reached an advanced stage of development.

But a new phenomenon of the influence of Aryan religions emerges in Mesopotamia about 700 years later, by which time any supposition of a survival of superficial proto-Aryan impacts (such as those produced by infiltration among the Kassitian rulers of Babylonia sometime between the 18th and the 12th cent. B. C.) would be as absurd as the assumption of further recent waves of Aryan migration. About 700 B. C. a list was drawn up in Assyria of deities worshipped in its temples, and there the name *Assara-Mazas* precedes the series of seven angels and seven bad spirits. This no doubt recalls Zoroastrianism, though an outright identification is not favoured by the circumstance that the chief deity seems to be impartially heading both the groups. On the other hand the date of the list is surprisingly early for this system to have been already propagated and acknowledged as an accretion to the religious worship of a foreign country.

But there is the greater difficulty of the name of the chief deity, which is a hybrid compound of the Vedic and the Avestan forms. Even this alone makes it hard to assume that this contribution to the Assyrian pantheon was introduced by Iranians, as such an assumption would at the very least presuppose that the phonetic mutations which resulted in the formation of the Avestan language had not yet taken place by 700 B. O. and at a date when the religion of which it is the language is at the same time assumed to have had already a wide range of propagation abroad. But it is obviously likewise impossible that a deity of this name should have been introduced by Indians. There is not even a vague alternative of Hittite influence, since that people worshipped the god in question under the name of Arunash. The only practicable solution is therefore that those who introduced this mixed compound were neither Iranians nor Indians, but inhabitants of a transition zone between the spheres of Indian and Iranian cultures, who, having been imbued with floating elements of both, had made up for themselves a sort of syncretism of the conceptions of Ahura Mazda and that of Varuna, the great Asura (who, it must be recalled, in the Brahmana texts is conceived as the common father and head of the two conflicting parties. the *devas* and the *asuras*, only the valuation attached to the names being inverse to that of the Iranian system). The authors of that early Indo-Iranian syncretism had no substantial racial affinity to either Iranians or Indians, since they were capable of such a linguistic hybridization ; they must have innabited their wedge or boundary zone at

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least about a century before the appearance of that religious phenomenon in Mesopotamia; lastly, they must have belonged to a migratory population in contrast with all the other peoples concerned. Such a postulate is answered, point by point, by data of fact. Such a wedge country in the boundary zone was Sakasthana, where the evidence of the cuneiform inscription of Darius combines with that of the records of Herodotus to locate one of the three main settlements of the Scythians in the 6th century. Of the remaining two settlements one is the region of the river Jaxartes, the other the Pontus region to the north of the Black Sea. These are probably only the most important or the best known of a series of settlements which remained as deposits or juntion centres of several waves of Scythian migrations, which appear to have expanded in different directions. On the one hand they had probably penetrated into N. India and, if the mainly toponomastic evidence adduced in this matter is valid, to have had settlements there over a vide area and as late as the invasion of Alexander. On the other hand we have the relation of Herodotus that the Scythians, having vanquished the Medes, temporarily became the masters of western Asia. The advance from Iran to Mesopotamia lies along a route repeatedly followed by migratory populations, also assumed to be identical with the track beaten in the inverse direction by the Aryans. The continuation of that route leads to the Pontus region and SE Europe. If in the relevant east—west wave the Scythians carried with them the hybrid religious notions resulting from earlier contacts with the cultures of India and Iran, later waves along this route may be supposed by analogy to have carried with them some other impressive form of religion which was in vogue at a later period in one of the countries where they had established footholds of some duration. And in fact we know that between the 6th and 5th cent. were introduced allegedly from Thracia, from the vicinity of their third settlement, into Greece the conceptions of Orphism, a religious doctrine totally unhellenic in its character, but, as I have shown elsewhere, strikingly reproducing the conceptions of the great religious movement which had arisen about two centuries earlier on Indian soil. To define it with one word, this Indian religion, whose mystical teachings first emerge in the versified Upanishads, may be called the religion of *Bhagavan*. It centres in the notions of an all-embracing cosmic deity assuming human shape, and superseding in the adept's destinies the fatality of cosmic laws in virtue of his mystically sharing in the nature of the deity. While the former notion has its expression in the other generic name of the deity, *Purusa*, which comes down in a straight line from the Vedic Purusasukta, the latter belief is epitomized in the new term *Bhagavan*, and in a way can also be traced back to the Vedic Purusa-myth, where the idea of sharing is inherent in the conception that the classes of mankind derived from the body of the Purusa. In fact the new teaching is professedly based on the doctrine of the Purusasukta, which its texts frequently quote.

Another question is: were those still prevalently foreign tribes capable of assimilating the features of this evolute and complex religion to such an extent as to propagate it independently in new surroundings,

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or must it not rather be assumed that they had incorporated with them a small number of original representatives of the religion they had taken over ? Such wanderings in the wake of a converted community are quite conceivable with regard to sannyasins exponents of a movement that was developing into the great missionary religions of India. This assumption would explain the transmission of difficult details, such as speculative similes, that reappear with surprising fidelity in Orphism.

What do we know of the further vicissitudes of the Scythians there in the south-east of Europe ? Herodotus tells us about their war with Darius during which they availed themselves of an alliance with their neighbours, the Neuroi. He says that when the Persians in their pursuit of the Scythians invaded the country of the Neuroi, the latter did not offer resistance but went away to the northern forests. On linguistic grounds the Neuroi have been identified with a Slavonic or Balto-Slavonic tribe. Thus the first historic mention of the Slave puts them in a connexion with the Scythians towards the end of the 6th cent. B. C.

Evidence of anthropological and prehistorical research bears out that early testimony of history. The easternmost group of the later period of Busatian culture, which is the primitive culture of the Slavs, *i. e.* of the period between 650 and 500 B. C., is geographically contiguous with the Scythian habitats of that period. Geographical contiguity and political alliance conveys a priori the certainty of cultural relations ; it offers ample scope for transmission of ideas. And in fact linguistic evidence comes in as third with a peculiar instance, regarding the representative term of the Indian religious conception which was carried to Europe in the wake of the Scythians. The Slavs, and the Slavs alone, share with the Indians the general word for "God", and in their pre-Christian religious terminology it is the most salient, and one of the few ascertained terms. Slav *bogu* corresponds to Skrt. *bhagavat*.

Any explanation based on the assumption that this common feature might go back to Indo-European times would be singularly lacking in plausibility, since in regard to those times the meaning "God" connected with the stem *bhag* could not have been but a thing of a very distant further. In fact even in the language of the Rgveda the noun *bhaga* and the still very rare adjective *bagavat*, derived from the root signifyifig "share, impart", merely designate as yet on the one hand "the share, the lot, bounty," on the other hand the possessor or dispenser thereof, with its pale personification, adjectivelly "rich, prosperous"—to which exactly corresponds the oldermeaning of Slav *bog*, as apparent in the compound *Dadzbog* "the giver of riches" and in the adjectives *bogatu* "rich" and *ubogu* "poor". The semantic evolution of the adjective *bhagavat*, turned into a noun, to the specific meaning "God, the Lord" is accomplished in India only at the period of the metrical Upanishads and of the Gita, and its motive, as I have pointed out on other occasions, is most specifically and characteristically rooted in the main feature of the religion of which it is the central term : it derives from the concept of the mystic sharing or participation in the God's own essence, which is the lot and the awareness of his adepts, this equally appears in the

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constant technical use of the verb *bhaj*. Most striking is therefore the analogous semantic passage from the one to the other sense of *bog* in Slav. The development of the religious meaning must have been called forth by the influence of the Indian conception.

It has been suggested by comparative philologists that the Slavs might have taken over the use of the word in this sense from the Iranians, as it can be traced also in northern Iranian/Sogdian *bag*. This however only opens the new questions of its provenience there, in view of the fact that this sense of the word was not common Aryan any more than it was common Indo-European, since it arose from a late phenomenon specifically Indian. The only practicable explanation is therefore that it migrated from India, at the age of the Bhagavan religion, to the Slavs through channels that also affected N. Iran. The Sogdians as also their ethnical name shows, contained an important Scythian element, on the other hand, they were in close contact with the Indians under the ancient Persian Empire.

Words do not as a rule migrate alone, *i. e.* without the underlying ideas or notions which they represent. And on Slavonic ground we find beside the word also the idea, with positive evidence of its source.

We have noted that the rather esoteric ideology of the mystical sharing such as it appears in the evolute religion is to some extent prepared in the simpler mythical notion of the Purusasukta put forward by the Bhagavan doctrine as its Vedic basis that humanity was formed from the zones of the cosmic body of the Purusa. In this concrete formulation the idea would appeal more easily to the popular mind at large. And it is in this form we find it again with Slavs : not as a detached doctrine, but in a context which leaves no doubt of its being a faithful replica of the Purusasukta. The document is extant, in a very superficially christianized rendering, in an old Russian composition whose original title seems to have been "Poem of the book of the Profound steries". The relevant complex of notions must have sunk very deep roots in the Slav tradition to have escaped the common lot of almost total obliteration of pre-Christian Slav beliefs and myths. The main effect of the superficial christianization of the myth is a nominal separation of the anthropogonic role of the primal divine all-being from the cosmogonic ; while the parts of the cosmos are said to derive from the corresponding parts of the person of God, the classes of mankind are said to derive (in a zonal division analogous to that of the Purusasukta) from the person of Adam the archetypal Man constantly described as the "holy" Adam, as to whose scarcely veiled identity with the divine cosmic person the context leaves no doubt.

The one substantial divergence of the Slav version from the Vedic appears in that the social classes as enumerated in the former are only three—the feet of the Purusa from which the Sudra class derives according to the text of the Purusasukta are not represented in the Slavonic counterpart. On first examining the problem constituted by this document attention to which was first drawn in 1935 by my regretted elder colleague and friend Dr. Stanisaw Schayer, Professor of the Warsaw University, whose premature death

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due to the hardships of the German occupation has been one of the most irretrievable recent losses to Indological research—in my first conclusions from comparing the two versions I was inclined to see in this divergence the consequence of a clumsy adaptation of the Vedic source to local conditions. On further reflection however this explanation did not seem to hold good. If only three classes of secular society were available for enumeration. the class of the priests could have easily supplied the fourth item—had four items been required for the correspondence with the original construction. It rather seems that the model on which the Slav version was based presented a ternary and not a quaternary division of society. It may be recalled in this connexion that the Purusasukta is the first and the only Rgvedic document in which the division of society into the four castes is mentioned, and that on this very fact depended the current argument that the Purusa myth is a late accretion to Vedic thought. My detailed analyses of Rgvedic ideologies have proved the fallacity of this ar-gument in showing that the occurrence of the Purusa motif is not limited to this one text or even to the 1st and Xth Mandalas, but that in forms more or less developed it is inherent to the ideological patrimony of the Rgveda as a whole. It therefore originally belongs to the age-level of the ternary division of society. So the quadripartition in the text of the Purusasukta is rather an emendation introduced by later revision. We may understand now in the pre-existing version the feet of the Purusa, to which the newly added fourth caste was co-ordinated, could have been left out of the account with regard to the social structure, if we consider that his early representations were in the form of a tree, concurrently with the dawning vision of a gigantic human shape. The twofold conception was blended into one in the Skamoha of the Atharvaveda, who is both tree and cosmic man. The cosmic tree as sustaining the world structure has its head in the sky and its roots in the earth ; it is the core and axis of the whole but also alternatively encompasses—and surpasses—this whole. Figurations of the Purusa in the form of colossal statues seem to have been familiar to the popular imagination until a very advanced period, as appears from the record gathered by the Ghostic Bardesanes from Indian envoys, describing in a context that points to the Bhagavan.religion a miraculous image of the cosmos in human frame, made of an unknown sort of imperishable wood—doubtless an echo of the mantra " what was the wood (81, 4-X, 31, 7), what the tree out of which heaven-and-earth were fashioned ?"/X. In this cosmogonic sense only, *i. e.* in the sense of the 13th and 14th stanzas of the Purusasukta, his feet can be equated with the earth as part of the cosmos, but as the source of the social hierarchy manifested on and above the earth but not in the earth—the hidden root of the tree does not count. And, sure enough, it is the zone of the feet of the cosmogonic person that is omitted in the social subdivision of the Slav version.

The fact that the Slav version thus appears to reproduce an older variant of the Purusasukta need of course not entail the conclusion that the westward migration of the Purusa myth started before the quaternary social hierarchy was theoretically established in India. It merely implies

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that the form in which it migrated, probably a short popular revision of the type of those partially quoted in Upanishadic stanzas and in passages of the Epic, remained unaffected by the incidental revision of the text in the body of the collection.

In this form the notion of human sharing in deity which underlies the development of the conception of Purusa Bhagavan is documented in the sphere of pro-Christian Slav culture—and again here only. The outline of the cosmogonic portion of the Purusa motif recurs in several old religious traditions in the west. I have shown many years ago that none of these versions is independent from the Vedic source. But the Slav version alone has the counterpart of the anthropogonic portion.* It cannot therefore be supposed to derive from another Western version, as *e. g.* from the Orphic Zeus-hymn. Its source descends directly from the Indian prototype. Its genealogy is in a line with that of the semantic evolution of *bogu*.

Of the religious beliefs of the ancient Slavs concerning which only few uncertain and exiguous records have come down to us, a 6th cent. author, Procopius, gives us a short relations so abundantly contaminated with the current representations of classical mythology which was applied as a universal standard by Greek and Latin authors, that only two points stand out, through their essential divergence from those conceptions, namely that the Slavs considered one god only as the lord of the world, and that they ignored fate, not admitting that it might rule human destinies. In conjunction these two points seem to imply that the one lord of the all supersedes or rules out fate—which would correspond to the other dominant notion of the religion of Purusa Bhagavan. To what period this picture refers it is difficult to say, as with ancient authors who used to draw freely on sources of any age without chronological preoccupations—the date of the notice bears no relation to the date of the subject.

Considerations of chronology apply with still more reason to the literary document, which must have been based on a tradition still alive in the Middle Ages. The question thus arises : is it likely that an impact going back to the end of the 6th cent. B. C., however congenial the soil on which the seed fell, called forth a response of such immense vitality as to vouchsafe the survival of its result through a long series of centuries ?

In reply to this we must consider that opportunity for reviving and consolidating the memory of that first strong impression may have been amply provided by the later prolonged contacts with, and abode in the area which had been the first European foothold of the conceptions reflecting the Purusa religion and remained their home for many centuries. Thus, at the time which the Hellenistic religious syncretism which, as I have shown elsewhere, derived the almost totality of its new and striking notions from the late Upanishadic and Epic Purusa-

* The legend of Gayomard does not count in this connexion since this figure of the first man is originally solely human, cosmic view points having been vaguely superimposed to it only by later learned speculation.

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religion, was being officially established at Alexandria in the form of the new Sarapis-cult, the Pontus country was known and acknowledged as the traditional centre of the relevant religious conceptions and of the figurations relating thereto ; in fact the two learned men entrusted with the task of systemstizing the new faith made an attempt to fetch from that country to Alexandria a colossal statue. The presence of Slavs among those South European, probably still in prevalence Scythian, worshippers of the deity considered to be the prototype of the Hellenistic Sarapis—of that mystic *soter* in macrocosmic human shape—and hence likely to have been the counterpart of the Indian Purusa Bhagavan, can be neither affirmed nor denied owing to the lack of evidence concerning the distribution of their settlements at the period in question. Possibly the scattered records concerning early Slav image-worship may assume some significance in this connexion since they point to images of the supreme deity in the formn of a tree in which the semblance of a head or several heads was hew out ; the setting being not that of primitive tree worship, but an evolute form of cult. This seems to combine into some sort of consistent pattern with the Rgvedic references to the All-god as the cosmogonic tree, with the Skamoha representation of the AV, with the first stanza of the Purusasukta and its multiple echoes in Upanishadic and Epic literature, with the narration of Bardesanes and with the Pontus-statue. If at the beginning of the age of Alexandrian Hellenism there is no evidence as to the whereabouts of the Slavs, it is however generally assumed as probable that in the first centuries of the Christian era they formed already notable settlements in the south of Europe and successively expanded towards the Black Sea. They seem to have lived then for a time under Scythian sovereignty, if the notices of various historians concerning the Sarmatae Limigantes or Servi Sarmatarum refer to them, as is usually believed to be the case. In the year 334 they are reported to have driven out their Sarmatian overlords. As to successive centuries, there is the relation of Priscus that during his embassy to the court of Attila he was offered by a population whom he puts together with the Scythians a drink called *medos*, which form of the word would point to the national drink of the Slavs ; and Jordanes records that at the conclusion of the funeral of Attila a rite was performed consisting in a banquet on the grave and called *strava*—which is the traditional Slavonic rite with its traditional Slavonic name, in use until the 15th century.

I shall not claim any more minutes of your attention to-day for the further vistas which the long permanence of the Slavs in Hun dominions since the time when the Huna hordes had destroyed the Gupta Empire in India, opens up for consideration of such later channels of transmission of cultural elements.

For to-day my subject shall remain confined to those earliest connexions, their medium, and their effects. I shall only point out by way of conclusion that the effects did not die down even in modern times. Those psychological factors of kinship which in the early age of common Slav culture were making for their permanent survival,

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after the ethnical and cultural differentiation of the Slav family persisted as the apanage of the main western branch, the Poles. With them those peculiar trends of thought survived in a germinal state, and—most peculiar perhaps of all the phenomena related to the irradiation of ancient Indian thought in the West—re-emerged in the visions and speculations of Polian 19th century poets and thinkers, where they resulted in several ideological patterns forming the counterpart of complex sets of ideas once dominant in ancient Indian mystical speculation. This correspondence of whole elaborate schemes down to a profusion of striking details of conception and expression has been shown by me some time ago along with the personal and local genesis of every case, which—also in view of the fact that the relevant Sanskrit texts were not yet translated and could not be known to the Polish authors—makes it certain that it was not literary influence that led to this surprising results, but the spontaneous flourishing of germinal nuclei ingrained for ages in the potentialities of Polish national thought.

ON BALAVALABHI OF RAMACHARITA AND THE EPITHET BALAVALABHI-BHUJANGA OF BHATT BHAVADEVA.

BY

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The epithet Balavalabhi-Bhujanga, the another name of Bhatta Bhavadeva, finds mention in the *stone inscription*[1] now fixed on the compound wall of the Anantavasudeva temple at Bhubaneswar (to which it did originally belong before 1837) and in the colophons of Bhavadeva's work entitled *karmanusthana paddhati*[2], *prayaschitta-nirupan*[3] *and tauta-tmata-tilaka*[4].

The inscription of Bhatta Bhavadeva was first edited in 1837 by Prinsep and then it has been re-edited by R. L. Mitra (1880), Keilhorn (1900-01). N. N. Vasu (1804-05); M. M. Chakraverti published a paper on *Bhatta Bhavadeva of Bengal* in 1912 but none of them treated Balavalabhi as a place name. In the case of M. M. Chakraverti the omission of reference to *Balavalabhi* in *Ramacharita* published in 1910, may be due to over-sight, but all other scholars noted below have treated *Balavalabhi* as a place name. It will be shown in this paper that the occurrence of Balavalabhi signifying a kingdom is the result of wrong reading of the text of Ramacharita and Balavalabhi-Bhujanga has no geographical meaning and the epithet only signifies the literary merit of Bhatta Bhavadeva.

1. N. G. Mazumdar Inscription of Bengal, Vol. III, 1929, p. 34-35.
2. J & P. A. S. B. Vol. VIII, 1912, p. 333.
3. Ibid. p. 335 and E. I. Vol. VI. p. 204.
4. E. I. Vol, VI. p. 205.

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MM. H. P Sastri edited the Ramacharita in 1910. He read Balavalabhi in text of the commentary on Vikrama of verse 5 of Chapter II and identified it with Bagadi taking the same to be a name of a province in Bengal. His reading of the text of the commentary and note in English are quoted below :—

Text

".. .. Vikrama iti Devagrama prativadha vasudha Chakravala-Balavalabhi (bhi) taranga-vahala galahasta-prasasta-hasta-vikramo Vikramaraja .. .."[1]

Note in English.

"Vikramaraja, the Raja of Devagrama and the surrounding country, washed by the waves of the rivers Balavalabhi or Bagdi, one of the five provinces into which ancient Bengal was divided[2]."

R. D. Banerji criticised this identification of Balavalabhi with Bagdi and wrote thus :—

"The identification stands without any support. From the description given in the commentary on the Ramacharita it appears that Balavalabhi was pre-eminently a land of river and must be identified either with eastern or southern Bengal[3]."

Nagendranath Vasu wrote as follows in Bengali on Devagrama and Balavalabhi :—

"Devagrama prativadha-Balavalabhi-Devagrama was the chief place in this country and even now it is known as Devagrama in the district of Nadia. Vikrampur, the capital of Vikramaraja is now situated at a distance of 4 miles south-east of Devagrama. The country surrounded by the rivers Bhagirathi and Ichhamati like the horizon, was known as Balavalabhi[4]."

R. D. Banerji rejected this identification as follows :—

"There are hundreds of villages in Bengal bearing the name of Devagrama, and I do not find any reason to confine it to one of them. Even in Nadia District itself there are several Devagrams, and so the attempt to identify it with the materials at present at our command is premature[5]."

R. D. Banerji was right in rejecting the above identification of Balavalabhi but supported M. M. Sastri as regards the reading of Balavalabhi accepting it to be a name of a country and wrote thus :—

"The position of Devagrama in Balavalabhi, the king of which Vikrama Kesri, comes next in order, is far less certain.

" .. .. .. The explanation of this (the commentar) is not quite certain and nothing can be made out beyond what ha already been stated by MM. H. P. Sastri. Vikrama Kesri was the king

1. Mem. A. S. B. Vol. III. p. 56.
2. Ibid. p. 14.
3. Mem. A. S. B. Palas of Bengal 1915, Vol. ?, p. 99.
4. *Banger Jatiya Iihasa*-Rajanya Khanda 1943, p. 198.
5. Mem S. S. B. Palas of Bengal, p. 89.

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of Devagrame, and the surrounding country which was washed by the rivers of Balavalabhi[1]."

It is not understood as to how he has identified Vikrama Kesari of the love story of *Sasisena*[2] with Vikramaraja of the Ramcharita. The story of *Sasisena* composed by Fakirarama is found to be composed in Oriya by Banamali Dasa in his *Chata-Ichhavati*, which records the name of the Raja as Bhoja and not Vikarama Kesri at Dantan is not corroborated by that current in Orissa.

N. G. Mazumdar first suggested connection of Balavalabhi of Ramacharita with the epithet Balavalabhi bhujanga of Bhatta Bhavadeva and wrote as follows :—

"The epithet Balavalabhi-bhujanga has been the subject of much speculation but it has not yet been satisfactorily explained. The word 'Balavalabhi' occurs, however, as a place name in the Ramacharita Commentary. The situation of Balavalabhi is not known. The commentary places it in or near Devagrama which also is equally obscure. It is impossible to ascertain at the present state of our knowledge, why Bhavadeva was called 'the serpent of Balavalabhi.' A place called Vriddhavalabhi situated in the Gauda country is mentioned in the colophon of a MS. of *sarvadevapratistha-paddhati* of Trivikramasuri. Thus it appears that there were valabhi major and also valabhi minor in Bengal[3]." The above quotation is summerised in the foot note 2 of History of Bengal (1943) at page 320.

Dr. H. C. Roy in his *Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. 1 p. 341 writes that "Vikramaraja" was " the ruler of Balavalabhi which was close to Devagrama." His view on Balavalabhi is quoted below :—

" The next principality is Balavalabhi which is described by the Commentator as *Devagrama Prativadaa*. We have already pointed out that the name occurs in the Bhubaneswar *Prasasti* of Bhatta Bhavadeva. Pandit H. P. Sastri has identified it with Bagdi (Vagadi), one of the five provinces into which ancient Bengal was divided, while others to locate it in Nadia district. There is no evidence in support of either of these identifications. It is likely that it was the name of a district in west Bengal. It is to be noted that Bhatta Bhavadeva, who is described as Balavalabhi-bhujanga was a resident of Radha"

He further writes in the foot note on the same page that "Bala has the sense of 'new'; so the principality may be designated 'New-valabhi' Is it possible that it was a colony of the people of valabhi in Kathiawar which was destroyed by the Arabs in the second half of the 8th century A. D. ?" He has written the following eleswhere. "In the Bhubaneswar inscription Bhatta Bhavadeva is called Balavalabhi-bhujanga. Keilhorn could not explain the word. The commentary of the Ramacharita II, 5

1. Ibid., p. 89.
2. J. C. Bose's *Mednipurer Itihasa*, p. 124 & Arch. Survey of Mayurbhanj, pp. 112-119 where we find the name of Vikramajit and not Vikrama Kesari.
3. Inscription of Bengal, 1929. Vol. 12, p. 31.

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mentions a Samant of Ramapala, Vikramaraja, the ruler of Bala-valabhi. There is no doubt therefore that Balavalahi was the name of a place. In the Ramacharita it has been placed near Devagrama which has however not been identified. It was probably a place in West Bengal [1]."

Ramacharita has been re-edited by Dr. R. C. Mazumdar, Dr. R. G. Basak and Pandit N. Banerji and published by the Varendra Research Society of Rajashi in 1939. In this edition the learned editors have done their best to present the book to the public in a way for which they deserve thanks for their labour and scholarship. The commentary of V. 5 of Chapter II of the Ramacharita is very important for historical purpose and the improved readings, such, as 'Kanyakuvja-raja-vahini-ganjana-bhujanga' and the insertion of the word 'Vala' between the words 'taranga' and 'Vahala' have made the commentary very valuable. Although they have written in the foot note at page XXVI that "MM. Sastri identifies Balavalabhi with Bagdi, but there is no evidence in support of it," yet they have accepted the reading of the text as Bala-valabhi and its interpretation as a place originally given by MM. H. P. Sastri and so in the 'Introduction' at p. XXVI they have written as follows :—"3 Vikramaraja-Ruler of Balavalabhi which included Deva-grama." Mr. P. L. Pal also calls Vikramaraja as the ruler of Bala-valabhi.[2]

History of Bengal edited by Dr. R. C. Mazumdar and published by the University of Dacca is the latest and the best book so far published in India by Indian authors. In this book Balavalabhi has been treated as a country *vide* text and foot note at page 157, text at pages 202 and 305, foot note 2 at page 320 and index page 699. At page 202 it is written that Bhavadeva "was also known as *Balavalabhi-bhujanga*. The first part of the compound is the name of a kingdom, also referred to in *Ramacharita*, but the exact source of the expression is difficult ro understand." At page 157 the following is given in the foot note :—

"MM. H. P. Sastri identified it with Bagdi. Bala-Balabhi, according to RC. was close to Davagrama which is located by N. Vasu in Nadiya. *Ain-i-Akbari* mentions 'Deul' which is identified by Beams with the ancient stone fort of Deulgaon on the boundary of the districts of Midnapore and Balasore. If this Deulgaon represents ancient Deva-grama, we may find in the Pargana of Bibli a contracted form of old Bala-Balabhi. Bibli has been identified with Pipli, the site of the earliest English factory in Bengal, at the mouth of the Suvarnarekha river."

Bibli cannot be taken as Apabhramsa of Balavalabhi due to the fact that Bibli is a wrong reading of the Persian text Pipli of the *Ain*. Piplipatam in De Barroa' map (c1570) clearly proves that the place was known then as Pipli in Orissa. Deulgaon cannot be taken as an

1. Ibid, p. 336.
2. The Early History of Bengal Vol. I, p. 61.

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appabhramasa for the reason that there is no antiquarian evidence at the place in support of the identification. Deula is the apabhramsa from Devalaya.

The commentary under 'Vikrama' is given below from the text of the Ramacharita which shows that there is no such word as Balavalabhi in it.

"Vikrama iti Devagrama prativaddha-vasudhachakravala-vala-valabhita-rangavalavahala-galahasta-prasasta hasta vikrama Vikrama-raja."[1]

Before giving the meaning of the passage in English, I like to give below the equivalent English words for the Sanskrit words.

1. Prativaddha—being surrounded by.

2. Vasudhachakravalavalavala-the elephant force (valavala) or metaphorically the mountains on the horizon of the land. Mountains are described by poets as the *Dik-varana* and here the poet uses the words Chakravalavala. Vala means an elephant and the poet's choice for this word may be attributed only to the alliteration of the word vala here.

3. Bhita ranga-vala vahala—all the army of four categories (Chaturanga) who are frightened at.

4. Galahasta prasastha hasta-vikramah—one who was capable of driving out the enemies in seizing by the neck.

Thus the idea of the Sanskrit passage can be given in English as follows :—

The kingdon of Devagrama was surrounded on all sides by hills at the sight of which enemy army consisting of four categories become frightened and retreat with fear without being able to attack the country and thereby it appears that these enemies as if have been turned out being seized by their neck by the ruler Vikramaraja.

The interpretation on 'Vikrama' in the above light clearly shows the power and strength of Vikramaraja of Devagrama and is full tune with the passage of the Sanskrit commentary in which the military activities of other rulers are described. But the printed text with the reading of *Valavalabhi-tarangavala* gives no meaning whatsoever. The word *taranya* afther *Balavalabhi* at once suggests that Balavalabhi was either a lake or a river and R. D. Banerji therefore suggested that Balavalabhi was pre-eminently a land of rivers. In verse II, Chapter III of the Ramacharita rivers called 'Valabhi' and 'Kali' in Varendra are mentioned. If it is accepted that Balavalabhi and valabhi are the same, we must have to locate Devagrama in Varendra which was excluded from the area in which the *Samanta Chakra* (allies or the conferacy of the neighbouring princes) was formed at the request of Ramapala for the recovery of *Janakabhu varendra*. So Devagrama cannot be located in north Bengal. R. D. Banerji's suggestion for the location of Balavalabhi in Eastern Bengal is impossible according to the contents

1, The Ramacharita 1939, p. 42.

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of verse 44 of Chapter III which narrates that "the Varman king of eastern country sought his own safety by conciliating Ramapala with the offer of his chariots and elephants force." [1] The editors of the Ramacharita therefore very rightly have come to the conclusion that "an analysis of the list shows that leaving aside localities whose identifications are unknown or doubtful, almost all the allies of Ramapala belonged to south Bihar, South east Bengal, and the border land between Bengal and Orissa."[2]

The identification of Vikramaraja of Devagrama of Ramacharita may be made with one of Vikramaditya of the Aditya dynasty of Patkum in the Manbhum District. Devapura-Dalmi was their capital where there are ruins of ancient monuments. The Manbhum is surrounded on all sides by mountains and its geographical situation fully corroborates the description given in Ramacharita.

As Balavalabhi is not a place name, the epithet Balavalabhi-bhujanga of Bhatta Bhavadeva must be considered as a personal title only.

After the first publication of the Ramacharita in 1910, M. M. Chakraveri's paper on "Bhatta Bhavadeva of Bengal" was published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. VIII. pp. 333-348 in 1912 ; he added a note on the significance of the title of Balavalabhi-bhujanga but he did not say a word on the locality of Balavalabhi identified with Bagdi, by MM. Sastri.

He writes thus :—

"This section I conclude by drawing attention to the peculiar title of Bhavadeva, Balavalabhi-bhujanga. Valabhi, the word found in some of the MSS, must be correct as it appears in the contemporaneous inscription. Vadabhi is not exactly incorrect, for I think it represents the correct pronunciation in the vernacular, and in Prakrit d changes to l and r and *vice versa*. But Vadabhiya in H. P. Shastri's MS No. 240 is found in no other MSS. and goes against the inscription. I suspect it is a clerical mistake, probably arising from the idea that Vadabhiya should be derived from some *gain* (village) or family name. Such surnames were not uncommon in later Smrti writers of Bengal, e. g., Campahotti or hittiya of Aniruddhatta Kanjiviliya or Kubera, Narayan or Bhima, Sahudiyan of Sulapani, Paribhadriya of Jimutavahana. But I think the epithet Balavalabhi-bhujanga is not derived from the family, but is a personal title of Bhavadeva, like the title Sphurita of his great-grandfather Budha. Being a personal title it is not now capable of explanation of the literal meaning being 'a young serpent of the turret."[3]

The text—'Iti Sri Balavadabhi (Valabhi in India Office (MS.) bhujanga-paranama Bhatta Bhavadeva" of the colophon of Prayaschittanirupana seems to be a copy of the last line of Bhatta Bhavadeva's inscription—Prasasthiriyam Balavalabhibhujanga-paranamno Bhatta Sri Bhavadeva." Such a similarity of texts of two different writings of long intervals is very significant and it seems that at the time of composing

1. Ibid, p. XXXIII.
2. Ibid, p. XXVIII.
3. J, and P. A. S. B, Vol. VIII, p. 341-42.

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the verses of the Prasasti of Bhavadeva, the poet Vachaspati was aware of this title and the verse 24 "Yasya khalu Balavalabhi itinama nadritkena Mimamsayamapi sapulakamakarnitodgitam," was composed while possibly the manuscript Tautatimata-tilaka, an authority on the Purva Mimamsa by Bhavadeva, was in his possession in which the title was perhaps written in one of the colophons. So far only one incomplete manuscript has been noticed and the fragmentary manuscript contains only two colophons without any such title. In many works of reputed authors it is found that the contents of all the colophons are not the same and in many cases the author's distinctive titles occur either at the beginning or end. As the first and the last portions of this MS. are lost, the title of Bhavadeva in the colophons are lost. In Sahityadarpana the author Visvanatha Kaviraja has given his title in the colophons of the chapter 1 and the colophons at the end of the other nine chapters do not mention any title. The first colophon runs as follows.

"Iti Srimannarayanacharanaravinda-madhuvrata, Sahityarnava Karnadhara Dhvani prasthapana paramacharya Kavisrutiratnakara—Asthadasabhasa-vara-vilasinibhujanga Sandhivigrahika Mahapatra Sri Visvanatha Kaviraja etc."

The title—Asthadasabhasavaravilasini-bhujanga of Visvanath clearly proves that Balavalabhi-bhujanga of Bhavadeva is a literary title. The epithet Kanyakuvjaraja-Vahini-Ganjana-bhujanga of Bhimayasa, the king of Magadha mentioned in Ramacharita seems to have been used in the same sense. But the meaning of the epithets of Visvanatha and Bhimayasa is quite clear whereas that of the epithet Balavalabhi-bhujanga of Bhavadeva is not so. Captain Marshall noted the following on Balavalabhibhujanga.

"The meaning of this surname is not apparent; it is compounded of these words 'Vala' 'Young, ignorent etc.' Valabhi 'the frame of a thatch, a turret; also I believe, the name of a city and a dynasty, and Bhujanga 'a snake, an adulterer.[1]' "

M. M. Chakravarti and N. G. Mazumdar are of the same opinion with Marshall *vide* quotations given above.

Let us see how the Sanskrit lexicons help us in our attempt in interpreting the epithet.

1. The word 'Bala' has different meanings in the lexicons but its meaning 'abhinava,' 'new' is well applicable here.

2. The words Valabhi, valabhi, vadabhi, vadabhia all are used in giving the same meaning in the laxicons. The Monier William's Sanskrit English Dictionary gives the following meanings of Valabhi :—

(*i*) Ridge of a roof, (*ii*) top or pinnacle, (*iii*) turret, (*iv*) upper room.

3. The above dictionary gives the meaning of bhujanga as (1) serpent (2) dessolute friends of a prince, (3) any constant companion of a prince, (4) a lover, (5) a paramour of a prostitute and (6) the keeper of a prostitute. The meaning under (5) and (6) is quite clear in case of

1. J. A. S. B. Vol. VI. 1837, p. 96.

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Asthadasabhasa Varavilasini bhujanga of Visvanatha But it is not clear in the case of Balavalabhibhujanga unless we take the meaning of Valabhi in its figurative sense as lofty or of high merit in a faminine sense and with its reference to Tika or gloss on the Mimamsa, which was perhaps called Valabhi. It can be interpreted that Bhavadeva susperseded all others on the subject. The epithet 'Baudhamvodhi Kumbhasambhava munih'—the very sage Agastya to the sea of the Baudhas—of Bhatta Bhavadeva indicates that he was a supporter of the vedic rituals with which Mimamsa deals.

THE MATHURA BRAHMI INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 84, AND ITS BEARING ON THE LATER KUSANA HISTORY.

BY

BAIJ NATH PURI.

In Vol. VIII Nos. 2 and 3 issues of the Indian Culture p. 191 ff, I have considered some inscriptions of the Kusana period which appear to be distinct and different from those of Kaniska's group on two grounds—namely, that the era used in those records appears to be different from Kaniska's era and the palaeography of these records shows an advanced type with some letters akin to the eastern variety Gupta script. In that paper I have also tried to set up a letter Kusana or Kusanaputra family and have drawn a geneological list of such later Kusana rulers along with their dates. It appears to me that certain points in that paper especially the palaeography of these records and the reading of the date of the Mathura Brahmi inscription of the year 14 according to R. B. Daya Ram Sahani (E. I. Vol. XIX p. 95 ff.) require elaborate treatment and further elucidation with a view to make them more convincing. It would, however, appear that this treatment would in no way shatter my conclusions regarding the existence of a later Kusana family with its rulers and their dates. My original theory remains untouched and I concentrate myself only on future elucidation.

Out of all the inscriptions considered in that paper the Mathura Brahmi inscription found in an elevated part of the Dalpat Ki Khirki Mohalla is of vital importance as it opens a new line of investigation. A close examination of this record reveals that the inscription bears close resemblance to the eastern variety Gupta Script which distinguishes itself from the western variety in the signs of *la*, *sa*, and *ha*. Now comparing the *la* of this inscription with that of the Gupta period, we notice that unlike the Kusana *la* with its prominent left limb, here in this inscription the left limb of the letter is turned sharply down which is a characteristic feature of the eastern variety Gupta Script. Further ma everywhere in this inscription shows an advanced form and can be distinguished from the triangular ma with a small knob attached to the left of the letter. So also in *ha* the base horizontal stroke is completely suppressed and its hook attached to the vertical is turned sharply to the left. In *sa* also the left limb assumes the shape of a loop which again is a characteristic feature of the eastern variety Gupta Script. Further there are other distinguishing features

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between the letters of this record and those of the early Kusana period. Thus in *ka* the straight cross bar of the Kusana period is replaced by a curve line and unlike the scrif or nail head of the early Kusana type we notice a big stroke joining the vertical. In *ra* as well we notice the advanced form of the medial vowel instead of the usual Kasana vertical with a scrif and a light stroke to the right assuming the form of a curve The third horizontal line of *sa* starts downwards which again is a notable future in Gupta inscriptions. Besides these peculiarities in the letters, we notice the *ansvara* represented by a short horizontal stroke instead of the usual dot.

These peculiarities indicate that the inscription appears to be far removed from the earlier Kusana records of Kaniska's group and on palaeographic grounds is more akin to the eatern variety Gupta Script. As such the king Kaniska mentioned therein appears to be different from the earlier Kaniska who started the Kusana era and this ruler appears to be not far removed from the early Gupta emperors. Curiously enough Samudra Gupta has also referred to *Deva putras Sahi Saha Sahis* in his Allahabad pillar inscription and this ruler could become a contemporary of Samudra-Gupta in case his date fits in. Now according to late R. B. Daya Ram Sahni who edited this inscription first, the date show is *14* and he has identified this Kaniska with the first Kaniska. A close examination of the facsmilie indicates that the first sign is not ten as assumed by the late Rai Bahadur, as in that very record we notice another sign for 10 representing the date which is quite different from this symbol representing this year. This symbol appears to indicate 80 and it may be compared with the symbol for 80 in the Vardhamana image Pedestal*[1] Inscription of the year 84 which has been referred to in the Gupta era. The symbol there is. The only minute difference between the two is that the slight stroke attached to the left of the first knob is not noticeable, but that should not detract us from identifying the two symbols as representing *80*. The symbol of the Mathura inscription is utterly different from the one representing 10 in that very record. The symbol for date indicating ten has the second knob opening towards right while there is only a slight stroke towards the left of the first knob in the symbol representing the years in that inscription.

Besides this retord we shall now consider the three inscriptions of Vasakusana and Vasiska dated in the years *22*[*2], *24*[*3] and *28*[*4], respectively, which may also be assignsd to this family. The other Brahmi record which unfortunately does not appear to be dated is that of *vamataksh*[*5] the Kusanaputra who has been supposed in that paper to be the founder of the later Kusana family. We shall now consider the palaeography of these Brahmi records with a view to find out if the

1. E. 1 Vol. XIX, p. 65.
2. Marshall and Fouch Sauchi Vol. I, p. 386, No. 829.
3. Vogel Cal. M. M. No. 13.
4. Ref. 2. No. 830.
5. A. S. I. M. Rep. 1911-12, p. 124.

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letters therein are akin to the earlier Kusana records, or to the one which we have considered first namely the Mathura Brahmi inscription and then we might as well consider the Ara inscription[1] of Kaniska who is also included in the later Kusana family. It may here be suggested that the difference between the period of Vasudeva the last member of Kaniska's family and Vamataksa followed by Vasu-Vasiska does not appear to be considerable—it being hardly 10-20 years, the difference between the period of these two early later Kusana rulers and Kaniska of the Mathura inscription of the year *84* was considerable say about 60 years or more. As such there should appear a possibility of the letters of these records of the time of Vamataksa and Vasu-Vasiska, being more identical with the letters of the inscriptions of the time of Vasudeva rather than those of the Mathura Brahmi inscription. But all the same the difference in the letters of the earlier Kusana and later Kusana records does exist however minute it may be, and we may consider these records.

Now in the Sanchi inscription of Vaskusana of the year 22, we notice the following peculiarities :—*Sa* has a loop attached to the left limb as appears in the Mathura Brahmi inscription, in *Sya*, the loop is not complete but the tendency towards it is clearly noticeable This indicates a tendency towards advancement. In the very next *Sa* the loop assumes perfection. Further here also the third horizontal line of *ja* starts downwards. In *ka* the scrif is replaced by a horizontal stoke joining the vertical and the horizontal cross bar gives place to a curve. Another notable feature is the unusual size of the prongs of *ta* which join a vertical drawn from a horizontal instead of the usual scrif. The right prong is longer than the left. In *Ra* also the scrif is conspicuous by its absence while the vertical line at the bottom appears standing towards the left. The medical *a* is represented by a vertical stroke insted of the usual small curve. It thus appears that on palaeographic grounds, it was removed from the early Kusana period and indicates a tendency of transition from the Kusana to Gupta palaeography at least in some letters. If compated with an inscription*[2] dated in the year 22 of Kaniska's era, the palaeography of the two would indicate a gulf of difference. The distinguishing features are already pointed out. On grounds of chronology as well we have already pointed out in that paper that it is difficult to accommodate Vaskusana in the near 22 of Kaniska's era when there are inscriptions of the time of Kaniska dated in the years 22*[3] and 23*[4] and probably of 28*[5] as well. The inscription therefore should be placed in the later Kusana family group.

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1. C. I. I. Vol. II ph. I, p. 162.
2. E. I. Vol. I No. XXIX, p. 395.
3. Ibid.
4. S R A S 1924 p. 397 ff No. 2.
5. I. A.. Vol VI, p. 216.

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The other two inscriptions of the time of Vasiska dated in the year 24 and 28 and found at Mathura*1 and Sanchi*2 respectively. We have shown that the language of these two inscriptions is more Sanskritised than the gāthā dialect of the early Kusana period. Moreover, it appears difficult to accommodate him as a member of Kaniska's family when there is hardly a coin of this ruler issued of the type of the early Kusana coins. Moreover there are chronological difficulties in accommodating his son Kaniska of the Ara inscription in the year 41 in view of the unbreakable period of Huviska from the year 33-60, and there being inscriptions of the time of Huriska in the year 40*3 and 42*4. Now considering these two inscriptions from a palaeographic point of view, a better facsimile of the Sanchi inscription of the year 28 could be had from Sir John Marshall's monumental work and as such it may be examined. A few notable features may be noted down to see if the letters are akin to the early Kusana records or the later ones. In *ka* the serif is replaced by a small stroke as in the other two records mentioned above and the cross bar is replaced by a curve line. In *ja* also the third horizontal line proceeds down and the vertical shows a slight bulge towards the left. The medial *a* in *ja* does not assume the position of a curve starting from the second horizontal line towards the left, but is a vertical stroke, at one place from the second horizontal line and at another from the third. At the first place it makes more or less an obtuse angle while in the second an acute. This medial *ja* is akin to the one in the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudra-Gupta rather than to the early Kusana records. So also in the medial *ra* which has a horizontal stroke joined to the top of the vertical line rather than the slight curve towards the right starting from the point of the serif. The right prong of *ta* which is bigger than the left, moves towards the left assuming the shape of a horizontal joined with its end, as in the Allahabad pillar inscription rather than the curve as in the inscriptions of the early Kusana period. The inscription thus indicates an advanced type with some points of similarity with the letters of the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudra Gupta. We need not consider the other inscription of the year 24 since Vasiska is mentioned as the ruling sovereign in both the inscriptions. We may now consider the Mat inscription of Shahi Vamataksa which we have also placed in this group in that paper.

The Mat inscription of Maharaja Vamataksa does not show any appreciable difference with the Kusana inscriptions of the time of Vasudeva except for some minor points, like the medial *ja* where like the later inscription mentioned above, it is represented by a vertical line starting from the second horizontal or the third. This indicates that the rule mentioned in this record was not much removed in point of time from Kaniska's group. The late Dr. Jayaswal *5 could read the date

1. Ref. 3.
2. Ref. 4.
3. Vogel Cat. M. M. No. C 13.
4. Ibid No. E 25.
5. B. B. O R. S. Vol. V, p. 12 ff.,

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also of this inscription, as the year 6 and the name of the ruler as Wimā with *Takshamasya* as an appellative, meaning according to him 'a strong ruler'. On a close examination of the facsimile published in another issue of the same volume it is difficult to read any date but it cannot be denied on grounds of palaeography that it was not much removed from the time of Vasudeva. Regarding the name of *Wima* as the ruler mentioned in this record it would be rather difficult to split up the name, and identify Vama with Wima and take *takshasya* as *takshmasya* meaning 'strong' as an adjective of the ruler. The name is in the nominative while the adjective is in the genitive. Further we have already shown that Kusana could not be a personal name but the name of a family (cf. Manikiala inscription). We have, therefore, to consider this ruler as a separate Kusana ruler who was a descendant of the Kusanas and succeeded shortly after Vasudeva. He may therefore have been the first Kusanaputra or later Kusana ruler.

So far we had considered the Brahmi inscriptions which we assign to the later Kusana family. We may now consider the solitary Kharosthi record of the year 41 of King Kaniska which too on palaeographic grounds appears to be of later time. As Kharosthi died a natural death in the 4th Century A. D., it is more or less difficult to say which letters represent a later variety. We have therefore no alternative but to compare some letters of the Wardhak inscription of the year 54 with the Ara inscription of the year 41 and notice a difference so as to show that the latter appears of a later time. Now in *ca* the upper limb assumes the position of a vertical joining the head of the letter instead of a curve at the right slightly touching the head as in Wardhak. In the lower limb of the Ara *ca* the acute angle of the Wardhak is replaced by a curve towards the left. The Sui Vihar inscription of Kaniska dated in the year 11, indicates that in *ca* the head curve joins the upper limb which faces left with a vertical, and the left limb is more akin to the angle of the Wardhak inscription *ca*, though the angle itself appears to be a right angle or an obtuse. The difference is also notable in the letter *na*. The Wardhak na has a small circular head opening right but in the Ara inscription the head is more broad and developed facing down and marked by a slight stroke to the vertical at the bottom. In *Ra* of the Wardhak record the top stroke has a slight curve and is more horizontal while the curve in Ara inscription is considerable and assumes more or less a vertical shape. The vertical line of *Ra* in the Ara inscription has a tendency of moving down instead to the left as in Wardhak. The *la* of the Ara inscription is also different from that of the Wardhak inscription. In the latter, the limb is connected with the top of the vertical line and its end has a tendency to join the vertical again, The left limb of the vertical also rises towards the left. In the Ara inscription the limb emerges out of the vertical in the middle and not at the top. There is no tendency of its joining the vertical again nor does the lower end of the vertical rises up. These are a few notable points of differences which distinguish the Ara from the Wardhak inscription and on palaeographic grounds it appears that the difference between

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the two must be considerable and not 13 years as appears from their dates apparently. It therefore appears that the Ara inscription appears to be dated in a different era, since some of its letters show late characteristics. Prof. Sten Konow has also pointed out that the characters are Kharosthi of the later Kusana period.

Thus from these inscriptions we deduce the following points—Firstly on palaeographic grounds they appear to be distinct and different from those of Kaniska's group and secondly they indicate that a separate era was used in these records. Another equally important point is that the Mat inscription of Vamataksa appears to be the earliest in this group as its letters do not show any appreciable change, and they are akin to the inscriptions of the time of Vasudeva, This shows that he appears to have come to power shortly after Vasudeva and may be the first later Kusana ruler. The word Kusanaputra indicates that he was a descendant of the earlier Kusanas.

As the inscriptions are dated in a separate era, and that too should begin after the extinction of the Kusana family of Kaniska, which, as we have pointed out in that paper, occurred in 239 A. D. The only era near or about that date is the Traikuta, Kalchuri or Chedi era of 247/248 A. D. As regards its origin information so far is wanting, but this is known that it was widely current in later times, in C. P. and Gujrat. It is not possible to assign the reason for its currency in later times and that too in a region with which the later Kusanas appear to be in no way concerned. It is just possible that the popularity of this era may have increased in later times. Its use in the Central India and Gujrat records should not in a way throw any doubt on its introduction by the first member of the later Kusana family, with a view to distinguish itself from the earlier Kusana family of Kaniska.

Another point needs a little consideration :—why should we call the later Kusanas as Kusanaputras when this word occurs only in the first inscription of the time of Vamataksa. Here it might be suggested that the word could mean a descendant of the Kusanas and as the other rulers namely Vasu-Vasiska, Kaniska II of the Ara inscription and Kaniska of the Dalpat Ki Khirki Mohalla inscription were no doubt Kusana monarchs as is apparent from the later Kusana coins of Vasu-Vasiska and Kaneshka-Kaniska, in order to distinguish them from the earlier Kusanas we might call this family the Kusana-putra or the descendant of the Kusanas, or even the later Kusanas.

SOME GLIMPSES OF SOCIAL LIFE IN INDIA IN THE AGE OF KALIDASA.

BY

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While it is always difficult to separate the real from the ideal in the works of the poets, much information on social conditions is often scattered in their works. There are good reasons for thinking that if

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proper care is taken in sifting it, the works of some of the poets, *e. g.*, Kalidasa, yield much information which is likely to be of great use to the student of history. Indian poetry had not yet acquired, in the time of Kalidasa, the burden of symbols, conventions, and conceits, which clogged its weary steps in a later age. His heroes and heroines are real men and women and not nayakas and nayikas for whom literary convention had dictated rigid rules of speech and action in a number of prescribed moods and situations. A careful study of his poems reveals further that he was a keen and versatile observer, who was a 'part' of many lands besides his own. He was not only a great poet of humanity but a child of the great age in which he lived.

In his works generally Kalidasa has reflected in a great measure the habits, tastes, and opinions of his contemporaries in the words and actions of his heroes and heroines. The world of the Meghaduta is very much the same as that of the Golden Age of the Guptas. It is a vivid sketch of the life of a people who were in the enjoyment of such peace, prosperity, and the amenities of a highly developed civilisation as, we know, were witnessed in India in the age of the Imperial Guptas. The bustling, vigorous life of the city of Ujjayni as described in the Meghaduta seems to represent its actual condition after Candragupta II's conquest of Guzerat, which made it the great emporium for western trade.

An attempt has been made in the following pages to collect all the information we can get about social life in general and the life of Indian women in particular of the age of Kalidasa from an intensive study of the Meghaduta. Kalidasa describes here a great variety of women of many classess and conditions, though—one may think—he devotes considerable attention only to young city damsels and even courtesans. Again, what seems chiefly to attract his attention in the character of women is their sensuousness and passionateness. Nevertheless, we get many pleasing glimpses of their life in other directions also.

The types of women described or noticed in this poem are :—

(1) The women of the Non-Aryan primitive races of India (vana-cara-vadhu).—They live in the forest to the south of the Narmada. The poet throws out a dark hint at their character in the expression 'bhuktakunje.'

(2) The women of the Siddhas (siddhangana).—According to Mallinath the Siddhas were a class of devas (holy men ?). They lived with their wives on hill-tops and worshipped the god Siva for attaining heaven after death. The Siddha wives were so simple-minded that when during the rains the clouds were driven by the wind, they would wonder with upturned faces whether it was the crest of the hill which was being blown away by the storm.

(3) The village maiden. (janapada vadhu).—Kalidasa devotes only one stanza to a description of the most common type of the women-folk of India, who are numerically the largest and form really the backbone of the nation, *viz.*, the peasant women. We meet the peasant girl on the field where the day's task has just been finished and the air is thick with the aroma of the freshly tilled soil. Kalidasa praises the

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plesant, affectionate look of her eyes, full of simplicity and purity of heart and draws a comparison with the looks of the eyes of the city damsels.

(4) Wives whose husbands are travelling in foreign lands (pathika vanita or virahini).—In the days of Kalidasa such women were numerous enough to form a class by themselves. Travelling, both for pleasure and for business, was, it seems, a usual thing in those days of brisk trade and stirring events. As the events described in the Meghaduta happen in the rainy season, when the men return from foreign lands, the poet describes the anxious wives as getting consolation at the sight of the first cloud of the month of Asadha.

(5) The flower-girs (puspalavi).—As flowers were in great demand in cities, gardens in the suburbs where the jasmine plants naturally grew were frequented by young flower-girls busy plucking the flowers. The poet describes them as hard at their work, perspiring freely, their cheeks flushed and their floral ear-pendants withered and drooping.

(6) Unmarried girls (kanya).—The poet describes the girls of his dream-city of Alaka as playing the 'guptamani' game under the shade of the Mandara trees, being refreshed by the breeze, cooled by contact with the water of the divine Mandakini river. These would-be brides of the gods resemble their human sisters so much that we would not be wrong if we take them as representing the average Indian girl of a good family of the poet's time.

(7) The city-damsels (paurangana).—The poet describes the damsels of the great cities of Ujjayini and Dasapura (modern Mandasor) as well as those of his dream-city of Alaka and brings into sharp relief their highly artificial, luxurious ways of life. The prominent objects of interest, in Ujjayini, according to the poet, are the women ; and he says that those who have not looked at their beautiful eyes are as good as blind. The women of Dasapura are adept in sending speechless messages through their eyes, and when they lift the dark lashes of their charming eyes, it seems that black bees are chasing white *kunda* flowers. The poet describe the lalita-vanita (fair women) of Ujjayini as living in gorgeous palaces, scented with flowers and dyed red with the lac-marks left by their feet.

(8) The courtesans.—The same reasons which gave rise to the class of the hetaiera in Athens were also responsible for the growth of the free women in the cities of India. They played an important part in the public and private lifes of our country and undoubtedly contained many women of the type of theodote and Aspasia. Kalidisa seems to have collected a good deal of information about them, and does not hesitate to describe them as objects of beauty. He notices three classes of these women, as follows :—

(*i*) Panyastri.—The expression is clear enough to need any explanation.

(*ii*) Abhisarika.—They would go out to meet their lovers under cover of a dark night in the trysts. They seem to have

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been married women or in any case not free to carry on their love affairs, as the poet say that they were extremely timid. These women sometimes came from rich families or acquired great riches ; for we learnt that while passing through the streets at night they would drop, through trepidation, some of their golden ear-rings, pearl necklaces. etc.

(*iii*) Vesya.—These were the same as the Devadasis of modern Hindu temple. We find them dancing before the god Mahakala at Ujjayini, their girdles jingling beautifully at the rhythmic movement of their feet and their hands wearied with waving the jewelled *camara*. But the poet does not fail to notice the long side-glances thrown by the play of their dark eye-lashes, resembling bees in flight, at young visitors of the temples.

I shall now endeavour to find out and discuss the light which the Meghaduta throws on the life of the women described above. I have already observed that the city dames had an extremely artificial and luxurious way of living. What Miss Olive Schreiner calls the 'parasitic stage' in the life of the woman may indeed be discerned in the palaces of the rich at Ujjayini and Dasapura, as described by the poet. Nevertheless, even a superficial perusal of the poem convinces us of the fact that our ladies in that age were in constant touch with nature. The deep sympathy between woman and nature is a very important feature of the life described in the Meghaduta.

The repeated mention of floral ornaments in the Meghaduta indicates the extensive use of them by the ladies of all classes. The poem contains references to articles of toilet of various sort. The pollen of the Lodhra blossom was applied to the face to make it appear yellowish-white. The locks were perfumed with scented fumes. The ladies also used scents of various sorts (*e. g.*, sandal paste) so that when they were engaged in water-sports, the air would become thick with their smell. Among the ornaments worn by ladies, we find the following mentioned:—a net of pearls for the tresses, the jingling girdle for the waist, bangles, both plain and with diamond points, golden lilies for the hair, and various sorts of necklaces—a veriety particularly mentioned being a string of pearls with the Indranila gem as a pendant. The poet informs us that an important object for sight-seers at Ujjayini were the pearls, corals, diamonds, etc., with the shoots of their rays jetting forth. They were exposed for sale in the market-stalls. He also mentions various sorts of silken garments as being worn by the ladies of the time.

The women of the time lived a gay, robust life. They certainly enjoyed light and air, the two blessings of nature, more freely than their less fortunate sisters of the cities of modern India. Their intimate touch with nature lifted life out of the dull routine of household duties. The wife of the Yaksa found some consolation in her grief by rearing up a young Mandara plant. Another diversion for her was talking with the caged parrot or making the peafowl dance by clapping her beautiful hands.

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Many of the fine arts of ancient India were diligently cultivated by the ladies. The wife of the Yaksa a good musician. She could not only pay upon the lute, but could herself compose songs in which her husband's name would occur again and again. She was skilled in painting too. and could draw from her imagination the likeness of her husband emaciated by separation. The poet tells us that the walls of the palaces of Ujjayini were adorned by numerous paintings, and it is possible that some of them were drawn by the ladies of the house.

The greatest poets, like an greatest artists, are those who are most faithful to reality. An intensive study of Kalidasa's work—even of such creations of fancy as the Meghaduta—shows that his art is never so idealistic that it leaves actualities behind or fails to reflect real human elements or passions. In his descriptions they are many omissions but no mistakes. That is why the few glimpses of life in ancient times which we get from his works are to be regarded as of great value. In his immortal works we get some vision of the happy, slow-moving life of our ancestors in a country, which for centuries had been the site of a mighty civilisation, and which, as yet, was on the whole, undisturbed by foreign conquests.

A NOTE ON THE IDENTITY OF PURUGUPTA AND SKANDAGUPTA.

BY

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Mr. Krishna Deva[1] has revived the theory of Dr. Hoernle[2] that Puragupta (now called Purugupta from the evidence of the Nalanda seals of Budhagupta and Visnugupta) and Skandagupta were identical. We are not convinced with the arguments of Mr. Krishna Deva and in this paper, we will examine his arguments and show that Purugupta was not identical with Skandagupta.

We shall take up the arguments of Mr. Krishna Deva one by one. Firstly, he says that Purugupta must have been identical with Skandagupta as the term *tatpadanudhyata* is applied to both of them in the Gupta records. And according to him, the term has the technical sense of immediate successor in the Gupta records, as it is not applied to Chandragupta II in relation to Samudragupta. The term *tatparigrhita* or *tatpadaparigrhita* is applied to Chandragupta, instead of *tatpadanudhyata*. Mr. Krishna Deva attributes this to the supposed fact that it was Ramagupta and not Chandragupta II, who directly succeeded Samudragupta. But there is no epigraphic or other evidence that Ramagupta directly succeeded Samudragupta. It is still a controversial point. On the other hand the very fact that *tatparigrhita* accepted by him (as his successor), is applied to Chandragupta II in relation to

1. E. I ; XXVI, pt. 5, pp. 237—238.
2. J. R. A. S. 1909, p. 102.

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Samudragupta shows that the former directly succeeded the latter. Or else there is no point in saying that the former was accepted by the latter as his successor. Now though we may agree that the term *tatpadanudhyata* has the technical sense of immediate successor in some Gupta records, we say that it is not the only sense in which it is used in the Gupta and other records. Mr. K. C. Chattopadhyaya[1] has gone to the extent of saying that the term means only "favoured by the feet of". Though one cannot agree with this this view, there is no doubt that the term is not used only in the sense of immediate successor in the Gupta records. *Tatpadanudhyata* is only a term showing respect and reverence of a person towards another. Thus it may be used by a younger brother in relation to his elder brother[2]; by a grandson in relation to his grandfather[3]; and by a son with respect to his father[4] and also both his parents (mata-pitr-padanudhyatah applied to Raja Maha—Jayaraja in lines 3—4 of his Arang copper-plate inscription)[5]. It may also be used by a feudatory in relation to his paramount sovereign[6], and by a subordinate in relation to a feudatory *Maharaja*.[7] Finally, it may be used in connection with worship of gods.[8] Thus *tatpadanudhyatha* is used in many sense in Gupta and other records. It seems the term may be applied to any son of a king who rules after him but not necessarily immediately after him and who succeeds him, but not necessarily to the same throne and the same kingdom of the same extent as that of his father. *Tatpadanudhyata* might be applied to both Skandagupta and Purugupta in relation to their father, though they might not be identical. Each son might express his own individual respect towards his father separately. Each might have ruled separately at the same time or at different times, in the same region or in different ones. With all these probabilities before us, we need not infer that Purugupta and Skandagupta were identical just because the term *tatpadanudhyata* is applied to both of them in relation to their father.

Secondly, Mr. Krishna Deva thinks that Skandagupta was perhaps called Purugupta in recognition of his defeat of the Huns. If we have to give the name of Purugupta to Skandagupta in recognition of his achievements, we can as well give it to Samudragupta or Chandragupta II whose achievements were no less greater than those of Skandagupta. But we will show shortly that the word 'Purugupta' could only be the independant name of a particular ruler and that it could not be the title etc., of another ruler like Skandagupta. The word 'Purugupta' ends with the terminus 'gupta' which is commonly the terminus in the names of Gupta rulers. This shows that 'Purugupta' could only be a name, an independent name of a Gupta ruler, and not a title etc.

1. I. H. Q., xviii.
2. Fleet, Gupta inscriptions, p. 17 n-2 ; p. 232 also.
3. Ibid., p. 187 n.
4. Ibid., p. 17 n.
5. Ibid., p. 193.
6. Ibid., p. 25.
7. Ibid., p. 235.
8. Ibid., p. 111.

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of another. So it could not be a title etc. of Skandagupta given in recognition of his defeat of the Huns. In support of his theory, Mr. Krishna Deva says that Skandagupta (called Sakaraditya in the Arya-manju-sri-mulakalpa[1]) had many titles as shown by the phrase 'Vividhakhya' applied to him in the MMK[2]. Evidently Mr. Krishna Deva implies that Skandadagupta was called Purugupta, as the former is said to have many titles. But we have already shown that 'Purugupta' could only be the independent name of a separate ruler.

Mr. Krisnna Deva bases his third argument on the supposed absence of any coins issued by Purugupta. He says that this absence can be explained if we assume the identity of Purugupta with Skandagupta. But Mr. Krishna Deva is arguing on the basis of a wrong assumption. He assumes that the coins formerly attributed to Puragupta (Purugupta) are really those of his successors and for this he cites the authority of an article in the Indian Culture (Vol. I, p. 691). But there only one gold coin formerly said to be of Puragupta is attributed to Budhagupta as the title of the article itself shows. Again even with regard to this coin, the reading of 'Budhagupta' in the place of 'Puraguta' (Purugupta) is not incontrovertible. Mr. Jagan Nath[3] says that the reading is entirely unwarranted.

Fourthly, Mr. Krishna Deva argues that Skandagupta and Purugupta were identical because there is no incontrovertible evidence that the Gupta empire was disintegrated and divided (by Skandagupta and Purugupta) during or immediately after the reign of Skandagupta or that Skandagupta and Purugupta were collaterals. But we may with equal emphasis point out that there is no evidence at all either in the inscriptions or on the coins of Skandagupta that he was also called Purugupta. We have already shown, in dealing with the second argument of Mr. Krishna Deva, that *prima facie* 'Purugupta' could not be a title etc. of any other ruler like Skandagupta. Let us have this in our mind. Then let us agree, though not on account of the reason adduced by Mr. Krishna Deva, that the term *tatpadanudhyata* means "immediate successor." From the fact that 'Purugupta' could not be a name or title etc. of Skandagupta and from the very fact that *tatpadanudhyata* is applied to both Skandagupta and Purugupta in relation to Kumaragupta I, it follows that the Gupta empire was divided sometime after Kumaragupta by Skandagupta and Purugupta.

Thus there are also many reasons to hold that Skandagupta were not identical. It seems Mr. Krisnna Deva,relies too much on the Arya-manju-sri-mulakalpa. But the MMK is not regular in mentioning kings. It may or may not give kings one after the another. Sometimes it leaves some kings entirely (*e. g.* Gupta, the founder of the dynasty, Ghatotkacha and Chandragupta I, are not mentioned while it mentions Samudragupta and others). It is no wonder that it overlooks the name of Purugupta. We may accept its evidence if it is supported by

1. Text given by Dr. Jayaswal, sloka 646
2. Ibid., sloka 647
3. J. I. H., xxi, pt. 3, Dec. 1942, p. 168.

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"A new Type of Vishnu image from Aligarh" for VI—Indian History Congress, Aligarh.

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other evidence like the epigraphic or the numismatic. But when there are no hints at all in the inscriptions or on the coins of Skandagupta that he was also called by the name of Purugupta, we cannot say that Skandagupta and Purugupta were identical, because the name of Purugupta is not given in the list of Gupta kings by the MMK.

A NEW TYPE OF VISHNU IMAGE FROM ALIGARH.

BY

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The attention of scholars interested in the religious history of India is drawn to a new specimen of Vishnu image which has been recently obtained from a village named Bhankari (District Aligarh, about 14 miles south-west of the city where we have assembled today. It was kept on a *chamarha* outside the village, until the time of its acquisition, and was worshipped there as an image of *devi* by the village folk. The exact find-spot of the sculpture could not be determined but, in all probability, it originated from an adjoining tank which is supposed to be of considerable antiquity. Other antiquities, though much too fragmentary, which were noticed there, were : a statute of Vishnu in his boar incarnation, a female figure, probably of Vaishnavi, a small Vishun image, a few moulded bricks and some small architectural fragments. All these antiquities range in date from 5th cent. to 9th cent. of our era. It, therefore, appears that in the regime of the great Gupta Emperors was built at village Bhankari a temple of *Bhagwan* Vishnu wherein the subjoined image was installed. It was acquired under Treasure Trove Act[1] and on account of its similarity to Mathura sculptures, both in style and material, is now preserved in the Archaeological Museum at Muttra. It may be described thus :

Torso (No. 2989, Ht. 1'-2") of Maha-Vishnu (Vishnu-cum-*nrisimha*-cum-*varaha*) in alto-relievo. The central face is human while the right and left are respectively those of a lion and a boar. The central head bears an elaborate diadem adorned with *makarika* and pearl-festoon (*mauktikajala*) device. The other decorative ornaments consist of flowery earrings (*patra-kundala*), necklace (*ekavali*) of big round pearls and a tastefully arranged "garland of forest flowers" (*vanamala*). The figure was originally four-armed as is evident from the traces of the bifurcating lines on the arm-stumps but as the entire portion below the waist and elbow is lacking it cannot be ascertained what attributes were held therein. Behind the head was a large circular halo (*prabha-mandala*), now partially preserved, on which are portrayed the nine planets (*navagraha*) beginning with Sun and ending with *Rahu*, the fire deity *Agni*. recognized by his flabby body, the pot (*kamandalu*) and the halo of flames (*Jvala*), the twin celestial" physicians *Ashvinikumara* and the four sons of Brahma: *Sanaka*, *Sanandana*, *Sanatana* and *Sanatkumara*. The extant

1. I am indebted to A. T. Naqvi, Esqr., I. C. S., the then collector of Aligarh, for the valuable help he so kindly gave me in acquiring the sculpture.

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portion of the image is in excellent state of preservation and its supple *elan* and the lively expression of the face bespeak the hand of a master sculptor. It is made of the usual mottled sandstone of *Sikri* quarry and. on grounds of style, can be assigned to c. 5th cent. A. D.

In Vedic age Vishnu occupied a very minor position and was only considered as a manifestation of the solar energy. In Pauranic age he gradually came into prominence forming, together with Shiva and Brahma, the Triad of the Hindu Mythology. In plastic art his representations are found from 2nd cent. B. C.[1] His conception as *Maha* or *Vishwarupa* Vishnu *i. e.* Vishnu encompassing in himself the whole universe, appears to have originated in the time of the Great Gupta Emperor Chandragupta II, *Vikramaditya*, who assuming as it were the incarnation of *nrisimha* lacerated the entrails of the Saka king and again as *Varaha* rescued from him his brother's wife Dhruvadeyi.[2] Several sculptures of Mahavishnu have so far been discovered in Mathura art and are preserved in the local Archaeological Museum[3] as well as elsewhere;[4] but the one under review is by far the best as it surpasses all the previous ones in its beautiful modelling combined with restrained elegance. Besides, it is remarkable for its great iconographic value also, being hitherto the only known example of Mahavishnu in which for the first time the halo has been meant to represent the sky or *vyomamandala* and such divine beings as *Agni*, *Navagraha*,, etc., introduced thereon. The Aligarh Mahavishnu image, therefore, constitutes a highly valuable addition to our collection adding a new quality to the history of the Brahmanical art and religion of Mathura in the Greet Gupta Epoch.

488 B. C. as the Date of MAHAVIRA NIRVANA

BY

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The traditional chronology of the Svetambara sect of the Jains given in Tapagachha Pattavali and Merutunga's Vicarsreni, which has been made familiar by scholars like Buhler, Jacobi and Charpentier, puts Mahavira Nirvana 470 years before the Vikrama era. As the beginning of the Vikrama era synchronises with 58 B. C. these traditions will give 528 B. C. as the date of Mahavira Nirvana. These traditions record that Mahavira died on the same night as Palaka was anointed king in Avanti, and 470 years between Mahavira Nirvana and the commencement of the Vikrama era are made up of the reign-periods of the following kings and dynasties :

	Years.
Palaka	60
Nandas	155

1. Banerjea. J. N., Development of Hindu Iconography. p. 102.
2. Cf. the story of the drama Devichandraguntam.
3. Vogel. J. Ph., Cat. of sculptures in the Mathura Museum, D. 28 p. 100 Also Mathura Museum Register Nos. 2419 and 2825.
4. Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin No. 104, Vol, XVII p. 60, December, 1919.

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Mauryas ..	..	..	..	108
Pusyamitra	..	..	..	30
Balamitra and Bhanumitra		..	..	60
Nahavana	..	..	..	40
Gardabhila	..	..	..	13
Sakas ..	..	..	..	4
				470

After the Sakas in Merutunga's Vicarsreni we have 135 years assigned to Vikramaditya and his dynasty after which, or 605 years after Mahavira Nirvana comes the Saka King who displaces the dynasty of Vikramaditya.

Much credit has not been given to the Jain traditional date of 528 B. C. for the death of Mahavira. This date puts too big a gap between Buddha and Mahavira to make them contemporaneous, which fact is so clearly implied in both the Buddhist as well as the Jain traditions. There is almost a general agreement among the modern scholars that Buddha died within a few years of 480 B. C. Elsewhere I have argued afresh for 487 B. C. as the date of Buddha Nirvana,[1] and even this will place a difference of nearly 40 years between the death of Buddha and Mahavira, if the Jain traditional date of 528 B. C. for Mahavira Nirvana is accepted.

To overcome this difficulty and in order to bring the death of the two teachers nearer to each other Charpentier following Jacobi adopts 468 B. C. as the date of Mahavira Nirvana on the authority of the Jain author Hemachandra. As he argues, "The dynastic list of the Jains mentioned above tells us that Candragupta, the Sandrokottos of the Greeks, began his reign 255 years before the Vikrama era, or in 313 B. C., a date that cannot be far wrong. And Hemachandra states that at this time 155 years had elapsed since the death of Mahavira which would thus have occurred in 468 B. C.'[2]

The great difficulty in accepting 468 B. C. as the date for Mahavira Nirvana is that it places his death several years after that of Buddha. The traditions preserved in the Buddhist Pali canon clearly tell us that Niganthr Nataputta, *i e.* Mahavira, died at Pava a little before Buddha.[3] Jacobi and Charpentier have rather lightly set aside this old Buddhist tradition. They have also been wrong in denouncing the traditional chronology of Jains as "absolutely valueless[4]" The chief reason for

1. "Buddha Nirvana and some other dates in ancient Indian Chronology." Indian culture Vol. V. No. 3 pp. 305 ff ; and also "chronology of Asokan Inrcriptions". Journal of Indian History, Vol. XVII, Part 3.

2. Cam. Hist. of India Vol. I. p. 156.

3. Digha Nikaya. III pp. 117, 209 ; and Majjhima Nikaya, II, pp. 243 ff. We are told here that while Buddha stayed at Samagama, the report was brought to him that his rival had died at Pava, and that the Nigranthas, his followers, were divided by serious scheme. According to Jain traditions also Mahavira died at Pava.

4. Compare the following remark of Charpentier about the Jain chronology given above, "the list is absolutely valueless, as it confuses rulers of Ujjain, Magadha, and other kingdoms ; and some of these may perhaps have been contemporary, and not successive as they are represented". Camb. History of India Vol. 1, p. 155.

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their so discrediting the Jain chronological traditions is based on their belief that it refers to the kings of Magadha. As Charpentier observes, "As for the statements made in them, they are of a somewhat mysterious nature. Palaka, King of Avanti, is here mixed up with the Nanda and Maurya dynasties and Pusyamitra of Magadha, and with several rulers of Western India, among whom Gardabhila is elsewhere stated to have been the father of Vikramaditya, and Saka a prince belonging to the non-Indian dynasties of north-western India. Jacobi has already shown that the introduction of King Palaka of Avanti into this list, which must from the beginning have been intended to give the names of the kings of Magadha, as Mahavira belonged to that country, seems highly suspicious[1]."

It is not correct to treat these Jain chronological traditions as referring to the kings of Magadha. In fairness to these traditions it should be noted that all the kings and dynasties mentioned in these are definitely known to be connected with Central and Western India ; of course, some of them ruled over a big empire covering other parts of India including Magadha. About Palaka there is no doubt that he was the second king of the Pradyota dynasty of Ujjain. About him Charpentier himself observes that he is "identical with Palaka, son and successor of Pradyota, King of Avanti, and brother of Vasavadatta, queen of the famous King Udayana of Vatsa. As this Udayana was a contemporary of Mahavira and Buddha, it is quite possible that his brother-in-law Palaka may have succeeded to the throne in a time nearly coinciding with the death of Mahavira.[2]" The Nandas too ruled over Western India. Nandivardhana the first king and the founder of the Nanda dynasty figures alike in the Pauranic list of the kings of Magadha as well as Ujjain. There is not the least doubt of the rule of the Mauryas over Central and Western India for which there is ample inscriptional as well as traditional evidence. The same can be said about Pusyamitra and the Sunga dynasty he founded to which probably Balamitra and Bhanumitra of the Jain list also belong. Nahavana, who, as we shall see later on, is correctly identified with Nahapana, again undoubtedly belonged to Central and Western India. Gardabhila is also associated in Kalakacarya Katha[3] and other Jain traditions with Ujjain. He was driven out from here by the Sakas, whom Kalaka, according to the Kalakacarya Katha, brought to Ujjain from the western bank of the Indus *via* Saurastra. The traditions persistently aver that after a short rule the Sakas were driven out of Ujjain by Vikramadity, son of Gardabhila. Puranas also mention a Gardabhila dynasty of seven kings, which appear to be contemporary of the Andhras. After the Gardabhilas the Jain traditions have the Saka King. Saka rule in Central and Western India in the early centuries of the Christian era is also an undoubted fact. It may not be difficult to find reason for the importance given by the Jains in their chronology to the rulers of Central and Western India. With

1. IA. Vol. XLIII, p. 121.
2. Ibid. P. 121.
3. W. N. Brown. The story of Kalaka.

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Asoka's patronisation of Buddhism and the Sungas and the Kanvas after the Mauryas upholding the orthodox Brahmanism, the connection of Jains with Magadha and Eastern India became less and less intimate, and the scene of their activities shifted to Malwa and Western India with Ujjain as its chief centre.

Thus, it is wrong to treat these Jain chronological traditions as entirely valueless. It may be useful to estimate the truth underlying them by comparing these with other Jain chronological traditions and also with the Pauranic and the Buddhist traditions bearing on them. We must remmember, as pointed out by Merutunga[1], that in these traditions complete dynastic list in each case is not given and sometimes only certain important ruler is mentioned, and under his name total reign of the whole dynasty given.

We have another Svetambara Jain chronological tradition, slightly different than the above, given in Titthagolipainnaya, which gives the following chronology.

Palaka	60 years.
Nandas	150 years.
Mauryas	160 years.
Pusyamitra	35 years.
Balamitra and Bhanu Mitra	60 years.
Nabhasena	40 years.
Gadabhas	100 years.

This tradition also places the Saka King after Gadabhas, 605 years. after Mahavira's Nirvana.

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1. इह यदा यो राजा स्व्यानिमानभूत, तदा
तस्य राज्यं गण्यते, न तु पट्टानुक्रमः—Vicarsreni.

2. जं रयणिं सिद्धिगओ अरहा नित्यंकरो महावीरो।
तं रयणिं अवंतीए अभिसित्तो पालवो राया ॥६२०॥
पालगरण्णो सट्ठी पुण पण्णसयं वियाणि नन्दाणं।
मुरियाणं सट्ठिसयं पंणतीसा पुस्समित्ताणं ॥६२१॥
बलमित्ता-भाणुमित्ता सट्ठा चत्ता य होंति नभसेणो।
गद्दभ सयं एकं पुण पडिवन्नो तो सगो राया ॥६२२॥
पंच मासा पंच य वासा छच्चेव होंति वाससया।
परिनिव्वुअस्सऽरिहतो तोऽप्पन्नो सगो राया ॥६२३॥

Shantilal Shah, "The traditional chronology of the Jainas". p. 16 f.

Shah regards Tithagolipainnya as the oldest Jain chronological work. He assigns it to the early part of the fourth century A. D.

The above verses from Tithagolipainnya are also quoted by Muni Darshan Vijya in his "Pattavali Samucaya". P. 197.

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The Digambara sect of the Jains has preserved chronological traditions, which excepting in one or two important respects, are not far different from the Svetambara ones given above. Tiloyapannati[1] and Jinsena's Harivamsa Purana[2], important Digambara texts, give the following chronology.

	Years.
Palaka	.. 60
Vijya Kings (Nandas ?)	.. 155

1. जक्काले वीरजिणो णिस्सेयस संपयं समावण्णो ।
तक्काले अभिसित्तो पालयणामो अवंतिसुदो ॥१५०५॥
पालकरज्जं सट्ठिं इगिसयपण्णवण्णा विजयवंसभवा ।
चालं मुरुदयवंसो तीसं वस्सा सुपुस्समित्तस्स ॥१५०६॥
वसुमित्त-आग्गिमित्ता सट्ठी गंधव्वया वि सयमेक्कं ।
णरवाहणा य चालं तत्तो भत्थट्ठणा जादा ॥१५०७॥
अत्थट्ठणाण कालो दोण्णिसयाइं हवंति बादाला ।
तत्तो गुत्ता ताणं रज्जे दोण्णि य सयाणि इगितीसा ॥१५०८॥
तत्तो कक्की जादो इंदसुदो तस्स चउमुहो णामो ।
सत्तरि वरिसा आऊ विगुणियइगिवीस रज्जंतो ॥१५०९॥
णिव्वाणे वीरजिणे छव्वाससदेसु पंचवरिसेसुं ।
पणमासेसु गदेसुं संजादो सगणिओ अहवा ॥१४९९॥

Tiloyapannati (Jivaraja Granthmala Sholapur, under print).

2. वीरनिर्वाणकाले च पालकोऽत्राभिषिच्यते । लोकेऽवंतिसुतो राजा प्रजानां प्रतिपालकः ॥४८७॥
षष्टिर्वर्षाणि तद्राज्यं ततो विषयभूभुजां । शतं च पंचपंचाशद्वर्षाणि तदुदीरितं ॥४८८॥
चत्वारिंशत्पूरूढानां भूमंडलमखंडितं । त्रिंशत्तु पुष्यमित्राणां षष्टिर्वस्वग्निमित्रयोः ॥४८९॥
शतं रासभराजानां नरवाहनमायतः । चत्वारिंशत्ततो द्वाभ्यां चत्वारिंशछतद्वयं ॥४९०॥
भद्रवाणस्य तद्राज्यं गुप्तानां च शतद्वयं । एकविंशश्च वर्षाणि कालविद्भिरुदाहृतं ॥४९१॥
द्विचत्वारिंशदेवातः कालिकराजस्य राजता । ततोऽजितंजयो राजा स्याद्रिंद्रपुरसंस्थितः ॥४९२॥
वर्षाणां षट्शतीं त्यक्त्वा पंचाग्रं मासपंचकं । मुक्ति गते महावीरे शकराजस्ततोऽभवत् ॥५५१॥
मुक्तिंगते महावीरे प्रतिवर्षसहस्रकं । एकैके जायते कल्कीं जिनधर्मविरोधकः ॥५५२॥

Jinasena Harivanasa Purana Ch. 60.

In the manuscript of this work used by K. B. Pathak, Guptas are given 231 years (गुप्तानां च शतद्वयम् । एकत्रिंशच्च वर्षाणि कालविद्भिरुदाहृतम् ॥)

(In Ant. Vol. XV P. 142. If we assign 231 years to the Guptas then only we shall get 1000 years mentioned in these traditions as the interval between the death of Mahavira and that of Kalki. 231 years for the Guptas also given in Tileryapannati appear to be the correct version.

The Ms. used by Pathak has Muruda instead of Puruda and Bhathavana instead of Bhadravana. The Ms. used by Jayaswal (In An Vol.46) has Vijya instead of Vishya and Bhattavana instead of Bhadravana.

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Muruda Kings (Mauryas ?)	..	..	..	40
Busyamitra ..	..	..	..	30
Vasumitra and Agnimitra	..	..	..	60
Gandhavas or Rasabhas	..	..	..	100
Narvahana ..	..	..	..	40
Bhathatthana (Satvahanas ?)	..	..	..	242
Guptas	..	..	..	231
Kalki	..	..	..	42

This tradition thus gives 1000 years between the death of Mahavira and the end of the reign of Kalki. These Digambara texts also separately record that 605 years elapsed between Mahavira Nirvana and the Saka King, but unlike the Svetambara ones, they do not give any details of the reign-periods during this interval.

All the Jain traditions given above assign 60 years to Palaka. This may include as suggested above not only the reign-period of Palaka but also of his successors in his line. Sixty years of reign-period for Palaka is implied by the tradition reported by Hemachandra who says that Nanda became king sixty years after Mahavira Nirvana[1]. This probably refers to Nandivardhana, who succeeded Palakas dynasty in Ujjain. The Puranas record conflicting chronologies for the Pradyota dynasty. However certain Pauranic traditions seem to indicate that the five kings in Pradyota line all of whom appear to be his sons, perished after a reign of 52 years[2]. This comes near the sixty years assigned to Pradyota's son Palaka in the Jain traditions.

As regards the Nandas the Jain traditions given above mostly assign to them a period of 155 years. On the other hand, as noticed above Hemachandra gives 155 years between the death of Mahavira and the accession of Chandragupta Maurya[3] which may not be far from the truth. If we knock out of it 60 years assigned by him as the period between the death of Mahavira and the accession of the Nanda king, it will leave 95 years for the Nandas. The Ceylonees Buddhist traditions seem to give 90 years to the same dynasty[4]. The Puranas again recod conflicting chronological traditions about the Nanda dynasty. But a total of hundred years for all the Nandas is suggested by

1. अनन्तरं वर्द्धमानस्वामिनिर्वाण-वासरात् ।
गतायां षष्टिवत्सर्यामेष नन्दोऽजनभवृपः ॥ (परि० ६, २४३)

2. Pargiter D K A. P. 68.

3. एवं च श्रीमहावीरमुक्तेर्वर्षशते गते ।
पंच-पंचाशदधिके चन्द्रगुप्तोऽभवन्नृपः ॥ (परि० ८, ३३६)

4. Susunaga...18.
Kalasoka...28.
Ten sons of Kalasoka...22.
Nine Nandas ...22 Calm. Hist. of India Vol. 1. P. 189.
Susunaga of the Buddhist traditions has been correctly identified with Nandwardhana and Kalasoka with Mahanandin by S. N, Pradhan, "Chronology of Ancient India". P. 220 ff.

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certain Pauranic traditions, which say that after the Nandas had reigned for one hundred years Kautilya uprooted them, and the sovereignty passed on to the Mauryas[1]. This may be more or less correct tradition.

As regards the Mauryas, there seems to be great uncertainty about their reign-period in the Jain traditions given above. One Svetambara tradition assigns 160 years to them, another 108 years, and the Digambara traditions assign to this dynasty only 40 years. The last seems to be of no value as the reign-period, of the first three great Mauryas, Chandragupta, Bindusara and Asoka, itself comes to 85 years according to the unanimous tradition recorded in the Puranas[2], and 93 years according to the Ceylonese Buddhist traditions[3]. There is also no doubt, as is evidenced by inscriptional records as well as the traditional accounts, that the rule of these first three great Mauryas extended to Central and Western India. The association of Samprati, grandson of Asoka and a great patron of Jainism, with Central and Western India is also very strongly attested by the Jain traditions[4]. Only in certain Puranas we get a complete record of the chronology of the Maurva kings, which is as follows[5] :—

	Years.
Chandrapupta	24
Bindusara	25
Asoka	36
Kunala	8
Bandhupalita	8
Dasona	7
Dasaratha	8
Samprati	9
Salisuka	13
Devadharman or Devavarman	7
Satadhanvan	8
Brihadratha	7
Total ..	160

1. Pargiter, DKA. P. 69,

2. The Puranas give the following reign-periods for these monarchs.
Chandragupta 24 years. Bindusara 25 years and Asoka 36 years.
Pargiter. DKA, P. 70.

3. The traditions as preserved in Mahavamsa give the following chronology of the reign of these three kings.
Chandragupta 24 years, Bindusara 28 years, Asoka 41 years.
(four years before his coronation and 37 years after it).

4. We gather from the Jain work Dipalika Kalpa of Jinsundera that Samprati became king of Ujjain 300 years after Mahavira Nirvana.

दिनतो मम मोक्षस्य गते वर्षशतत्रये । उज्जयिन्यां महापुर्यां भावी संप्रति भूपतिः ॥

5. Pargiter DKA.
Also compare Cam. Hist. of India. Vol. 1. P. 511.

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Against this total of 160 years obtained by adding the reign-peridos of the various Maurya kings, some of the Puranas give a total of 137 years for this dynasty. A comparison of the Pauranic and the Jain traditions concerning the reign period of the Mauryas will make us give more credit to a total reign-period of 160 years to this dynasty. In any caste it must be noted that following certain Pauranic traditions referred to above if we assign 100 years to the Nandas and 160 years to the Mauryas we get a total of 260 years for these two dynasties, which is very near 263 years (155 - 108) assigned to these two dynasties, in the traditions recorded in Tapagachha Pattavali as well as in Merutunga's Vicarsreni. If we take 263 years of these Jain traditions as the correct total for these two dynasties, whether we assign 155 years to the Nandas and 108 years to the Mauryas or 160 to the Mauryas and the remaining 103 years to the Nandas, it will not affect our enquiry regarding the date of Mahavira Nirvana.

After the Mauryas the Jain traditions assign 30 years to Pusya-Mitra, and after him some traditions assign 60 years to his son and grandson, Agnimitra and Vasumitra, others, Assign these 60 years to Balamitra and Bhanumitra, who also, as suggested above, appear to belong to the Sunga dynasty. Against the 90 years assigned to the Sungas in the Jain tradition, the Puranas assign a total reign-period of 112 years to this dynasty. This discrepancy between the Jain and the Pauranic total for this dynasty may be due to the fact that the Jain traditions give its reign-period in Central and Western India, whereas the Pauranic traditions record the total reign-period of this dynasty in Magadha. As suggested by the rise of the Andhras, the influence of the Sungas ceased earlier in Central and Western India than perhaps in Magadha and Eastern India. The Sanchi inscriptions of the Andhra king Satakarni[1] may indicate that the influence of this dynasty had reached Central India in the first century B. C. On the other hand "it is indeed doubtful if the Andhras ever ruled in Magadha[2]". Ninety years of the reign-period in Central and Western India assigned to the Sungas in the Jain records may be a correct tradition.

So far from Palaka down to the end of the Sungas the dynastic succession list, apart from differing reign-period in certain cases, is the same in all the Jain traditions. It is after this that serious discrepancy appears amongst the various Jain traditions. The Svetambara traditions quoted above from Merutunga's Vicarsreni, Tapagachha Patta vali and Titthagolipainnaya place 40 years of Nahavana after Balamitra and Bhanumitra. After Nahavana Tappagachha Pattavali and Vicarsreni assign 13 years to Gardabhila and 4 to the Sakas. Then comes Vikramaditya. Vikramaditya, according to the Jain traditions, was the son of Gardabhila[3]. Vikramaditya and his dynasty can therefore be treated as the Gardabhilas. Merutunga's Vicarsreni gives 145 years to Vikramaditya and his dynasty or 152 years to the whole Gardabhila

1. Liders, 'List of Branmi Inscriptions No. 346'.
2. Cambridge History of India Vol. I., p. 224.
3. Merutinga's Vicarsreni.

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dynasty including the inter-regnum of 4 years for the Sakas. After the Gardabhila dynasty comes the Saka king. This happened 605 years after Mahavira Nirvana. Titthagotipainnya after Nahvana's 40 years assigns 100 years to the Gardbhas, by which apparently Gardabhilas are meant. No mention is made here separately of Gardabhila, the Sakas or Vikramaditya. One hundred years assigned to the Gardabhas in this tradition, perhaps, cover the thirteen years of Gardabhila, four of the Saka and after it the reign of Vikramaditya and his dynasty. This tradition also places after the Gardabhilas the Saka king, 605 years after Mahavira Nirvana.

The Digambara Jain traditions, on the other hand, after the sixty years of Vasumitra and Agnimitra assign one hundred years to the Gardabhilas, whom Tiloyapannati calle as Gandhavas and Hasivamsa Purana as Rasabhas. 'Rasabha' seems only a translation of Gardhava both meaning 'ass[1]'. It is a common practice in Indian traditions to etymologically explain personal family and tribal names. We may recall the story given in the Kalakacarya Katha of the King Gardabhila being called by this name as he mastered the magic known as 'Gadabhi' 'she ass'. Elsewhere we have s uggested that Gardabhila may be identical with Kharaveta of the Hathigumpha inscription fame. We have tried to show these that like Gardabhila Kharaveta also belonged to the first century B. C. Kharaveta's conquest of Western and Central India are attested by his inscription. Gardabhila may be a translated form of the name Kharavela, "Khar" like 'Gardabha, also meaning ass. The same process of translation can be traced in Jinasena calling Gardabhilas and his dynasty as Rasabha-kings. Our surmise is that the dynasty founded by Kharavela is the same as the Gardabhilas of the Jain and the Pauranic traditions. If this surmise is correct then the 13 years of reign and conquest of Kharavela mentioned in the Hathigumpha inscription will correspond to the reign of 13 years assigned to Gardabhila in the Jain traditions in which case the victorious career of Kharevela and Gardalabila came to an end after his defeat by the Sakas. It has also been surmised that Vakradeva of Kharavela's dynasty may be the famous Vikramaditya, who drove the Sakas out of Ujjain[2].

After the Gardhavas or Rasabhas (Gardabhilas) these Digambara Jain traditions place Nahavana, whom they call as Narvahana, and these traditions also like the Svetambara ones assign him 40 years. After Nahavana comes Bhathatthanas, then the Guptas, and after the Guptas comes Kalki. These traditions count 1000 years between the death of Mahavira and that of Kalki. It is interesting to note that these Digambara chronological traditions unlike the Svetambara ones do not refer to Vikramaditya. They are preoccupied chiefly in establishing a chronology to show a difference of 1000 years between Mahavira Nirvana and Kalki. The Svetambara chronological traditions on the other hand are chiefly concerned with the Saka King who is placed 605 years after Mahavitra Nirvana. They are not concerned with Kalki and do not

1. Brown. The story of Kalaka.
2. Nagpur University Journal, No. 8.

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carry the chronological list beyond the Saka King. But the most important difference between the Digambara and the Svetambara Jain chronological traditions is that in the former Nahavana is placed after and in the latter before the Gardabhilas.

Nahavana is undoubtedly, as is generally believed by modern historians, the same as Nahapana, the Mahakshatrap of Kshaharata family, who is mentioned in several inscriptions, and a large number of whose coins is also discovered. The Nasik inscription of the Queen Gotami Balasri, mother of Gautamiputra Satakarni, informs us that her son Gautamiputra Satakarni rooted out the Khakharata (Kshaharata) family and restored the glory of the Satavahanas [1]. As pointed out by Jayaswal [2] according to the Jain traditions preserved in Avagyaka-sutra-niryukti it was Nahavana or Nahapana who was defeated and killed by the Satavahana king Gautamiputra Satakarni. This is also borne out by the fact that Gautamiputra Satakarni restruck the coins of Nahapana. The modern historical researches put Nahapana in the period after the commencement of the Vikrama era. Most of the scholars assign him to the end of the first and the beginning of the second century A. D. [3]. It seems that the Digambara chronological traditions are more correct in putting Nahavana or Nahapana after the Gardabhilas, which will make him a post-Vikrama figure. He is wrongly put by the Svetambara traditions before Vikramaditya, or the Gardabhilas. As we have tried to show above the rest of the Svetambara chronological traditions preserved in Tapagachha Pattavali and Merutunga's Vicarsreni from Palaka down to the first Saka occupation of Ujjain for four years and their being driven out of Malwa at the beginning of the Vikrama era, *i. e.* in 58 B. C. appear to be correct and reliable. If we take out 40 years of Nahavana from 470 years the interval given in these traditions between Mahavira Nirvana and the commencement of the Vikrama era, the difference between these two important events will be 430 years. This will give (430×58) 488 B. C. as the date of Mahavira Nirvana. This will place Mahavira's death about a year before that of Buddha, who died, as suggested above, in 487 B. C. These two dates will reconcile most of the Buddhist as well as the Jain traditions about these two great religious teachers.

The conclusions set forth above may also throw new light on some other important dates in ancient Indian chronology. If we follow the Jain traditions of Titthagottpainnya in assigning 160 years to the Mauryas, which, as discussed above, also seems to be the total of the individual reign-periods of the Maurya Kings given in certain Puranas, the placing of Nahavana in the post-Vikrama period gives us, according to the Svetambara chronology 267 years (160 Mauryas + 90 Sungas + 13 Gardabhila + 4 Sakas) between the beginning of the reign of Chandragupta

1. Liider's Brahmi Inscription No. 1123.
2. JBORS. Vol. 16 (1930) P. 248 ff.
3. Vincent Smith, Rapson, R. G. Bhandarkar and Raychaudhri give C. 125 A. D. as the date for the defeat of Nohapana by the Andhra King Gautamiputra Satakarni.

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Maurya and the commemcement of the Vikrama era, *i. e.* 58 B. C. The commencement of the Chandragupta's reign will thus fall in (267+58) 325 B. C., which as we have elsewhere[1] argued, on other grounds also appears to be the most likely case for the beginning of the reign of this great monarch.

Thirteen years assigned to Gardabhila in the Jain traditions will fall between 75 and 62 B. C. After this come 4 years of the Saka occupation and then the reconquest of Ujjain by Vikramaditya which happened in 58 B. C., To Vikramaditya and his dynasty Merutunga assigns 135 years. Kalakacaraya Katha also tells us that Vikramaditya's dynasty was uprooted by another Saka King who established an era of his own when 135 years of the Vikrama era had elapsed[2]. If we accept these as correct historical traditions we get (135—58) 77 A. D. as the end of the reign of the dynasty of Vikramaditya or the Gardabhila dynasty.

As regards Nahavana or Nahapana, the critical examination of the Digambara and the Svetambara traditions given above and also the light thrown on him by modern researches make it clear that he came after the Gardabhilas. This will place the commencement of Nahavana's reign in 78 A. D. Nahavana in the Digambara Jain choronological traditions stands in the same place which is given to the Saka King in the Svetambara traditions. This Saka King in both these traditions is placed in the post-Vikrama period about 605 years after Mahavira Nirvana. It then appears that Nahavana or Nahapana is the Saka King of both these traditions, who, as discussed above, in the Svetambara traditions is put by mistake also before Gardabhila. Nahapana, according to the inscriptions, belonged to Kshaharata family, which was of the Saka extraction. We know from the inscriptions that the Saka rulers Liaka, Patika, Ghataka and Bhumika were other members of the same Kshaharata family. Ushavadata, son-in-law of Nahapana, is distinctly mentioned as a Saka in these inscriptions.

The conclusion we have drawn from the critical study of the various Jain traditions that Nahapana was the Saka King whose rule commenced from 78 A, D., makes us also conclude that he is the founder of the Saka era of 78 A. D. All the Jain traditions assign 40 years of reign to Nahavana or Nahapana, whose reign therefore lasted upto 605 years (430 between Mahavira Nirvana and Vikrama+135 of Vikrama's dynasty + 40 of Nahavana) after Mahavira Nirvana. It thus seems that the Jain counting of 605 years between Mahavira Nirvana and the Saka King, perhaps, refers to the period between the death of Mahavira and that of Nahavana. Starting with the commencement of the reign of Nahavana or Nahapana in 78 A. D. the end of his forty years' reign will

1. "Beginning of Chandragupta Maurya's Reign" Proceeding of the III Indian History Congress (1939) p. 371 ; also Journal of Indian History, Vol. XIX., Part 1 ;

2. Brown. The Story of Kalaka. p. 60.

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fall in 118 A. D. which will then be the date of the defeat of Nahavana of Nahapana by Gautamiputra Satakarni[1].

"THE PRADYOTA OF AVANTI AND THE PRADYOTA OF MAGADHA"

By

L. B. Keny.

The Puranas after stating the total number of years during which the Barhadrathas ruled in Magadha, mention further that the last king Ripunjaya of this dynasty was kilied by his minister Sunika (Pulika), who then installed his own son Pradyota on the throne [2]. But no reference is found in Ancient Indian Literature about the reason of the revolt which was the cause of this downfall of the Brahadratha dynasty. Even the Puranas are mute upon this.

The deposition of a king by his minister and the establishment by the latter of his own son to the same throne of his master clearly indicates that the Pradyotas were an absolutely new and fresh dynasty to the throne of Magadha. A statement of the Garuda Purana says; "Then (after the Barhadrathas) there will be irreiigious Sudra kings" [3]. It implies the same change in dynasty on the throne of Magadha. The Vayu Purana corroborates this very accession of an entirely new dynasty when it says that "Sunika shall enthrone by force his own son Pradyota in the very face of the Ksatriyas" [4].

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1. If the dating in the inscriptions of Nahapana are from the beginning of his reign which is placed according to the calculations given above in 78 A. D. then these inscriptions will suggest a reign of about 46 years to Nahapana. If we take 46 years as the reign-period of Nahapana his defeat at the hands of Gautamputra Satakarni will fall in (78+46) 124 B. C. or it may be that these inscriptions may be dated in an era commencing with Bhumak the predecessor of Nahapana and perhaps the founder of Kshaharata rule in Western and Central India. And the popularly used Saka era commenced with the beginning of the reign of Nahapana under whom alone the Kshaharatas rose to great supremacy in Central India. In this case the persistent Jain tradition of 40 years of reign of Nahavana or Nahapana may be correct.

2. Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 18.

3. अधर्मिष्ठाश्च शूद्राश्च भविष्यन्ति नृपाः ततः।
मिथतां क्षत्रियाणां हि प्रद्योतः सुनिको बलात् ॥

4. Cf. *Chronology of the Hindus*, I, p. 212; II, p. 185; Abbott, Dunker's *History of Antiquity*, IV, p. 145.

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But the succession of the Pradyotas after the Barhadrathas is being objected to by several scholars [1], who maintain that the Barhadrathas were immediately succeeded by the Saisunagas and not Pradyotas. As we shall see in this chapter, this confusion is due to the general opinion of these scholars that the Magadhan or Puranic king Pradyota is identical with the king of Avanti called Chanda Pradyota, a powerful rival of King Ajatasatru of Magadha and a contemporary of the Buddha.

This confusing identification of the two Pradyotas was due to several reasons. The first and foremost of them is the identity of their names. Secondly the different readings of the Puranas raise suspicion about the Pradyota of Magadha to be in Avanti. Thirdly there is even the similarity between the names of the sons of the two Pradyotas.

Let us first of all see the various readings of the available Puranas impartially. The readings of the passage[2] which opens the Pradyota dynasty are the following :—

The Vayu begins :

बार्हद्रथेष्वतीतेषु वीतिहोत्रेष्ववर्तिषु ।
मुनिकः स्वामिनं हत्वा पुत्रं समभिषेक्ष्यति ॥

The Brahmanda Purana gives exactly the same passage except changing the name *Munika* to *Sunaka*, and the *vitihotresu* to *virahotresu*.

According to the Visnu Purana the passage states :

योऽयं रिपुञ्जयो नाम बार्हद्रथोऽन्त्यस्तस्य सुनिको नामामात्यो भविष्यति ।
सचैनं स्वामिनं हत्वा स्वपुत्रं प्रद्योतनामानमभिषेक्ष्यति ।

The Bhagavata Purana reads :

योन्त्यो रिपुञ्जयो नाम भविष्यो बारहद्रथः ।
तस्यामात्यस्तु शुनको हंत्वा स्वामिनमात्मजम् ॥
प्रद्योतसंज्ञं राजानं कर्ता...॥

The Matsya Purana begins thus :

बार्हद्रथेष्वतीतेषु वीतिहोत्रेष्ववन्तिषु ।
पुलकः स्वामिनं हत्वा स्वपुत्रमभिषेक्ष्यति ।

1. Raychaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India*, pp. 146-47 ; Rangacharya. *Pre-Musalman India*, II, pp. 219, 343-45 ; Bhandarkar, *The Carmichael Lectures*, 1918, pp. 64, 68 ; Jayaswal, "The Saisunaka and Maurya Chronology", *J. B. O. R. S.*, I, pp. 106-107, 111 ; Pradhan, *Chronology of Ancient India*, pp. 232-37 ; Majumdar Sastri, " the Pradyotas of the Puranas rulers of Magadha" *J. B. O. R. S.*, VII, pp. 113-16 ; *The CambridgeHistory of Ancient India*, Vol. I, pp. 310-311 ; Sen, "The Riddle of the Pradyota Dynasty", *I. H. Q.*, VI, pp. 678-709 ; Bhandarkar, " Notes on Ancient History of India, *I. C.*, I, pp. 15-16 ; Aiyar, "The Ancient History of Magadha". *I. A.*, XLIV, p. 43 ; XLV, p. 8 ; Bhargava, *Chandragupta Maurya*, pp. 17-18 ; Dr. Ketkar takes the Pradyota to be of Magadha but takes his reign period as identical with the Pradyota of Avanti ; *Prachin Maharastra*, p. 141.

2. Cf. Pargiter, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

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Before trying to bring to light the mistake of the several authors in the identification of the two Pradyotas, we shall compare independently all the Puranic passages referring to the Pradyota dynasty.

A glance at the Puranic references gives us to understand that the accession of the Pradyota dynasty to the throne of Magadha was the outcome of the murder of a master by his servant or minister *'amatya'*. And though the Vayu, the Brahmanda, and the Matsya Puranas are silent over the name of the master, the Visnu and Bhagavata Puranas, on the other hand, clearly state that he was none else than Ripunjaya, the last of the Barhadratha Kings. The Puranas, once again, even unanimously agree in stating that the minister will anoint his own son to the throne "*svaputram abhiseksyati*". The minister is named Munika (Sunika, Sunaka, Pulaka), and the son definitely mentioned as Pradyota by the Visnu and the Bhagavata, though other Puranas are silent over it.

Scholars who talk about the identity of the two Pradyotas ascribe the similarity of names as one of their main reasons for it ; and they simply take the identification for granted. But as Prof. Wilson has rightly pointed out, " in India identity of name is by no means identity of person."

Of the several Puranas, the Matsya alone is put forth as an authority for the Pradyotas being connected with Avanti, by the not very few scholars who maintain the identity of the Magadha and Avantya Pradyotas. It is the Matsya alone that state : बार्हद्रथेष्वतीतेषु वीतिहोत्रेष्ववन्तिषु ।

H. D. Bhide, in one of his scholarly articles, proves after a careful study of the different manuscripts of the Puranas, that " the authorities ranged against अवन्तिषु are more numerous and of greater antiquity," and that " the identity of the two Pradyotas as based on the reading अवन्ति is far from being certain " [1].

Nine years after the publication of Bhide, Jotirmoy Sen, in a long article, quotes the following passage from a manuscript of the Brahmanda Purana in the Dacca Uuniversity Library. It says :

बृहद्रथे तु अतीतेषु वीतिहोत्रं अवन्तिषु ।
हित्वान्ते मुनिकस्तं वै स्वामिकं बलदर्पितः ॥
पुत्रं अनभिषिच्याथ स्वयं राज्यं करिष्यति etc. [2].

Even though at the very outset of the commentary, the passage is declared as " obscure " by Sen himself, let us examine the two Puranic references containing " *avantisu* ", at length.

Leaving apart the historians who have taken the identification for granted, let us examine the opinion of other scholars who interpret the passage merely for their own contention.

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1. Bhide, " Pradyota Dynasty," *J. B. O. R. S.*, VII, p. 110 ; Df. Sen, *op. cit.*, p. 681.
2. Cf. Sen, *op. cit.*, p. 683.

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Mr. H. K. Deb gives the following explanation of the Matsya passage : " When the Brahadrathas will have ceased to exist, as also the Vitihotras in Avanti, Pulika will kill his master and make his own son king " [1]. Pargiter explains the first line as " when the Brhadrathas, Vitihotras and Avantis have passed away.." [2]. Dr. Raichaudhuri explains the passage as : "the Barhadrathas are said to have passed away when Pulaka placed his son Pradyota on the throne of Avanti" [3]. We are at a loss to know these far-fetched meanings of the passage. It can be explained, pure and simple, as "when the Brahadrathas have passed away and the Vitihotras were reigning in Avanti, Pulaks murdering his master will install his son on the throne" [4]. In no way does the passage suggest that Pulaka installed his son on the throne of Avanti [5]. Again the contention of Mr. Jayaswal that the reference to the Pradyotas "should be read as a foot-note" [6] to the Saisunaga account, "is arbitrary, because it obviously starts with the assumption that the Puranic Pradyota is not other than Pradyots of Ujjain" [7].

But let us consider the passage of the Matsya and the Brahmanda Puranas as is found in one of their several manuscripts, in the light of the readings *avantisu*.

First of all it is nowhere hinted in any of these two passages that Pulaka installed his son on the throne of Avanti. And moreover paying the due consideration to the context of this passage, we very well realise that the preceding and succeeding lines of the above Puranas describle the genealogical list of the kings of Magadha only. The Brahadrathas who are placed before the Pradyotas ruled in Magadha; and the Saisunagas coming after the same Pradyotas also ruled in Magadha. Why should then the Pradyotas, mentioned in between the two dynasties of Magadha, be said to be the rulers of Avanti ? From the Brahadratha down the Saisunaga to the Kanva, all the dynasties are mentioned by the Puranas as the rulers of Magadha in successaion. Therefore the mention of the Pradyota line would be propriate only if it was a ruling dynasty of Magadha. And moreover had it been an Avanti dynasty, it would have been mentioned as such to avoid any confusion as is done in the case of the Saisunaga dynasty [8]. As a further corroboration to the discarding of the Matsya '*avantisu*', meaning 'in Avanti'. we can refer to the opinion of Jotirmoy Sen who after considering several readings says that it (*avantisu*) "is also out of time with the general Puranic expressions bearing the same meaning", *e. g.* '*madhyadese*', '*girivraje*', *rajye*', '*vaidise*', '*purikayam*' *mekhalayam*', *Kosalayam*', *Radmavatyam*', '*Kantipuryam*', '*Mathurayam*' etc. [9].

1. *Vide* Sen, *op. cit.*,p.680.
2. Pargiter, *op. cit.*, 68.
3. Raichaudhari, *op. cit.* p. 80; Cf Rangacharya, *op. cit.* p. 343; Aiyar, *op. cit.* p. 8; Jayaswal, *op. cit.* pp. 76. 106; Pradhan, *op. cit.* p. 232.
4. Of Bhandarkar, "Notes on Ancient History of India". *I. C.* I p. 15.
5. Of. Sen, *op. cit.* pp. 679-80; Antique *Review*, IV, pp. 23-24.
6. Jayaswal, *op. cii.* p. 78 (f. n. 44).
7. Sen, *op. oit.* p. 679.
8. *varanasyam sutam sthapya srayisyati girivrajam.*
9. Sen, *op. cit.* p. 680.

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The readings of the Brahmanda MS. on the other hand has specifically declared that it was a Vitihotra of Avanti that was killed by Munika. And this will lead to conclude that the Magadha power was eclipsed and overborne by the Pradyotas of Avanti who, in that case, would be the Vitihotras. But the mention of the Puranas themselves about the 20 Vitihotras as being contemporaneous with the Brahadrathas (later), the Pradyotas and the Saisunagas [1] would make the above passage absurd. The Pradyotas, therefore, not have extinguished the Vitihotras of Avanti and usurped their place [2]. The Brahmanda passage quoted above should be discredited.

If the different passages of the several Puranas are explained very impartially, two meanings are available: (i) when the Brahadrathas have passed away and the Vitihotras were ruling in Avanti. Munika (Pulika or Pulaka or Sunaka or Sunika) killing the last Brahadratha King Ripunjaya, took the throne by force and anointed his son Pradyota on the throne of Magadha; (ii) when the Brahadrthas have passed away and the Vitihotras were reigning in Avanti, Munika (Pulika etc.) killed his master, the last Vitihotra king, and placed his son on the throne of Avanti.

Scholars who make haste to identify these two Pradyotas *viz.* Pradyota of Magadha with the Chanda Pradyota of Avanti, do not seem to pay attention to the later reading of the Puranas themselves. According to this Puranic passage, it is explicitly stated that Sisunaga will destroy all the prestige of the Pradyotas and will be king. Moreover King Bimbisara of Magadha, the fifth in descent from Sisunaga, was contemporary to Chanda Pradyota of Avanti. So if the Pradhyota line began its rule in his days, its mention before even Sisunaga is absurd. Thus the so-called Puranic Pradyota is not the same as the 'historic Pradyota'and at no time did Chanda Pradyota or Mahasena rule in Magadha. Both the Pradyotas belonged to two different dynasties and ruled at two different places.

We have referred to the passages of the Visnu and the Bhagavata Puranas mentioning clearly the name of the last Magadhan Brahadratha King *i. e.* Ripunjaya and his displacement by the minister. So naturally the accession of Pradyota the son of the minister must have taken place manifestly in Mahadha and not in Avanti. After killing the Magadhan King, the most natural thing to do for Pulika, the minister of the murdered King, was to place his own son Pradyota on the throne of Mahadha and not Avanti. It was in Mahadha that the royal seat of sovereignty was established during the time.

Let us now turn our attention to the regnal periods of the two identified Pradyotas. Scholars who have identified these two personalities of ancient Indian history seem to have discredited the question of their period of rulerships. The Pradyota of the Puranic account *viz.*, the Magadhan Pradyota, is ascribed a period of 23 years by all the

2. Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 24; Of. Gune "Pradyota, Udayana and Sranika—a Jain Legend". *A. B. O. R. I.* II, p. 2, 13.

3. Cf Sen, *op. cit.* p. 681; Majumdar Sartri, *op. cit.* pp. 113-114.

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Puranas [1]. But the reign-period of the Pradyota of Avanti seems to be much longer. According to the Jain and Buddhist traditions Chanda Pradyota (Mahasena) of Avanti was a contemporary of King Bimbisara and his son Ajatasatru of Magadha. His contemporaneity seems also to have extended even to the next generation, as can be seen from Bhasa's *Svapna-Vasavadatta*. According to his dreams Chanda Pradyota was ruling in Avanti at least during the earlier years of Darsaka's reign in Magadha [2]. Now according to the Puranas king Bimbisara of Magadha and his son and successor Ajatasatru reigned 28 years and 25 years respecttively [3]. Putting together all these fects we find that Chanda Pradyota's reign, which was co-extensive with almost the whole of Bimbisara's reign, the whole of Ajatasatru's, and a part of Darsaka's couldn't have been less than 50 years. But the Puranic Pradyota, as we have already seen, has 23 years as his reign-period. Therefore it can reasonably be concluded that the two Pradyotas are different.

Scholars who lay stress on the similarity of names of the two Pradyotas and of their respective sons, seem to forget that the names of their next successors or different. No doubt, as chance may have it, the successors of both the Pradyotas have a common designation as Palaka. But what about the regnal periods of the Palakas ? What about their successors ?

According to the Puranas, Palaka ruled for 24 years[4] But the Palaka of Avanti is alloted a long regnal period of 60 years by the Jain tradition[5] A glance, again, at the successors of the Palakas also helps us to conclude that the two Palakas and so their predecessors the Pradyotas were absolutely different kings of ancient times.

The Puranic Palaka was succeeded by Visakhayupa who is said to have ruled the kingdom for 50 years.[6] But in the *Mrichchhakatika* of Sudraka, Palaka is said to have been deposed by the people headed by the president of the guild-merchant of the capital, in favour of Gopalaka who had been thrown into strict confinement by Palaka, but was brought out from the prison and anointed as the king. Gopalaka ascends the throne as Aryaka.[7] The sixth act of Bhasa's *Svapnavasavadatta* describes these two—Palaka and Gopalaka—as two brothers being sons of Mahasena of Ujjain.[8] The *Kathasaritsagara* of Somadeva, on the other hand, gives us some more information about Pradyota of Ujjain

1. Pargiter, *op. cit.* p. 19.
2. Cf. Sen, *op. cit.* p. 697; Venkateswara, "The date of Vardhamana", *J. R. A. S.* 1917, pp. 124, 129, Aiyar, op. cit. XLV p. 9; XLIV, p. 43.
3. Pargiter, *op. cit.* p. 21.
4. Ibid, p. 19.
5. Cf. Bhide, op. cit. p. 112; Sen, op. cit. p. 698.
6. Pargiter, op. cit. p. 19.
7. Mrichchhakatika, X, 47: हत्वा तं कुनृपमहं हि पालकं भोस्तद्राज्ये द्रुतमभिषिच्यचार्यकं तम् ॥ cf. Ch. 4, 1. 275-78; Ch. 10, Vs. 51, 46, 1.504-505.
8. ..... मम वा महासेनस्य वा यादृशौ गोपालक पालकौ तादृश एव त्वं ..... । Bana's Harsacharita mentions Kumarasena as the son of Pradyota of Avanti; Harsacharita, VI.

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and his two sons. According to this work King Chandamahasena married a Daitya maiden Angaravati and had two sons, Gopalaka and Palaka from her.[1] From the same literary evidence we further know that the daughter of the King of Ujjain called Vasavadatta was married to King Udayana of Vatsa. And when the news about the death of Chandamahasena is received by the Vatsa King, the latter tells his brother-in-law Gopalaka (who happens to be in the Kausambi at that time) to proceed to Ujjain and look after the kingdom of his father. But Gopalaka, on the contrary, sends with his full consent his younger brother Palaka to look after Avanti.[1] After the death of his father-in-law the king of Vatsa also, advanced in age, goes to the mountains, leaving Gopalaka against his (Gopalaka's) wish, to look after the management of Kausambi. But Gopalaka lamenting for the old Vatsa King and also his (Gopalaka's) sister who had also accompained her husband to the forest, remained outside the city and summoning his brother Palaka from Ujjain, made over to him even the kingdom of Kausambi. Having seen his younger brother established in the two kingdoms, Gopalaka went to the forest to lead the life of a hermit.[3] Palaka is said to have a son called Avantivardhana.[4] Thus unlike the successor of the Puranic Palaka, the successor of the Palaka of Ujjain is uncertain. Taking the different accounts into consideration about the successors of the two Palakas, Mr. Bhide gives the 'possible conclusions' as follows : According to him the Palaka of Avanti (*a*) left no successor ; (*b*) or ended his reign in a violent revolution, a new dynasty starting in succession ; (*c*) or was peacefully succeeded by Avantivardhana.[5] But on the other hand, the Puranic Palaka, as we have already seen, has left a successor in direct line. His reign, unlike the reign of the Palaka of Ujjain, was not put an end to by revolution ; and his son and peaceful successor was Visakhayupa, as we have already seen, and not Avantivardhana. With all this information the two Pradyotas cannot be identical. The mistake in the identification of these two different personalities by scholars can even be further corroborated by the fact that while the father of the Puranic Pradyota is Pulika (Munika etc.), that of the Avantya Pradyota is Jayasena, the son of Mahendravarman.[6]

Jayaswal who identifies the two Pradyotas makes even an attempt to connect the Nandivardhana of the Puranic list with the Avantivardhana of Avanti.[7] But his "remarkably ingeneous theory of

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1. Kathasaritsagara, XI, 74-75; cf, XIII, 28, 30.
2. Cf. Kathasaritsagara, CXI, 60-65; cf. XIV, 6,22,105,115.
3. Ibid. CXI, 90-94.
4. Ibid. CXII, 13 : अस्त्युज्जयिन्यां नृपतिः श्रीमान्पालक संज्ञकः ।
   कुमारस्तस्य पुत्रोऽस्ति सुनामावन्तिवर्धनः ॥
5. Cf. Bhide, op. cit. p. 111.
6. Kathasaritsagara. XI, 33-34; Rockhill gives the name of Pradyota's father as Avanta-Nemi : Jayaswal, op. cit. p. 106; Cf. Binode, "Pradyota the King of Magadha and Ujjain", Antique Review, V, p. 68; Sen, op. cit. p. 687.
7. Jayaswal, op. cit. pp. 77 ff.

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Nandivardhana-Kalasoka and his "digvijaya" as Mr. Sen puts it, "very logically reconciled Nandivardhana of the Saisunaga list and Avantivardhana of the legendary Avanti list. But", continues the scholar, "his attempt to equate him with Nandivardhana of the Pradyota list in the Puranas is less convincing".[1]

That the Pradyotas and the Palakas are different can also be shown by describing their personal characteristics as given in the different literary passages. The Puranas describe their Pradyota as *narottamah* "best man", while the Pradyota of the Jain, Buddhist and other literary traditions is said to be *Chanda* "fierce" and *mahasena* "possessed of a large army"[2]. And it was probably for this strength of the latter Pradyota of Avanti that King Ajatasatru of Magadha who was his (Pradyota's) contemporary, had to fortify his capital Rajagriha, being afraid of an invasion[3]. The 'best' Magadhan Pradyota could not have been the same as the 'cruel' Avantaya Pradyota. And again even the characteristics of the Palaka the successor of Chanda Pradyota as 'wonton' 'wicked'[4] 'the royal wretch'[5] or 'the mean'[6] are never being attributed to the Puranic Palaka. Thus even the characteristics of the two Palakas prove that the tyrant Palaka of Avanti is not the same as his Puranic namesake.

As a further corroboration for the distinction of the two Pradyotas we quote a passage from the *Kathasaritsagara*—a passage which says very explicitly that Chandamahasena and Pradyota are different, one being the father of queen vasavadatta and the other of Padmavati. According to the passage the minister Yaugandharayana of the Vatsa King Udyana thinks ; "If this king of Vatsa obtain her (Kalingasena), he will abandon everything else, and then the queen Vasavadatta will lose her life, and then the prince Naravahanadatta will perish, and Padmavati out of love for him will find life hard to retain ; and then Chandamahasena and Pradyota, the fathers of the two queens, will lose their lives or become hostile ; and thus utter ruin will follow"[7].

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1. Sen, op. cit. p. 700.
2. Cf. Svapnavasavadatta, Act II : अस्त्युज्जयिनीयो राजा प्रद्योतो नाम । तस्य बल-परिमाणनिर्वृत्तं नामधेयं महासेन इति ।
3. Majjhima Nikaya, III, 7.
4. Mrichchhakatika, Act X, lines 82-83 : नापरीक्ष्यकारी दुराचारः पालक इव चाण्डालः ।
5. Ibid. Act X, Vs. 47 : हत्वा तं कुनृपमहं हि पालकं..... ...।
6. Ibid. Vs. 51 : .....पशुवद्यज्ञवाटस्थो दुरात्मा पालको हतः ।
7. Kathasaritsagara, XXI, 64-67 :
   तां लब्ध्वावत्सराजोऽयं सर्वमन्यत्परित्यजेत् । देवी वासवदत्ता च ततः प्राणैर्वियुज्यते ॥
   नरवाहनदत्तोऽपि नश्येद्राजसुतस्ततः । पद्मावत्यपि तत्स्नेहाद्देवी जीवति दुष्करम् ॥
   ततश्चण्डमहासेन प्रद्योतौ पितरौ द्वयोः । देव्योर्विमुञ्चतः प्राणान्विकृतिं वापि गच्छतः ॥
   एवं च सर्वनाशः स्यान्नच युक्तं निषेधनम् ।

The same distinction is found mentioned in the Kasmirian version of the Brhatkatha and also Ksmendra's work ; Cf. Sen, op-cit. p. 691.

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With all this argument we can safely postulate the existence of the two Pradyotas, one of which was a founder of the dynasty named after him and ruled in Magadha after the murder of Ripanjaya, the last king of the Barhadratha dynasty ; and the other was the king of Ujjain in later times and was a contemporary of the Buddha, Bimbisara and Ajatasatru.

If the above conclusion arrived at by us finds some truth behind it, most of the modern books of Ancient Indian History require a revision.

DID PUSYAMITRA SUNGA PERSECUTE THE BUDDHISTS ?

BY

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I raise this question in order to find an answer to it. The question arises because of the opinions of some eminent scholars—Dr. H. C. Ray Chaudhuri, for example, who hold or seem to hold the view that Pusyamitra Sunga was not a persecutor of Buddhism. Dr. Ray Chaudhuri in controverting the opinion of the late Pandit Hara Prasad Sastri about the alienation of the Brahmanas by Asoka's edicts against the Brahmanical faith and the militant Brahmanic revolution under Pusyamitra Sunga says : "But the Buddhist remains at Bharhut erected 'during the supremacy of the Sungas' do not bear out the theory which represents Pushyamitra and his descendants as the leaders of militant Brahmanism".[1] In another place, he says : "Late Buddhist writers are alleged to represent Pushyamitra as a cruel persecutor of the religion of Sakyamuni. But the Buddhist monuments at Bharhut erected 'during the sovereignty of the Sungas' do not bear out the theory that the Sungas were leaders of a militant Brahmanism. Though staunch adherents of orthodox Hinduism, the Sungas do not appear to have been so intolerant as some writers represent them to be."[2] Following Dr. Ray Chaudhuri, Dr. R. S. Tripathi under a subhead 'Pusyamitra's Persecutions' ? in his newly published book 'History of Ancient India'[3] refers to the evidences of the Divyavadana and Taranatha regarding Pusyamitra's persecution of the Buddhists, and evidently rejects them for he remarks : "Pusyamitra was no doubt a zealous champion of Brahmanism, but the Buddhist stupas and railings at Bharhut 'during the sovereignty of the Sungas' would hardly corroborate the literary evidence regarding his ebullitions of sectarian rancour."[4] Having had doubt himself as to the cogency of his own views he qualified the above statement by the concluding lines in the same paragraph thus : 'Of course, this conclusion will have to be modified, if the above expression

1. P. H. A. I., 3rd Ed., p. 245.
2. Ibid, p. 268.
3. H. A. I. p. 187.
4. Ibid.

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is not taken to refer to the time of Pusyamitra'.[1] It is unfortunate that Dr. Tripathi should have thus left himself in doubt and not pursued further to clear this important point in his work, the latest product of a text-book for higher studies in Ancient Indian History.

With many of Dr. Ray Chaudhuri's objections against the late Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Har Prasada Sastri's interpretation of some of the evidences in his article[2] I whole-heartedly agree. For instance, the late Pandit's attempt to prove Asoka's persecution of the Brahmanas by interpreting a passage in the minor rock edict has been rightly objected to by Dr. Ray Chaudhuri ; by taking the word 'amisa' to mean 'amrisha' in Sanskrit, as Senart had done, the Pandit Sastri concluded that "by another edict Asoka boasted that those regarded as gods on earth have been reduced by him into false gods. If it means anything it means that the Brahmanas who were regarded as *Bhudevas* or gods on earth had been shown by him". The word *amisa* in the edict means *amisra*, unmixed, and, therefore, the rendering of the passage : या इमाय कालाय जंबुदिपसि अमिसा देवा हुसु तं दानि मिसा कटा The gods who during that time (*i. e.*, before) had been unmingled (with men) in India have now been (by me) associated (with men).[3] There is thus no question, as Dr. Ray Chaudhuri has pointed out, of 'showing up anybody'. As a matter of fact Asoka never delibrately persecuted any section of his subjects. On the other hand a number of his edicts enjoined an equal respect, liberality and solicitude being shown to Brahmanas and Sramanas.[4] So far I agree with Dr. Ray Chaudhuri and disagre with the late Pandit Sastri on the question of Asoka's persecution of the Brahmanas. But what I beg to differ from the learned doctor is on his attempt at minimising the great event of the Brahmanic revolution, and the part that Pusyamitra played as its leader, both before and after his accession to the throne on the ground that 'the Buddhist monuments at Bharhut were erected in the time of the Sunga kings'. His views regarding this point are as clear as daylight as can be seen from the quotations I have given at the beginning of this paper. Of course, I hold with the eminent scholar the opinion that the causes of the downfall of the Maurya empire are many, and that the militant Brahmanic reaction is not the only one, as the late Pandit Sastri has sought to convey. But that the discontent of the Brahmanas provided a fertile ground for the ambition of the last Maurya King Brihadratha's *senapati* to bear fruit admits of no doubt. What is then the cause of the discontentment of the Brahmanas ? Although Asoka did not consciously persecute the Brahmanas, some of his edicts which he issued with the object of reforming the habits of his subjects alienated the Brahmanas, for they affected their interests and according to their right the religion to which they belonged. In spite of the fact that Asoka paid equal veneration to Sramanas and Brahmanas, his reforming zeal could not but hurt the interests and feelings of those people whose customs he

1. Ibid.
2. Causes of the dismemberment of the Mauryan Empire in J. A. S. B., 1910,
3. Cf. The Rupnath Rock Edict.
4. Cf. R. E. III., IV, V, VIII, IX, X, XII.

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sought to reform by edicts, and like all reformers, well-intentioned and actuated by true love for their people, Asoka had his share of hatred and resentment from the Brahmanas. By R. E. I. Asoka stopped animal sacrifices and Samaja, the old religious and social customs of the Brahmanas. By RE. V. he appointed a special class of officers called *Dhamma Mahamatras* to look after the *dharmma* of his people, which was an encroachment on the special jurisdiction of the Brahmanas, and even set them to look after the *dharma* of the Brahmanas themselves.[1] In RE. IV Asoka enjoins on the equality in judicial proceedings and punishments. This has been rightly pointed out by Pandit Sastri to be an encroachment on the time-honoured privileges of the Brahmanas. Dr. Ray Chaudhuri does not accept the interpretation put upon it, and says that 'the order regarding the Vyavahara Samata and Danda Samata is to be understood in connection with the general policy of *decentralisation* (italics mine) which the emperor introduced'.[2] Why should this interpretation be put to the words of Asoka instead of the most natural interpretation which they yield namely that the emperor wanted his Rajukas to administer justice to his people with equality and impartiality? Let us quote the relevant portion of the edict with the context as Dr. Ray Chaudhri wanted :

येन एते अभीता अस्वथ संत अविमना कंमानि पवतेयवु ति एतेन मे लजुकानं अभिहाले व दंडे वा अतपतिये कटे । इछितविये हि एसा किंति विंयोहालसमता च सिय दंडसमता चा

"In order that they may perform their duties fearlessly, calmly, unpurturbed, and in peace of mind, I have put the Rajukas in sole control of reward and punishment. But it is my desire that there should be equality in judicial proceedings and equality in punishment."[3] The natural interpretation of the passage according to the syntax, as well as in view of the background of Asoka's administrative policy, especially in the matter of justice, should be that Asoka having given his Rajukas sufficient power in the matter of judicial administration, encouraged them to do it fearlessly—especially because they would have to encounter the opposition of the privileged classes while administrating law equally to all. Asoka's administrative policy was never characterised by decentralisation. On the other hand the process of centralisation begun in the time of his grandfather, under his able chancellor Kautilya, the Richelieu of India, was completed in his time. The viceroys of the distant provinces and the governors of the home provinces were appointed by him from the centre with definite instructions which were renewed from time to time by new edicts. Even the subordinate officials like the Pradestris, Rajukas, and Ayuktas, even though working under the viceroys and governors, received instructions from the emperor. He insisted on his officials, both central and provincial; that if they desired to please him, they must follow his instructions to the letter, so that

1. Cf. P. E. VII.
2. P. H. A. I., 3rd. Ed., p. 244.
3. P. E. IV.

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they might discharge their duties to him, and he to his subjects.[1] In the Kalinga Rock Edict I Asoka clearly enunciates his judicial policy. Kalinga was a province placed under a viceroy with headquarters at Tosali. Even then Asoka addressed the judicial officers of Tosali. (तोसलियं महामाता नगलवियोहालका) directly with the definite instruction to see that there is no miscarriage of justice in the country. In addition to the instructions to the Mahamatras, Asoka proposed to depute every five years a Mahamatra of higher grade to inspect the administration of justice by these ordinary judicial officers. He further ordered that his viceroys at Ujjain and Taxila would do the same.[2] There is thus no question of 'decentralisation' regarding the application of law and punishment (Vyavahara Samata and Danda Samata). On the other hand, as the above evidences point, it was one of complete centralisation.

It is an undisputed fact that the Brahmanas enjoyed many privileges in law in the times previous to Asoka's reign. The Brahmanic and Dharamasutra literatures provide evidence for this fact. It is also a fact that Asoka who was inspired with the Buddhist ideals of democracy and equality could not tolerate those privileges and customs which militated against the ideals of the Budhist law of life. Dr. Ray Chaudhuri seems to doubt that the Brahmanas enjoyed certain immunities in criminal punishments and has quoted certain illustrations from the Brahmanic* literature, one from the Kautila Arthasastra and one from the Mahabharta in favour of his opinion. But those illustrations prove the exceptions to the general rule. The evidence in favour of the privileged position of the Brahmanas in society and law found in the Brahmanic and Dharmsutra literatures are overwhelming. Even during the Vedic period Brahmanas had come to be highly eulogised as if they were gods. According to the Tai Br. III. 7.3. 'the Brahmana is Agni-Vaisvanara.' The Visnu Dh. S. (19.20.22) says that 'the gods are invisible deities, but Brahmanas are visible deities; the worlds are supported by Brahmanas; the gods stay in heaven by the favour of the Brahmanas.' The Tai Br. says that the 'Brahmana is indeed the superviser over the people.' The Ait. Br. (37·5) says that 'where the Ksatriyas are under the control of the Brahmanas, that kingdom becomes prosperous, that kingdom is full of heroes' : तदत्र वै ब्राह्मणः क्षत्रं वशमेति तद्राष्ट्रं समृद्धं तद्वीर वदाहास्मि वीरो जायते। According to Gautama (XI.I) the King is the ruler of all, except Brahmanas राजा सर्वस्येष्टे ब्राह्मण वर्जम्। Both the early Dharma-Sutrakaras, Gutama and Bandhayana, were against any kind of corporal punishment being given to the Brahmanas. Bandh. Dh. S. (I. 10. 18-19) prescribes only branding and banishment to a Brahmana even for murder of a Brahmana (ब्राह्मण हत्या) Gautama says that no corparal punishment should be given to Brahmanas as न शरीरो ब्राह्मणदण्डः

1. Kalinga Edict II.
2. Kalinga Edict I.
* P H A I 3rd Ed. p. 245.

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(Gaut. 12. 43.). Instances of many other privileges in law in the matter of punishments. taxes etc. may be cited from the Brahmanic and Dharmasutra literatures. In these overwhelming evidences how can one say that there was equality in law and that the Brahmanas did not enjoy certain privileges which went against the principle of Vyavahara Samata and Danda Samata existing in the time of Asoka ? That being the case, the edict on Vyavahara Samata and Danda Samata by Asoka certainly offended the Brahmanas who had been enjoying the privilege in law. Therefore, it is difficult to accept Dr. Ray Chaudhuri's view that " the Samata which he (Asoka) enforced did not necessarily infringe on the alleged immunity of the Brahmanas from capital punishment, and that it should be understood in connection with the general policy of decentralisation."[1]

I shall now deal with the event of the Brahmanic revolt which is intimately connected with the fact of Pusyamitra's oppression of the Buddhists. I have already said that Asoka was not an oppressor of other faiths. He was a tolerant Bhuddhist ruler, showing equal respect to all faiths and enjoining on his subjects to do the same.[2]

But that Asoka was a sincere reformist, wishing well of his subjects whom he regarded, and openly said so, as his own children, is clear from many of his edicts. It is in his zeal to guide his subjects in the right path that he unconsciously and without any intention mortally offended the Brahmanas. I have already referred to some of his edicts in this connection. Let me elucidate them in more detail. RE. 1. proclaimed Asoka's principle of *ahimsa* and stopped not only killing of animals for the royal kitchen, but also prohibited animals being 'offered as sacrifice', and discouraged *samajas* of the kind observed before, in both of which the Brahmanas played an important part. The appointment of the Dharmmahamatras (RE. V) deprived the Brahmanas of their long-enjoyed right of guiding the religion of the people. The smriti literature, as I have shown above, placed the Brahmanas in the position of the Gurus. RE. IX shows Asoka as a reformer par excellence. In it Asoka condemned many semi-religious ceremonies which were and still are observed in the homes of the people of the Brahmanic faith. The essence of the edict is that religion does not depend on rituals, but on practical conduct in life, on cultivation of proper relations in the home, on character. But he regreted that society in his time was given to too much petty (छुद्रं) and worthless (निरर्थं) ceremonies. The substance of religion is hidden under mere forms. The women-folk (महिडाये) are specially guilty in this respect. People perform various other ceremonies on all possible occasions in life to avert mishaps, (अवधेसु) at the marriage of sons and daughters (आवाह विवाहेसु), on the occasion of births (पुत्रलाभेसु) and journeys (प्रवासम्हि). Rites should undoubtedly

1. P H A I 3rd Ed. p. 245.

2. Cf. R. E. XII.

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be performed, but rites and ceremonies of this kind bear little fruit (अपफलं). It is the moral life that counts. Then he recounts the conditions of real good moral life as distinguished from mere meaningless ceremonies in the name of religion. These reforms, dictated by an honest and sincere desire for the well-being of his subjects and not imbued with a fanatical spirit of hurting anybody's feelings, did in effect, and were bound to, offend the Brahmanas and the people of the Brahmanic faith who honestly found in these reforms a blow to their cherished faith and religious rites. Further, the substitution of call to arms (भेरिघोसो) for the policy of propagation of the Dharma (धंमघोसो) in RE. IV, in other words, the abandonment of militarism for pacifism as the policy of state—a policy that was pursued constantly by Asoka's successors, encouraged not only the border-provinces to assert their independence, but encouraged foreigners, with their outlandish practices, particularly the Bactrian Greeks, to invade India. The political independence of India and with it her time-honoured culture were threatened with danger. This was the signal for the revolution for which the material was prepared by the internal policy of the Maurya rulers—from Asoka downwards. The discontentment of the Brahmanas who were the leaders of the society found a fitting weapon in the Senapati Pusyamitra Sunga, himself a Brahmana. This revolution, the *coup d'etat* which ended the Mauryan rule was a Brahmanic reaction, par excellence, whose object was to restore the Bramana supremacy and Brahmanic faith in society which was being threatened from within and without. Its immediate effect was the assumption of the power of the state by Pusyamitra Sunga, the Brahmana, and the principal instrument of the reaction. Pusyamitra had to justify his position as head of the Brahmanic reaction by persecuting the Buddhists and destroying Buddhist monasteries on the one hand and restoring the sacrificial ceremonies of the Brahmanic faith on the other, for which his principal helpers were Patanjali and also perhaps Manu, the author of the Manusmriti, who was also his contemporary according to some scholars ; for the one we have the testimony of the Divyavadana and Taranatha, and for the other Patanjali's Mahabhasya, Kalidasa's Malavikagnimitram, and the Ajodhya inscription.[15] provide the necessary evidence. A passage in the Divyavadana states : " यो मे श्रमणशीरो दास्यति तस्याहं दीनारशतं दास्यामि " [2] " whoever will present me with the head of a Sramana will get a reward of hundred dinars from me." Taranatha, the Tibetan historian, also testifies to the killing of Sramanas and burning of Buddhist monasteries by Pusyamitra. What reason is there to reject these testimonies ? Should they be summarly dismissed 'as mere uncorroborative writings' of late authors like the compiler of the Divyavadana and Taranatha?, as Dr. Ray Chaudhuri holds[3] or as 'ebullitions of sectarian rancour', as Dr. Tripathi points out ?,[4]

1. Ep. Ind., XX, pp. 54-58.
2. Ed. Cowell and Neil, p. 433.
3. P. H. A. I., 3rd Ed., p. 246.
4. P. H. A. I. 3rd Ed., p. 299.

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The persecution of the Buddhists by Pusyamitra, as I have discussed above, was a logical sequence of the Brahmanic reaction and the political *coup d'etat*. The traditions of the persecution were current when the Divyavadana was composed and even in the time of Taranatha when he wrote his history. Many events of ancient India have been thus preserved by traditional writings. Dr. Ray Chaudhuri who dismisses this particular reference in the Divyavadana gladly accepts the testimony of the same book in connection with another event. Regarding the revolt at Taxila during Asoka's reign due to ministerial oppression, Dr. Ray Chaudhuri says : "The Divyavadana is no doubt a late work, but the reality of ministerial oppression which it refers is affirmed by Asoka himself in the Kalinga edicts".[1] I do not, however, hold that whatever is written in the Divyavadana is to be taken as a fact without any sound judgment. But should all traditions be dismissed as mere myth if no epigraphic evidence be found to check them? Inscription is no doubt the most satisfactory check of traditional accounts. But should a traditional account be dismissed even though there is a reasonable historical background to accept them as true ? And what is the most positive ground which the previous writers have stood on to reject the tradition of Pusyamitra's persecution of the Buddhists ? Both the writers, referred to above, reject it on the ground that '*the Buddhist monuments were erected during the supremacy of the Sungas*' (italics are mine). The inscription on the left pillar of the eastern gate-way at Barhut is as follows :

"Suganam raje rano Gagiputasa visadevasa potena Gagiputasa Agarajusa putena Vaciputena Dhanabhutina karitam toranam silakanimamto ca upamana (no)."

"During the reign of the Sungas, the gate-way has been caused to be made together with the stone-carving by Vatsiputra Dhanabhuti, son of Gotiputra Ajaraju (and) grandson of king Gargiputra Visvadeva."

Now '**सुगनं रजे**' does not necessarily include the reign of Pusyamitra Sunga. It means 'during the reign of the Sungas'. It does not preclude the idea that Pusyamitra Sunga is not included in the term, and the gate-way was constructed during the reign of his successors who were more tolerant to Buddhism than the founder of the dynasty and leader of the Brahmanic reaction. The Buddhist church was certainly an ally of the Mauryas; the Brahmanic reaction which destroyed the Maurya rule necessarily launched a crusade against the Buddhist church as a condition precedent of the revival of Brahmanism. That Pusyamitra greatly patronised this revival we have ample evidence both literary and epigraphic. We find in the contemporary account of Patanjali's Mahabhasya,[2] and in the reference in Kalidasa's Malavikagnimitram that the horse-sacrifice, which was in abeyance in the Mauryan period, was revived by him. The Ajodhya inscription definitely refers to the two horse sacrifices performed by Pusyamitra : **कोशलाधिपेन द्विरश्वमेधयाजिनः**

1. H. A. I. p. 187.
2. The passage in the Mahabhasya which proves the contemporaneity of Patanjali with Pusyamitra is "**इह पुष्यमित्रमं या जयामः**"

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सेनापतेः पुष्यमित्रस्य. [1] The Kosaladhipa was perhaps Pusyamitra's viceroy and his sixth son or brother, for the inscription describes him as पुष्यमित्रस्य षष्ठेन *i. e.* the sixth of Pusyamitra.

This feverish activity towards the revival of Brahmanism ill fits with a tolerant policy towards Buddhism with which he has been credited by Dr. Ray Chaudhuri. He could ill afford to do so, even if he liked, and keep his reactionary allies attached to his rule. But passion must have quieted down, and political conditions settled during the time of Pusyamitra's successors who felt less obliged to yield to the reactionary elements in the state and consequently pursued a less militant and more tolerant policy towards the Buddhists to allow them to decorate the Buddhist Stupas in Barhut. That the gate-ways were erected long after the time of Pusyamitra is also the opinion of eminent archaeologists. The late Mr. N. G. Mazumdar, for example, writes: "the Sungas referred to in this inscription formed a dynasty which was founded by the general (senapati) Pusyamitra. succeeding the Mauryas about 180 B. C. The gate-ways, however, appear to have been set up *about a century later, towards the close of the sunga period*". (italics are mine) [2]. In another place he says: "The gate-ways appear to have been added to the Stupa at least half a century after the construction of the original railing, which may be dated about 125 B. C."[23] In the face of these evidences how can we say that the expression *suganam raje* includes the reign of Pusyamitra Sunga also, and use it as an argument to reject clear literary evidences that Pusyamitra Sunga persecuted the Buddhists ?

"RELIGION UNDER THE GUPTA AGE."
(INSCRIPTIONS AND COINS.)

A Study in Culture.

BY

SATYA PRAKASH SRIVASTAVA, M. A., SAHITYA RATNA

The Gupta Period has been described as the period of Indian renaissance. It is probably the Gupta Kings who made people say so on account of their being Brahminical Hindus. The revival of Hinduism only means the recovery of its supreme position which it once held and from which it was temporarily displaced by the Buddhism. The Vedic religion had undergone great changes during the period of Mauryan rule. But with the establishment of the Brahman empires in the north and the Deccan, Budhism and Janism began to lose their popularity and began to be transformed by the influence of the rising Hinduism.

The Mahayana Budhism, which was evolved under the Kushan patronage, bears a close resemblance to Hinduism. It recognises Buddha was the supreme god, believes in many incarnations of the Buddha and in many Bodhisattvas which are like Hindu gods and goddesses.

1. Ep. Ind. XX, pp. 54-58.
2. A guide to the Sculptures in the Indian Museum, p. 14.
3. Ibid.

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It is a religion of devotion and its rites and ceremonies are similar to those of Hinduism. When Fahien visited India early in the 5th century A.D., this religion was flourishing, but by the time of Hiuen Tsang, in the reign of Harsha, it had lost ground, and the centuries following his departure it was absorbed into Hiduism.

Hiduism attained the greatest popularity and found the fullest expression in the abundant literature of the times. The Hinduism of the age, however, differed in many respects from the ancient Vedic religion taken by Vishnu, Siva, Durga, Surya, Ganesha, and other Puranic gods. The Vedic sacrifices were largely displaced by the simple rites laid down in the Samritis.

The killing of animals for sacrifice or for food was considered evil, and the priciple of the incarnations of God (avataras) was recognised.

In order to establish Hinduism firmly, philosophical treatises were compiled for the learned and for the ordinary people. Among the first are the six famous systems of Hindu philosophy known as the Darshana, and among the latter the Mahabharata, Harivamsa and the eighteen Puranas, which were finally revised and compiled. The great leader Kumarila Bhatta, revived the study of Mimansa (the philosophy of the Vedic Rituals).

The Saiva representations on the coins of the Satraps Kadphises II and Vasudeva very well show the revival of old Brahminical religion. This period is well marked for extreme tolerance of the other sects and its consequent freedom from any charge of persecution of any of the other sects.

Nearly all the Gupta kings were patrons of Brahminism. Samudra Gupta upheld and followed the dictates of the Shastras (Sastra tatvartha Bhartuh) and was famous as the builder of the pole of religion (Dharma Prachir Bandhah) and the path of sacred hymns (Suktamargah). He revived the Asvamedha Sacrifice in all its splendour which was a reaction against the Buddhistic condemnation of sacrifices. He is, therefore, called the restorer of the Asvamedha sacrifice that had so long been in abeyance (Chirotsvanna Asvamedhaharttuh). This evidence is confirmed by the legend on the coins 'he who has displayed powers by a horse sacrifice' (Asvamedha Parakrmah). The Poona Copper Plate Ins. of Prabhavati Gupta applies to him the epithet 'the performer of many horse sacrifices' (Aneka Aswamedhayaji).

His successor Chandra Gupta II was a Vaisnava (paramabhagavata in Ins. Nos. 4, 5 and 6). The coins represent the goddess Lakshmi and the Garuda, the vehicle of Vishnu (on silver coins).

Kumaragupta II also issued Asvamedha type of coins, bearing the legend "Sri Asvamedha Mahendrah". Again, some of the coins and inscriptions make grants to the Brahmins for the observance of *pancha mahayajnas* and *agnihotr rites*. These facts establish the unstinted patronage of the Brahminism by the Gupta Emperors.

Some of the Gupta princes were personally interested in the Buddhism as in the cases of Chandra Gupta 1 and Samudragupta, who were

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the patrons of Vasubandhu and Narasimha Gupta Baladitya, (who erected buildings at Nalanda and was regarded by Hieun Tsang as an earnest Budhist).

As for the religious practices, the old Brahminical sacrifices which for a time were in abeyance, were revived in full vigour during this period. A minister of Kumaragupta set up a 'yupa'—a sacrificial post at Bihar.

Another sacrificial post was set up by Maharaja Vishnu Vardhana of the Vartika Tribe in the year 428 on the performance of the ceremony of the Pundarika-sacrifice (Kirtan pundarika Yupo-Yam pratishthapite).

These sacrifices were taken to be conducive to the promotion of religion, welfare, prosperity, family lineage, fame, good fortune, enjoyment.

The Panchamahayajnas were greatly encouraged by the donations of the kings and private persons as well.

These five great sacrifices are :—

(I) Bali—Offering of Ghee, grain, rice etc., to the gods and all creatures of every description.

(2) Charu—The ablation of rice, barley etc., for the deceased ancestors.

(3) Sattra—The giving of alms and refuge.

(4) Vaisvadeva—The offering to all deities.

(5) Agnihotra—An oblation to the god Agni consisting of milk, oil, and sour gruel, offered every morning and evening.

The Uchchakalpa and the Parivrajaka Maharajas made a series of liberal grants of villages to Brahmins for the maintainence of these sacrificial rites.

The agnihotra ceremony was the most important of all to all Brahmins, for instance, Deva Vishnu is described as one who always recites the hymns of the agnihotra sacrifice (Satatagnihotra Chhandoga).

Thus this age witnessed the gradual budding and flowering of the Brahminical sects which germinated during the previous periods, such of them being the Bhagvat, the Saiva, the Saurya, the Kartikeya and the Sakteya sects.

The Bhagvata system which had shared the bad destiny with its sister-Brahminical systems during the 'Dark Ages' once again reappeared about the time when the Guptas rose to power and attained considerable prominence. The Gupta Princes Chandragupta II, Kumrgupta II and Skanda Gupta styled themselves as Paramabhagavatas in their inscriptions and coin vocation 'Om namo Bhagavate Vasudevaya' and Jayanatha, an Uchchakalpa feudatory of the Guptas, was also a great devotee of Bhagavta as known from his benefactions to the God Bhagavata.

The Udaigiri cave of Chandragupta which records the donation of the cave by Sankanika Maharaja, has on a pennel two figures—one of

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the four armed God Vishnu, attended by his two wives, and one of a twelve-armed goddess, who must be some form of Lakshmi, the consort of Vishnu.

Skandagupta installed the image of Sarngin and allotted a village in it in order to increase the religious merit of his father after his conquest of the Hunas in the beginning of his reign which extended from 455 to 467 A. D. Sarngin must have been Vasudeva Krisna, Skanda Gupta himself being a Bhagavat. He was a devout worshipper of Lakshmi, the goddess of wealth, and considered himself as the chosen favourite of Lakshmi. This is apparent from his 'King and Lakshmi' type of coins which is the singular type of the Gupta coinage.

Chakrapalita, the city magistrate of Girinagar and a devotee of Vishnu (Govinda Padarpita Jivita) caused to be built in 556 A. D. a temple of Vishnu in the form of Chakrabhrit *i. e.*, one carrying discus. This inscription opens with an invocation to God Vishnu in the Vamana-avatara or dwarf incarnation.

Another Bhagavata work was the erection of a Dhwaja Stambha or a flag staff of Janardhana by a Maharaj named Matri Vishun and his younger brother Dhanyavishnu in the year 165 G. E. 484-85 A. D. The former is styled as 'Atyanta-Bhagwadbhakta' and the god Janardhana called Bhagwata. He is, therefore, another form of Vasudeva Krishna.

One of the two Copper Plate Inscriptions of Maharaja of Jayanatha records the grant of a village called 'Dhava Shandika' to certain people to conserve the temple of the Bhagvata and maintain the Bali, Charu, Sattra at it. It is to be noted that one of the donees is called Bhagvata Ganga.

The other inscription records the grant of a village Asramaka to certain people for the purpose of conserving and performing religious rites at the temple of Bhawata established by them.

Maharaja Samakshobha, a follower of the Bhagavata sect, is represented to have granted the village 'Opani' to a temple of the goddess Pishtapuri—apparently some local form of Lakshmi—the wife of Vishnu. Pishtapuri is therefore a deity worshipped by the Bhagavata.

Maharaja Sarvanatha, the son of Jayanatha, was a professed Bhagavata. He made a grant of half of the same village, which his father dedicated to the temple of Bhagavata to Pishtupurikadevi, who, therefore, must have been consort of the Bhagavata. In the year 533-34 A. D., he sanctioned the private donation of certain two villages to the temple of the same deity Pishtapurikadevi at Manapura.

The Bhagavat sect under the circumstances stood supreme in the dominions of Parivrajakas and Uchchakalpas. The Mahrauli pillar has also a flag staff of the Bhagwat Vishnu (Bhagavata Vishun Dhwaja), set up by Chandra who is now identified with Chandra Varman, whom Allahabad Pillar Inscription mentions as one of the kings vanquished by Samudragupta.

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Thus the beginning of the 4th century marks a starting point in the growth of Vishnu Cult in India, which existed in India upto the middle of the 6th century A. D.

An inscription on a stone tablet standing at Ganga Dhar in Jhalavad State in Central India refers to Mayuraksha, a minister of King Vishva Varman, caused to be built a temple of Vihnu (Vishnoh Sthanam) in the year 493 Malawa (=424 A. D.). He is represented to have been devoted to the God, who bears the discus and the club (Chakragada-dharasys) *i. e.* Chakradhara and Gadadhara. He also established a temple of the Divine mothers.

At Gadhwa in Allahabad division was found an inscription on a sand stone in a Dasavatar temple which refers to the installation of an image of the Vishnu under the name of Anantasvamin and a grant of some land of a village belonging to the same god under the name of Chitrakutaswamin or the Lord of Chitrakuta in the year 467-68 A. D. Two other temples of Vaishnava character are also referred to in inscriptions and they are of Kokamukhasvamin and Svetavarhasvamin. They belong to the reign of Budha Gupta.

The observance of Sayanekadasi as a holy day is also alluded to in inscriptions. According to the belief of the people, the God Vishnu was supposed to go to sleep on the Ashadha Masa Sukul ekadasi for a period of four months, after which he wakes up on the 11th day of the 1st fortnight of the month of Kartika. Inscription No. I confirms the existence of this belief in the 5th century by representing the 13th day of Kartika as the time of awakening from sleep (Nidra-Vyapya Samaya) of Madhusudana. The observance of the Sayan-ekadasi day as a great festival to the Vishnavas is clear from the dedication of a cave to Vishnu on that day as an appropiate religious gift (Ayam Deya Dharama).

These two days are still held by the Vaishnavas as the most sacred occasions for observing fasts and doing other religious rites.

Now coming to the Saiva and other minor religions we find that some schools of the Saiva Cult were in existence during this period.

At the end of the 4th century, Virasena, the minister of Chandragupta II caused the excavation of a cave to be made at Udayagiri through devotion to god Shambhu,. (Bhaktya Bhagavastas Shambhu Griham etam-akarayat).

A Lingam was found in 1908 as a result of exeavations from an ancient site called Baradhi Dih near Fyzabad. It has got an inscription recording the grant of a village to certain Brahmins in the year 436 A. D. by Prithvisena, a minister of Chandragupta II for the sake of obeisance to the Lord Mahadeva known as Prithviswara with proper and righteous offerings at the feet of Lord Sailesvara-Swami Mahadeva. The Linga of 436 A. D. is an important landmark in the history of the Saiva Cult.

The opening invocation of the inscriptions of Maharaja Hastin to Mahadeva (namo Mahadeva) and his description as meditating on the feet

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of Mahadeva (Mahadeva padanudhyato) clearly indicates Maharaja Hastin to be a Saiva devoted to Mahadeva.

The Bull type of coins of Skanda Gupta contains on the reverse a Bull "presumably Siva's bull, Nandi".

The comparative scarcity of the evidence bearing upon the Saiva Cult indicates Saivism in its infancy which was hard put to in competition with the already well established and flourishing Vaishnava Cult, its Sister Brahminical System.

Some traces of Sakti worship are also to be noticed in the inscriptions and coins of the times.

The commemorative coins of Samudragupta represent the goddess on a lion (Sinharathi, Sinhavahini). In the same manner lion slayer type of coins of Chandragupta II also represents a goddess seated on lion —to be indentified with the goddess Durga.

Thus the Gupta emperors worshipped the goddess Durga. Another god, whose worship was extensively practised in ancient times was Skanda or Kartikeya. According to the general belief he was the son of Siva and Parbati. He was, therefore, the god of War. He is also known as Mahasena and Kumara.

In the year 415-16 A. D., a certain Dhruvasamin by name accomplished at a temple of the God Kartikeya under the name of Swami-Mahasena. certain works *viz* ;—

(1) The building of a pratol or gateway with a flight of steps ;

(2) The establishment of a Sattra ; and

(3) The erection of the column with the inscription on it. God Skand is also mentioned in one of the inscriptions as an important deity on the earth.

The coins of Kumargupta and Skandgupta give an important place to the peacock, the vehicle of the god Skanda.

Ir the peacock type of coins of Kumargupta the obverse represents the king feeding the peacock Parvati (Sikhivahan) and holding in his left hand a spear which is also an important emblem of the deity. His silver coins also represent the peacock on their reverse, thus displacing the Garuda ; Skandagupta also retains the place of peacock on his silver issues of the Central Provinces. The usual Vaisnava legend has yielded place in the case of these coins to boast of conquest, thereby clearly indicating the strong devotion of Kumargupta and Skandgupta to the God Kartikeya.

The Sun appeared the Gupta period to have seen worshipped in temples as a sectarian deity by a school of people called the Sauryas.

The Iron Copper Plate inscriptions of Skandagupta open with an invocation to the sun (Bhaskar) Devavishun of Chandrapura who made an endowment in the form of a permanent deposit in the guild of oilmen for the purpose of lighting a lamp in the temple of the Sun-god (Bhagwato Savitre) at the town of Indrapura. A similar reference to the

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constructions of a Sun-temple in 437-38 A. D. at Dasapura by a guild of silk weavers (as found in the inscriptions).

Another Sun temple at the village of Asrawaka on the north bank of the river Tamsa (Tons) in the year 512-13 A. D. is revealed to us by Khoh Copper Plate Inscriptions of Maharaja Sarvanath who made a donation of the village Asramaka for the benefit of both the Sun and Vishnu temples (Bhagavat padanam Chattaraka padanam cha) aditasa (aditya).

We thus conclude that the sun worship prevailed during these centuries as a separate sect but not as merely a subsidiary one of the other sects.

The happy feature of the religious system of this period was that each of above mentioned sects had not been separated from the other by hard and strong walls, and the sectarian fanaticism which characterised the inter-religious history of India were altogether absent. Thus Kumargupta and Skandagupta, who professed themselves as Paramabhagavatas were also enthusiastic votaries of the God Skanda or Kartikeya and Durga.

The Budhistic system had already split up into two different Schools, namely, the Mahayana, and the Hinayana. The former was making progress while the latter was declining.

The Mahayana system admitted idol worship and as such was more allied to Brahiminism and could satisfy the religious zeal of its followers who had been habituated to such kind of worship from times immemorial.

The two famous Chinese pilgrims Fahien and Hiuen Tsang, who visited India in the 4th and the 6th centuries respectively—themselves Mahayanists, of course have recorded the existence of Hinayana system also.

The Maha Vihara of Sanchi established by Mahadevi of Vidisa, a queen of Asoka, was still functioning as a great Budhist Center during the fourth, the fith and the sixth centuries.

One of the important part of the Kakanadabota Mahavihara is rathagriha which Fleet has taken it to denote the stupa itself, as the abode of the three ratnas er precious jewels. namely :—

(I) the Budha, (II) Dharma., (the law) and (III) The Samgha, (the congregation).

Therefore there were donations by certain Budhists, for instance, Amarakardava, Upasika Hariswamini for lighting lamps in the 'ratnagriha'. Reference to the place in the Vihara, where the four Budhas are seated, (Chatur Budha Asana), has also been made in the same inscription, which is on the outer side of the centre rail in the 4th row of the great stupa. A few inscriptions record charitable endowments of the Vihara to feed the Budhist monks, who having renounced everything material, have taken to ascetic austerities in devotion to the Lord Budha.

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Amakrardava, a military officer of Chandragupta II endowed the great Vihara of Sanchi with a village called Isvaravasaka and with 25 dinaras to feed five Bhikshus every day. Similarly in the year 450 A. D., Upasika Hari Swamin, the wife of the Upasaka Sanasidha made a gift of twelve dinaras to the Arya Sangha for feeding one Bhikshu every day but only with the interest accruing on the deposit.

A board of five monks called 'Panchamandali' carried on the administration of the great Vihara. It was assisted by Officers like Mahaviharswamin or chief superintendent and Viharswamin, superintendent of the Vihar.

During the sixth century A. D. we have evidence of the existence of another Vihar or monastery called Yaso-Vihar at Muttra. An inscription on the pedestal of a stone image of Buddha found at Muttra records the gift of this statue in the year 549 A. D. by the Sakya Bhikshu to the Vihar mentioned above.

There was perhaps another Vihar at Kasia (Gorakhpur district) where the Buddha attained Nirvan. It records the gifts of the Budhist statue on the pedestal of which it is engraved. The sculpture on the stone represents the Buddha "recumbant in the act of attaining Nirvana."

Besides these, a series of other inscriptions record the installation of statue of the Buddha by different followers of Budhistic faith. In the year 448-49 A. D. the Bhikshu Buddhamitra had installed the Buddha image found at Manuwar in the Allahabad district with the object of averting all unhappiness, (sarvadukkha-prahan (n) arthan.)

A number of other stone images have been discovered at Deoria and Sarnath which show that the installation of the stone images of the Lord Buddha had become the fashion of the day. The most important centres of the Buddhism during the Gupta period were the Viharas of Sanchi, Muttra and Kusinagar. Asceticism had become the 'Sine quonon' of religious elevation.

The Jain system had also come into existence. In the 1st century A. D. the Jainas had become divided into the two sects of Svetrambaras and Digambaras. The former flourished in the north and the latter in the south. The Jaina worship was developed on the models of the Buddhist and the Hindu worship. Temples, stoopas and devotional exercises were used. Buddhism gradually disappeared from India, but Jainism still continued making progress in Bihar, Kathiawar and the Southern lands.

A few inscriptions discovered near the village Kahaum in the Gorakhpur district present themselves with certain sculptures on the sand stone column.

The sculptures represented include five standing naked figures and the object of the inscription is to record that a certain MADRA set up five stone images of Tirthankaras or Adikartris. The doctrine of misery of this world passing through a succession of changes (Chakra-jagad-idamakhilam sansarad), is professed in the inscription. The five

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tirthankaras represented therein are those "who led the way in the path of the Arhats who practise religious observances" *i.e.* sanctified teachers of the Jains who are explained to be Adinatha, Santinath, Neminath, Parsva, and Mahavira.

Another Jain Samkara by name installed an image of a Jina named Parsva, the best of the Jinas (Jinavara) at the mouth of a cave (Guha-mukha) at Udaygiri in 425-26 A. D. This Jain image was endowed with the establishment of a snake and an attendant female divinity.

The Jain faith too adhered to Aceticism, but the idolatory had crept into it.

The religious movements of the period, in short, manifested themselves in different religious systems. The age may well be called the age of religious fermentation. Scepticism had no place in this period and the kings made liberal donations and in some cases turned out to be saints, for instance, Chandragupta styled himself in inscription as a saintly sovereign (rajadhirajarshi).

The religious history of the period, to sum up, unspotted by any act of aggresiveness as it is, is a great glory to the religious annals of India.

In fine, the age was an age of religious toleration. No doubt, Brahminism flourished and received the royal patronage, but Buddhism was not persecuted. In fact both were allowed to thrive and prosper.

The outlook of the society, on the whole, was spiritual. But it is a situation that calls for a pause; it is a common remark that ascetic spirituality was an obsession with Indians and they altogether ignored their material well-being. But the a conditions under review reveal to us a society which had to its credit a civilisation which was 'true to the kindred points of heaven and earth.' It was atonce spiritual and mundane—though ultimately all things earthly—pointed to one single goal—the conquest of spirit over matter.

SOME FRESH LIGHTS ON MEHRAULI IRON-PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF CHANDRA.

BY

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'Chandra' of Mehrauli Iron Pillar Inscription, is one of the many subjects in Ancient Indian History, which has led to almost unending discussion among the great scholars of the East and the West. Various attempts have been made to identify this 'Chandra' with any of the important rulers of India. In my humble way, I am also trying to contribute something to clear the difficulty.

King Chandra from the inscription[1] has following achievements to his credit.

(1) His enemies had gathered in Bengal and he defeated and pressed them back.

1. Fleet. G. I. No. 32, p. 139-142.

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(2) He crossed the seven mouths of the Indus and defeated Bahlikas.

(2) The Southern Ocean is still to-day being perfumed by the breezes of his powers.

(4) His glory, even when he has left the earth, is still lingering on the earth.

5. He ruled for a long time, as Lord-Paramount (aikadhiraja) on earth, earned by his own strength.

(6) He was a devotee of Vishnu and put flag-staff of Vishun on Vishnupada Hill.

This is all that the inscription says, as there is no geneology given, not even a hint to it, it is clear that 'Chandra' is to be identified with one who fulfils all the historical data, given in the Inscription.

After discussing the theories identifying Chandra with Chandravarman of Susunia Hill Inscription, or with Sadachandra or Chandragupta I or Chandragupta II, the author rejects them all and comes to the following conclusion.

Is Chandra, Chandragupta Maurya ?

After discussing all these various probabilities I feel that it is the one Chandragupta Maurya alone, who fulfils all what Mehrauli Iron Piller inscription says about Chandra. Neither Chandragupta I nor Chandragupta II can claim to have ruled Deccan and S. I. and where fame reached the south seas. It is accepted by all that Chandragupta Maurya conquered whole India by his own arms. His Empire definitely extended to the Afganistan in the North. He defeated Selenkos and won from him the provinces of Paroponisadai, Aria, Arachosia and Godrosia (Baluchistan[1]). Thus he crossed the seven mouths of the river Indus[2] (Mehrauli Iron Pillar Inscription) and defeated the Bahlikas.[3] The overthrow of the Nandas must have caused troubles on the Eastern frontier, as we know that Kalinga which was under the rule of Nandas recovered its independence during the crisis, and so Chandragupta might have to face enemies in Vanga whom he pressed back. That the conquest of Vanga was particularly important as we find from Tibetain account of Bengal by Dr. S. C. Sarkar, that Chandragupta's son Bindusar is mentioned as ruling 'Gaura' (Goovora) for 37 years[4]. That Chandragupta ruled also a large part of Deccan up to Podiyyer Hill in Mysore, has been ably shown by

1. E. H. I. 4, p. 125.
2. Seven tributaries of the Indus (*a*) The Kabul, (*b*) The Swat, (*c*) Jhelum, (*d*) Chenab, (*e*) Ravi, (f) Dero, (*g*) The Sutlaj.
3. People of Bactria (Balkh) and in 4th century A. D. by Bahlikas were meant many foreign peoples like red Sakas, Pahlaves, Kushans and Yavanas.
4. T. B. O. R. S. 1941.

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Raychaudhuri in his Political History of Ancient India[1]. Does the 'southern ocean' is still perfumed by the breezes of his powers,[2] mean Indian trade and colonies in the East Indies. That the Maurya had a vast fleet and merchant marine well organised is clear from Kautilya Arthasastra[3]. Megasthenes mentions that ship building was a state-managed industry[4] and there was an 'Admirality Board'. Pliny[5] describes shipping and navigation of the period. From Bodhisattva-Vadana-Kalpa-lata by Kshemendra of the 10th Cent. A. D., we come to know that one day Indian merchants who traded in distant Islands waited upon Asoka and complained against the Naga pirates (probably the Chinese).[6] This means that the Maurya trade dominated the China sea. So Chandragupta's fame could very well perfume the 'south-seas'.

The one difficulty is about the religion. Chandra of Mehrauli Iron-Pillar is definitely devoted to Visnu, while Jain legends invariably make Chandragupta Maurya a Jaina. I suggest an explanation. Chandragupta began his career as a devotee of God Vishnu, naturally because Chanakya the Brahman was his tutor and helped his rise. But later on Chandra-gupta exhibited leanings towards Jainisim, which become one of the causes of dispute between Chandragupta and his powerful Chancellor Chanakya and the former had to abdicata his throne in midnight with tears, in favour of his son Bindusara, while Chanakya continued to be minister in three reigns *i. e.*, in the time of Asoka.[7]

Thus Chandragupta Maurya fulfils all what Mehrauli Iron Pillar inscription attributes to Chandra. Chandragupta is addressed as Chandra in Mudraraksha.[8] Chandragupta Maurya's parentage or geneology was naturally not given. Asoka in his so many inscriptions does not give his genealogy. Moreover the absence of high-sounding imperial titles also proves that it was considered unnecessary because Chandragupta had become a national hero who could be well under-stood even by the address 'Chandra', and Asokan inscriptions also do not mention such titles. Thus the Mehraulia Iron Pillar Inspription appears to be faithful to the Maurya tradition, and is therefore so unlike the Gupta phraseology.

Paleographically, Fleet believes that it is of early 4th century A. D. as the earliest. But this does not prove that the inscription does not record Chandragupta Maurya's achievement. It is a posthumous one, and was engraved by Chandragupta II Vikramaditya in whose time Chandragupta Maurya was a favouritee hero to be emulated by Chandragupta II. K. P. Jayaswal, Smith, Tewney, Heilbrandt, and Winteriniz all agree in making

1. P. Hist. of Anc. Ind. p. 183ff.
2. F. G. I. No. 32, p. 139-42.
3. Kautilya arthasastra B. K. H. Ch. XXVIII.
4. Strabo XV, p. 46.
5. Quoted from 'A History of Indian shipping' by R K. Mookerji, p. 113-114.
6. Ibid.
7. Imperial History and India ? V. 439-458 (a translation of Srimanju-srimulakalpa compared with a Tebetan translation of the same).
8. Act VII, line 16.

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Visakhadatta, the author of Mudraraksha, contemporary of Chandra gupta II. It is quite natural therefore to hope that when literary drama was written to parpetuate the memory of the hero Chandragupta, it also struck Chandragupta II to pay homage to the national hero, his namesake, by placing a record of his achievements on an Iron Pillar inscription, so well prepared that it is almost rust-proof so that it may stand for ever and be inspiration to Indian rulers and patriots. It was quite natural for Chandragupta II, who had liberated a part of the country from the foreign Saka hordes. to remind the nation of the other Chandragupta Maurya who had emancipated his country from foreign thraldom by overthrowing the Greeks in the Punjab and defeating Selenkos. In Chandragupta II's time, in Gupta time on the whole, Mauryan glory was sought to be revived, and so Chandragupta Maurya was still then a popular hero throughout India because of his spectacular success, and could be well understood by all by the simple epithet 'Chandra' and no geneology could be given because it is not yet known, and might not have been known even then. It must have been known at that time that Chandragupta Maurya was at first a Vaisnava, and so Vaisnava Chandragupta II was not going to miss that point in remembering his ideal Chandragupta Maurya.

Is it impossible to hold that probably the pillar was at first put on Vaisupada Hills at Gaya, as Magadha was the centre of Chandragupta's activity? Gaya has always been one of the most important holy cities to the Vaishnavas. It might have been removed later on—as Khilji Tughlaq removed two Asoken pillars[1].

Thus 'Chandra' refers to Chandragupta Maurya whose achievements still inspired Chandragupta II, who got the inscription engraved on an iron pillar probably at Gaya.

A HISTORY OF IRRIGATION IN SOUTH INDIA

BY

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(Summary.)

The importance of affording irrigation facilities for agricultural operations was well realised by the Hindu kings of South India. The history of South Indian irrigation goes back to the Sangam period, if not earlier. The credit for launching large irrigation projects goes again to one of the early Chola kings by name Karikala 1. The Chola kingdom was known as Punal nadu, due to the fact that its river the Kaveri was in floods every year. This Kaveri was otherwise known as Ponni, and it was given to the creative genius of Karikala I to utilise the water of the Kaveri for productive purposes. He saw that the wastage of the waters was due to insufficient, or rather want of proper embankments. Therefore, he embarked on the useful scheme of providing embankments for the river. Though the erection of bunds is testified to us by more than one authority including the Mallapadu plates of Punya Kumara,

1. Asoka-by R. K. Mookerji, p. 93.

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there are evidences to show that Karikala extended his activities in other ways. He was responsible for excavating a number of irrigation channels from the Kaveri.

The irrigation system of South India during the period of the Hindu rule may be studied under three broad heads such as (1) their construction ; (2) their maintenance and repair and (3) distribution of water from them. The construction of large irrigation works was undertaken both by the Government and private individuals or institutions. During the days of the Pallavas many irrigation tanks were constructed which continue even to this day to serve the purpose they were intended to. The Tiraiyan eri and Mahendra tataka are some instances. But well irrigation continued to be popular. From wells, water was baled out by means of picotahs and baskets. The Cholas continued the policy. In commemoration of his victories in the north, Rajendra Chola, the Gangaikonda excavated a big tank near his capital Gangaikonda Cholapuram which he founded and consecrated by pouring the sacred water of the Ganges into it. Bhaskara Bhavadura, a Prince of the first Vijayanagar dynasty constructed a huge tank with many sluices in the modern Cuddapah district, an area, which even to this day suffers from frequent famine. We are told, for instance, that under instructions from Bukkaraya, also of the first Vijayanagar dynasty, Singayya Bhatta, the Hydraulic Engineer (Jalasutra) who was a master of the ten sciences led the river Henne through a channel to the Siruvera tank at Penugonda and gave it the name of Pratapa-Bukkaraya-Mandala-channel. Nuniz bears witness to the fact that as a result of Krsnadevaraya's great irrigation project, many improvements were made in the city and many rice fields and gardens were brought under cultivation.

The maintenance and repair of irrigation works are as important as their construction in the same way as the maintenance of a public endowment or charity is considered to be as important as the institution of the endowment itself. Great merit was attached by the Hindus to such work. An epigraph of A. D. 1413 recounts the merit accruing from such work and states 'a ruined family, a breached tank or pond, a fallen kingdom, whoso restores, or repairs a damaged temple, acquires merit fourfold of that which accrued from them at first'. One of the very common methods for providing for the maintenance of tanks and similar irrigation works was the provision of servants and the materials necessary for such work. In 1367 in the modern Arisikers taluk provision was made in the following way for the maintenance of a tank. A buffaloeman with his cart was permanently appointed for such work and it was ordered that for oil, wheel, grease, crowbar, pickaxe etc., for every cart load, the original tenants had to pay two *taras* and likewise for every load of arecanut, betel and oranges had to pay at the same rate. Then again according to the order of Udaiyar Devarasa Udaiyar a certain Akkadeva arranged in 1446 for the annual clearance of silt in the tank at Tenmahadevamangalam (North Arcot) with the *velikkulippanam*, *vasal Kulippanam* and *eriminvilaippanam* and a small quantity of paddy on the cultivable land that were collected from the villages.

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The Government however were not the only body that attended to the work of the maintenance of tanks and other irrigation works ; for the local administrative bodies like the village assemblies and the temples also made provision for the same. Thus we hear that the assembly of Parundur agreed to supply 150 *kadi* of Pancavara paddy for the upkeep of the local tank. Some villages of the type of Uttaramallur appear to have had each a tank supervision committee which formed a part of the village assembly.

The problem of the proper distribution of water between neighbouring fields and villages presents many difficulties even in these days. The proportion and supply of a turn of water from a particular irrigation source were sought to be amicably and satisfactorily settled in those days. An epigraph of A. D. 1228 refers to the sale of water (nirvilai) and specifies the method by which the water was to be taken through a breached tank to another tank for purposes of irrigation. The embankments of the tanks were to be allowed to be raised within their limits so that they could hold the maximum quantity of water.

RECENT THEORIES ABOUT THE INDO-EUROPEANS.

BY

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This paper attempts an objective survey of some recent theories regarding the Home of the Indo-Europeans and allied problems, in order to find out what significant progress has been made in this field, since the publication of Kaith's valuable contribution. "The Home of the Indo-Europeans" (*C. E. Pavry Commemmoration Volume, London 1933*), wherein that scholar has critically examined some important earlier theories on the subject. The theories considered, for the purpose, in this paper, include among others those of Eickstedt, Reche, Heine-Geldern, Childe, Pittioni, Mann, Specht, Nehring and Koppers. The following general observations may be made with regard to these recent researches.

(1) Recent investigations in this field are characterised by new methods of approach to the problems.

(2) The 'racial' or 'national' connotations of the terms, "Aryan" or "Indo-European" are discountenanced by scientific students of the subject. Proper emphasis is placed on their culture-historical significance. The IE peoples were made up of various racial elements, and, in course of time, national characteristics emerged among different groups. That the Nordic race was the progenitor of human civilisation is now proved to be an exploded myth.

(3) The Arctic Home hypothesis cannot be supported on any grounds. Linguistic and culture-historical evidence goes against the theory of an Indian home for the Aryans.

(4) The Nordic Home theory, which held ground for a long time, now receives scanty support. As a matter of fact, archaeological evidence definitely rules out the Nordic Home hypothesis.

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(5) Linguistic, archaeological and ethnological evidence points to Asiatic Russia as the probable *Urheimat*. This locality is made to enclose the territory from Altai, along the Kirghiz Steppes, to the valley of the Volga. This original home can satisfactorily explain the maximum number of IE cultural facts.

(6) Progress in the right direction is made by Brandenstein through his hypothesis of two distinct periods in the IE culture-development. It is hereby suggested that it is not necessary to speak of a 'single' IE home.

(7) Recent researches in this field have thus been neither misguided nor barren.

"PRE-ARYAN AND NON-ARYAN IN THE INDUS VALLEY"

BY

DR. A. D. PUSALKER, M. A., Ph. D., LL.B.

SUMMARY

Introductory: The discovery of the Indus Valley Civilization has revolutionized various notions and theories regarding Ancient Indian History and Culture. Sir John Marshall and many scholars ascribe the authorship of this civilization to pre-Aryans, as, in their view, no vestige of Aryan influence is found in the civilization, it is materially different from the Indo-Aryan civilization as found in the Vedas, etc., and the entry of the Aryans is not earlier than the 2nd mill. B. C. These views require a critical examination in the light of recent archæological anthropological studies.

Problem: Besides considering the racial characteristics of the Vedic people, we shall have to deal with the age of the Rgveda and the original habitat of the Vedic people, for coming to a decision regarding the people inhabiting the Indus Valley in the chalcolithic period.

Language and Race, quite different: The use of Aryan and Dravidian to denote indiscriminately both race and language is to be discouraged. There is no basis for the Aryan theory of the Nordic and proto-Nordic race. The word Aryan does not denote any special race.

Aryn in Vedic Literature: The word "Arya" in ancient Vedic literature was principally used to denote "cultured" people. It did not denote any anthropological peculiarities. The word has been taken to apply to tawny-coloured people with black hair. Vedic literature describes other physical types also, showing not homogeneity, but fusion of races. Vedic people were ethnically different from the Nordic race; and probably were distinct from Indo-Aryans. The Indus Valley people in the old days as also at present were not homogeneous, as were also the Vedic people.

Age of the Rgveda: The Rgveda can be placed in 5000 B. C., and hence is considerably earlier than the Indus Valley Civilization. The so-called pre-Aryan traits found in the Indus Valley are not pre-Aryan at all, but can be reconciled with those of the Vedic people—

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Rgvedic and Atharvanic. Pre-Aryan is not necessarily non-Aryan. Social and religious ideas at the period of the civilization now unearthed show developed stage of the Vedic period.

Home of the Vedic people : The Rgveda shows no traces nor even faint recollections of migration from outside. None of the sacred places of the Vedic people lie outside India. Linguistic evidence, by itself, is not conclusive and is open to doubt. Evidence of the Puranas and ancient Indian Literature is about the original habitat, Sapta-Sindhu, the cradle of the Vedic people. Naturally, the population continued to be the same throughout the ages, with further mixture of blood, etc.

Conclusion : It is incorrect to employ the terms pre-Aryan and non-Aryan in connection with the Indus Valley Civilization. The racial description of the so-called Aryans cannot be applied to the Vedic people. Vedic people were not homogeneous, and were the earliest inhabitants of the Indus Valley.

THE AGE OF THE MOHENJO DARO CIVILIZATION

BY

Dr. A. P. KARMARKAR, M. A., LL. B., PH. D.

The problem of the exact age of the Indus Valley civilization still remains unsettled. The Rev. H. Heras, S. J., mainly depending upon the astronomical data, has proposed 5600 B. C. as being the date of this mighty civilization. Marshall and some other scholars have expressed that about the Third Millenium B.C. would be suitable. A third batch of scholars like Sarup and Dikshitar place this proto-Indian civilization in the post-Vedic period.

It cannot be gainsaid that the Mohenjo Daro civilization is one homogeneous whole, indicating that it could only be a civilization of a people, who are popularly styled as Dravidians later on. In our opinion, though the earlier date, e.g., 5600 B. C. may be assumed as correct, still, it must have been a running civilization extending itself to the date of the Bharata War.

The whole of the Rgveda shows a keen knowledge of this Indus Valley civilization. To quote a few instances: The Matsyas (or the Minas) who had taken part in the Battle of Ten Kings (Dasarajna), the Sisnadevas, the Muradevas (equivalent to Muruga or Kartikeya), the three-headed and six-eyed Asura, the Panis as being Mrdhravac and Grathins (composers), the knowledge of Ayas (iron), the art of spinning and weaving, and the other factors in regard to the forts, towns etc. of the Asuras.

The Atharvaveda also shows clean traces of this civilization. The references to the cult of the Ekavratya, the Asvattha tree, the divine nature of the serpent, Kama, exorcisms, magic and folklore—all these point to its non-Vedic character.

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The Mahabharata also shows a keen knowledge of this wonderful civilization. e.g., the Vahikas, their colour, their pottery, their goddess and other factors.

The specific factor, which is of utmost significance, for our present purpose, happens to be the story of the Fish and Manu. The Fish was revered and probably worshipped during the Mohenjo Daro period. And later tradition as depicted in the Atharvaveda, the Satapatha Brahmana and the Mahabharata shows that a heavy oceanic flood occured in India, and that Manu (along with the human beings) was saved by the Fish.

The Puranas and other allied literature depict various scenes of the occurrence of the Flood. The whole of the tract lying to the west of the Sahyadri or the Western Ghats is said to have been once submerged under the ocean. Parasurama is directly connected with that story. Later on, immediately after Krishna's death Dwaraka is said to have been once over-flooded. Manu's legend is described to have taken place either in Southern or Northern India.

Thus the whole data proves beyond doubt the historicity of the main event of the flood. If we can trust the Dwaraka legend, then one can visualise how a direct light shall have been thrown on one of the darker problems in Indian history. Thus if the occurrence of the flood is deemed to have taken place immediately after the Bharata war was over, then we can easily account for the close of the Rgvedic period, the close of the Indus Valley civilization, and later on of the Atharvaveda, and the early beginnings of the text of the Mahabharata.

Thus the age of the Indus Valley civilization even extended till the date of the occurrence of flood, which took place immediately after the Bharata war. The versions of the flood must have become current within a century or two after this flood. That should also form the date of the later period of the Atharvaveda, the Satapatha Brahmana, and the early beginnings of the text of the Mahabharata.

KERESASPA—ONE OF THE MOST ILLUSTRIOUS HEROES OF ANCIENT IRAN

BY

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Keresaspa is one of the most illustrious heroes of Ancient Iran. His name occurs frequently in the Avesta. In the Mazdayasnian Scriptures, he occupies the same position as Rustom in the Shahnameh, and Hercules in the Greek legends. The name is philologically the Sanskrit Krishashva. Its literal meaning is " The possessor of a lean horse." The modern Persian form of the name is "Gershasb," but the original KERESAPA is better. No particular distinction was observed in olden times in writing the Persian characters " Kauf " and "Gauf", the equivalents of English letters

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" K " and " G". It is quite probable that Firdausi may have used the name in its original form. Tabasi writes it as " Kershasb" and Abdul as " Kershasf."

It is not my intention here to compare all that is found in the narratives of the SHAHNAMEH and the works of Arab and Persian historians about the Hero Kershaspa. But I propose here in this short paper to gather the references regarding his exploits narrated in Avesta and Pahlavi literature.

The Shahnameh describes Gershasb's feats of Herculean strength and intrepidity and the narrative terminates with the mention of his relationship with the renowned hero RUSTOM who was his descendant. The lineage and descent of both Keresaspa and Rustom are traced to Jamshed in the Shahnameh. (*vide*—Asadi Tusi's Gershasb-Nameh and Mikhond " Rozat-us-Safaa.")

According to Noeldeke, the family of Rustom had no connection with Kereshaspa of the Avesta (*vide*—Das Iranische Nationalepos, Grundrissder Iranischen Philology. S. 138). The Shahnameh traces his lineage to Jamshed thus : "Kereshasp, Athrat, Sham, Turag, Sidasp, Tur, Jamshed." This family had ruled in Zabulistan for some time. I have shown in this paper that Keresaspa of the Avesta had some connection with this country and some of the names of his ancestors remind us of those contained in the Shahnameh. Pahlavi Text Bundahivsn, Ch. 31. Paras 26-27 gives the names of Kershasp's ancestors, which are similar to those mentioned in the Shahnameh. Kershaspa is the son of Thirta, who may be compared with the name Asklepsios of the Greeks (Roman Aesclapins). He belongs to the Sama family and being the greatest among them is often distinguished as " the Sama."

In the Avesta, Kershaspa has been remembered as having performed many wondrous deeds, for, like a true Knight-errant, he used to wander about eager for adventures and for relieving human suffering. He is known by the epithet Naire-Manao, which connotes 'Of heroic soul,' and this term gradually changed into a proper noun (Nariman). He is also called ' Gaesush,' meaning, 'possessing long curly hair,' a characteristic of Kershaspa and used constantly as an epithet for him. In consequence of having obtained many a victory by means of heavy mace, the additional appellation " Gadhavar," meaning ' mace-bearer,' has been conferred upon him. The exploits of Hero Kereshaspa have been referred to in the various passages in the Avesta. Among his most notable deeds may be mentioned the following :—

(1) The slaying of the horned dragon, who was horse-devouring and man-devouring as described in Yasna Ha X. 10, (the first chapter of Hom Yasht Large.).

(2) The slaying of the golden crowned Hitaspa, the murderer of his brother Urvakhshaya, a religious teacher and famed for his great wisdom, as narrated in Ram Yasht, 27-28 and Zamyat Yasht, 41.

(3) The killing of the monster Gandarewa, the golden-heeled, who was rushing with open jaws, eager to destroy the corporeal world of Asha-

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righteousness, and who lived on the sea Vourukasha, later known as Zray-i-Frakhv-kart, after invoking the yazata of the Waters, (Aban Yasht. 37 and Zamyat Yasht. 41).

(4) The annihilation of the broods of nine outlaws (Pathan) and the descendants of Nivika as well as Dashtayanay and Vareshava of the Danaya clan as well as Pitaona attended by many Pairikas (Zamyat-Yasht 41.)

(5) The slaying of crafty and crooked Arezo-shamana and of Snavidhka of a horned race and stone-handed (Zamyat-Yasht-42.).

For these above-mentioned exploits the spirit of Kereshaspa is invoked in Farvardin Yasht to protect people from highway robbers (*vide* paras 61 and 136 of Fravardin Yasht). From the narration given in the Aban Yasht we can conclude that the hero hailed from Zabulistan. Moreover, according to the traditions, he is still in a state of trance in the plain of Peshin to the South of Ghazni and East of Kandahar. His dead body is said to be surrounded by 99,999 Fravashis (holy spirits), because there is a prophesy that he will rise again to slay Azi Dahak, or Zohak, when he comes up again to oppress the world. Thus, Kereshaspa is the inaugurator of a new era of peace and prosperity. Throughout the ancient literature of Persia the Hero Kereshaspa is mentioned with high praise and reverence. These exploits of adventure of Kereshaspa have been described at length in the Pahlavi Works, such as Denkart, Menok-i-Khrat, Bundahishn, Sad-dar-Bundahish, etc.

CALUKYAN CONQUEST OF THE EAST COAST.

BY

DR. M. RAMA RAO, M.A., PH.D.

Summary.

The Calukyan conquest of the east coast and the establishment of an independent Calukyan kingdom in this region are epoch making events in the 7th century history of the Dekkan. The Gangas, the Ramkasypa family, the Visnukundins and the Pallavas held between themselves the entire east coast in the first quarter of the century. It was against these rivals that Pulakesin directed his campaign.

From the Aihole inscription of Pulakesin it is known that he fought with the Kosalas, Kalings, an enemy near the Kolleru lake and the Pallavas of Kanci some time before 634-35 A.D. His Kopparam plates which register a gift in the Karma-rastra to the south of the Krsna indicate that the campaign was over by 631 A.D. It may therefore be reasonably assigned to 630 A. D. What encouraged this invasion was the death of the powerful Indrabhattaraka of the Visnukundin family in 625 A.D. and of Pallava Mahendravaram in 630 A.D.

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Visnuvardhana took an active part in this campaign and constituted a separate principality for his own son out of the new conquests and himself returned to his governorship of the Nasik region. Some time between 631-633 A. D. a son was born to Pulakesin and this marred Yuvaraja Visnuvardhana's chances of succession to the Badami throne. He therefore returned to the east coast and established himself as an independent ruler in southern Kalinga. During his absence Vikramahendra, the last Visnukundin, asserted himself and ruled till 635 A. D. After 635 A. D. Visnuvardhana invaded the south for a second time and annexed Vengi and the Pallava dominion on the east coast.

Thus there seems to have been two invasions of the east coast—one by Pulakesin and Visnuvardhana in 630 A. D. and another by Visnuvardhana by himself in 633-635 A.D.

ROUTES BETWEEN ARYAVARTA AND DAKSHINAPATH.

BY

SHAN RA. SHENDE

Summary

In the pre-historic days Aryavarta was the name of Northern Bharatkhanda and Dakshinapatha of that of the South. This was a natural division due to difficulty in crossing the Vindhya mountains and the Narmada river and the hilly and jungle tracts of Chhota Nagpur and Orissa. Crossing of these was made further more difficult by the cruelties of barbarous tribes residing there. Routes to go from one side to the other were very few and it is interesting to find them out from old records. Below are given as many I am able to trace.

Route No.	Route.	Where traced.	Who used.	Date.
1st.	From Sind to Sopara.	Bodhyana Sutra	1. Northerners, it is stated, take to see voyage.	
2nd.	Tapi Valley.	...	2. Kanva Brahmans of Khandesh went to Jambusar and Mota, whose decendants are the present Motala Kapil and Jambu Brahmans of Surat and Broach. 3. Jambus have gone back to Khandesh and C. P. and Nagar by this very route. 4. Leva Gujars and Leva Kunabis went to Khandesh and Buldhana districts from Gujarath.	

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Route No.	Route.	Where traced.	Who used.	Date.
3rd.	Bharukachha to Aparanta (Kokan) (This route joins the fourth).		5. Emigration of Gurjar and Karhada Brahmans from Karhataka to Lata. Bhargava Brahmans from Rajapur to Bharukachha (might have come by sea). 6. Shivaji may have visited Surat by this route. 7. Saurashtra Brahmans of Madura seem to have gone there from by this route.	
Route No. 4 or 3.	Nasik Nandurbar, Songad—Gujarat.	Ihole inscription.	8. Pulkeshi II conquers Lata Desha.	6th century.
Route No. 4.	Nasik Nandurbar Songad—Gujarat.	Watters.	9. Yuan Tasing goes to Bharukachha from Nasik.	6th century.
		Peshva Daftar Vol. 30.	10. Chimanaji Appa goes to Gujruth.	1729 Dec.
Route No. 5 or *via* No. 3.	Mahishamati to Ujjain.	Ihole inscription.	11. Pulkeshi 11 conquers Malwa and Gujrath.	6th century.
Route No. 5.	Mahishamati to Ujjain.	Sutta Nipata.	12. Pupils of Bavari go to Ujjain. and further to Kosambi.	5th century B. C.
		Peshwa Daftar No. 30.	13. Bajirao I goes to Malva.	1724.
		Peshwa Daftars Vol. 22 and 30.	14. Chimanaji Appa goes to Bundi and back.	1728-29.
		Peshwa Daftars Vol. 30.	15. Chimanaji Appa returns from Bundelkhand.	1733.
		Peshwa Daftars Vol. 22 and 30.	16. Pillaji Jadhao goes to Mahowa, C. I.	1734.
		Peshwa Daftars Vol. 27.	17. Raghunathrao goes to Ujjain.	1753.

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Rote No.	Rote.	Where traced.	Who used.	Date.
Route No. 6.	Handia to Bhopal.	Peshwa Daftar Vol. 30.	18. Bajirao II returns from Bhelsa to Handia.	1719.
		Peshwa Daftar Vol. No. 27.	19. Madho Rao I goes to Bhopal.	1765-66.
Route No. 5 or 6.		Ihole Inscription.	20. Pulkeshi II goes to defeat Harsha.	6th century.
		Travels Ibu Batuka.	21. Batuka comes down to Daulatabad.	13th 14th century.
		Valmikai Ramayan	22. Rama and Agastya seem to have come to Dandakaranya.	?
		Sukta Nipata.	23. Bavri comes to Ashmak from Kosala.	6th century.
Route No. 7.	Via Sohagpur and Narsinghpur.	Peshwa Daftar No. 30.	24. Chimanaji Appa goes to Bundelkhand.	1732.
Route No. 8.	Chanda, Nagpur, Mandla, Mahoba.	Peshwa Daftar No. 30.	25. Bajirao I goes to Mahoba *via* Chanda, Nagpur, Mandla and visits Chhatrasala and his son.	1729.
Route No. 9.	Orissa to Oriya.	T'ravels of Yuan Tsang.	26. Yuan Tsang goes to Puri from Midnapur.	6th century.

Lists of those whose routes can possibly be traced :—

1. A Jain Shrutakevalin went to Shravana Belgola from Kosala in 3rd century B. C.

2. Routes of several Budhists who came to Maharashtra.

3. Routes of expeditions of the Lieutenants of Delhi from 13th to 16th centuries and of foreign travellers.

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Section II.

ANCIENT INDIA 711-1200

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

BY

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Brother Delegates and Friends,

I find it difficult to put into words my profound sense of gratitude at the confidence, the Executive Committee of the Indian History Congress has reposed in me by calling upon me to preside over the Section, which deals with the history of our country from A. D. 711 to 1206.

The period, which claims our attention today, begins with the year 711-12 A.D. Strictly speaking, however, this date cannot be regarded as a turning point in Indian history. It does not mark the foundation or collapse of any mighty power in India except the descent of the Arabs on Sind under the command of the intrepid Muhammad ibn Qasim, who seized Daibul and subverted the dynasty of the Brahman Chach. Although the Arabs had commenced their plundering raids, by land and sea, on the Indian frontier and coastal regions as early as Hijri 15=636 A.D. during the Khilafat of Omar, it was in 711-12 A.D. that they first gained a real foothold in a corner of India—Sind. The Arab-Moslems now appeared like a tiny speck of cloud on the Indian political horizon, but three centuries later dark clouds in the form of the Afghan or Turkish hordes of Mahmud of Ghazni gathered thick on it, and burst upon the fertile plains of India. The storm blew fierce and strong for some time, and then it subsided leaving its trail of destruction and desolation. Towards the last decade of the twelfth century the political sky again became overcast; the gloom deepened, and there swept over Northern India the deluge of Sihabuddin Ghori's invasions. Its on rush was so terrific that by 1206 A. D. when Qutb-ud-din was proclaimed Sultan of Delhi, all the Hindu states of Northern India were engulfed in one common ruin. But the South escaped the blast of the Moslem onslaughts for over a century more. It also was overwhelmed by the raging tempest in 1310 A. D., the date of the sack of Madura by Malik Kafur. Thus the Moslem authority, which made modest beginnings in Sind, took no less than six centuries to establish itself over the whole land. During all this period, however, the thunders of the Moslem invaders were not constantly heard. There was a long interval of over three centuries between the Arab conquest of Sind and the depredations of Mahmud of Ghazni, and of about 170 years between the latter and the invasion of Sihabuddin Ghori. Thus, though the Moslems came in waves at widely seprarated points of time, the expansion of their sway in India forms the most interesting feature of the period under survey.

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From the very early days of their advent in Sind and Western India, whether as traders or conquerors, the Moslems became an important factor in the body politic. They were believers in a highly militant faith, which uncompromisingly emphasised the oneness of God and the brotherhood of man. It would, therefore, be interesting to enquire what attitude the victorious Arabs adopted towards the polytheistic, idol-worshipping and caste-ridden natives of the soil. According to Al Biladuri[1], the Arab rulers of Sind from the very start followed a wise policy of toleration and they considered the Budd of the Hindus inviolate like " the churches of the Christians, the synagogues of the Jews and the altars of the Magians." Not only that, the Arab conquerors sometimes even permitted the Brahmans to rebuild demolished or dilapidated temples. The Hindu rulers on their part, particularly Balhara of Mankir, *i.e.*, the Rastrakuta king of Manyakheta, afforded all protection and safety to Moslem traders[2] and allowed them complete freedom of worship. Says Al Masudi[3], " Of all the kings of Sind and India, there is no one who pays greater respect to the Musalmans than the Balhara. In his kingdom Islam is honoured and protected,." Similarly Al Istakhri[4] and Ibn Haukal[5] testify to the existence of Jama Masjids in several cities, where the Muhammadan precepts were openly observed. The first contacts between the Moslem newcomers and the Hindus were thus informed by a commendable spirit of toleration and broadmindedness. Unfortunately, however, the harmony of their relations was rudely disturbed in later times by the excesses of wars, economic exactions, and occasional ebullitions of fanaticism or iconoclasm. It then developed into a thorny problem.

The next noteworthy feature of our period is that Kanyakubja (Kanauj) continued to be the dominant power in Northern India. Indeed, it may aptly be described as the pivot of our history during these centuries. It first emerges into importance in the sixth century A. D. under the Maukharis, to whom should go the credit for shifting the political centre of gravity there after the decline of Pataliputra. Kanauj saw its palmy days during the momentous reign of Harsa, who extended the kingdom upto the eastern Punjab in the west and Bengal and Orissa in the east. His death in 647 A. D., however, plunged its affairs into darkness for almost three quarters of a century. When the footlights are switched on again about 725 A. D. we see another remarkable figure strutting on the political stage. Yasovarman is represented in the *Gaudavaho* as a *digvijayi*, but whatever allowance we make for hyperbole his success against the king of the Gaudas and Magadha, at any rate, appears to be based on truth. His successors were weaklings, and the Ayudhas too did not achieve anything of note. With the appearance of the Pratiharas on the scene about the beginning of the ninth century, Kanauj once more recalled the splendours of Harsa's regime, and under

1. Kitab Futuh al Buldan, pt. II, p. 221.
2. Elliot, History of India, Vol. I, p. 88.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 24.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 27.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 34.

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the great Mihira Bhoja and Mahendrapala I, they held sway over territories as widely apart as eastern Punjab, Gorakhpur region, Magadha, North Bengal, Bundelkhand, Ujjain, and Saurastra. The Pratiharas of Kanauj, and earlier of Ujjain also were the greatest bulwark in India against the Arab encroachments in the eighth and ninth centuries A. D. After the dismemberment of the Pratihara empire there was an anarchical interlude in the fortunes of Kanauj. It lasted from the time of Mahmud Ghaznavi's destructive raid to about the last decade of the eleventh century, when the Gahadavalas rose into ascendancy there. They tried to revive its lost glories, and Kanauj re-imposed its authority over Magadha and other adjacent lands. But the days of its grandeur came to an end when Jayachandra suffered a signal defeat at the hands of Sihabuddin Ghori in 90 Hijri or 1194 A. D.

It must not, however, be supposed from what I have said above that the supremacy of Imperial Kanauj remained undisturbed and unchallenged throughout the centuries under consideration. Time and again the war-drums sounded, and aspirants to overlordship and military renown turned greedy eyes towards the Mahodayasri. During the major part of the eighth century and the early ninth it was veritably the cynosure of the eyes of all military adventurers and enterprising potentates. In conesquence of their ambitions the kingdom was repeatedly overrun, the populace suffered greatly from their depredations, but each time it rose like the proverbial phoenix on its ashes. Indeed, the tripartite clash between the kings of Kanyakubja, the Palas of Bengal, and the Rastrakutas of the Dekkan is a notable feature of this period. It was grimly carried on from bleeding sire to son.

About the middle of the tenth century A. D., and not in 916-17 A. D., as generally supposed, the mighty fabric of the Pratihara Empire began to crack under the strain of continued wars, Rastrakuta Krisna III's invasion, and the rise of the Candellas. This brought to the surface the latent fissiparous forces, which are ever ready to operate whenever the hold of the Central power weakens. The process of disintegration continued rapidly until the Kanauj Empire was divided into several powers, *viz.*, (1) the Candellas of Jejakabhukti ; (2) the Kacchapaghatas of Gwalior ; (3) the Cedis of Dahala ; (4) the Paramaras of Malwa ; (5) the Cahamanas of Sakambhari ; (6) the Guhilas of southern Rajputana ; and (7) the Caulukyas of Anhilwada.

In the north-west, there were independent principalities already existing. The Turki Sahis of Kabul and Udbhandapura ruled upto the middle of the ninth century, when Lagaturman, the last king , was deposed by his Brahmin minister, Kallar. The latter's usurpation initiated the regime of the Hindu Sahis, among whom Jayapala and Anandapala are best known for valiantly defending the gates of India against Sultan Sabuktigin and Mahmud. The last member of the dynasty, Bhimapala also was killed fighting against the Ghaznavide invader in 1026 A. D. The remnants of the Sahi house then sought shelter in the Lohara court of Kashmir, and the Punjab passed into the hands of the Moslem con-

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querors. Throughout the period under survey Kashmir escaped foreign domination, and was let free to the designs and devices of its own rulers—the Karkotakas (c. 631-855 A. D.) the Utpalas (c. 855-939 A. D.), the successors of the Utpalas (c. 939-1003 A. D.), the Loharas (c. 1003-1171 A. D.), and the successors of the Loharas (c. 1171-1339 A. D.). The native rulers continued to rule till the year 1339 A. D., when a Moslem adventurer, Shah Mir, seized the crown under the title, Sri Samsadina or Shams-ud-din. In the east, the Palas maintained their existence amidst vicissitudes from c. 765 A. D. to about the middle of the 12th century, for the last glimpse of a Pala prince, the shadowy Govindapala, is afforded by an inscription, dated " gata-rajye caturdasa samvatsare " in Vikrama year 1232=1175 A. D. But after the expulsion of Madanapala from Northern Bengal by the Senas the Pala kingdom had become greatly attenuated, being mostly confined to the Patna and Monghyr regions in Bihar. The Senas first came into prominence about the middle of the eleventh century, but under Vijayasena (c. 1095-1158 A. D.) they rose into complete ascendancy in Bengal and even aggrandised themselves at the cost of the neighbouring states of Kamarupa (Assam) and Kalinga (Orissa). In 1199 A. D., however, the advance of Muhammad ibn Bakhtyar Khilji on Nadia struck terror into the heart of Laksmanasena, and as alleged by Minhajuddin, he fled post haste across the Ganges to eastern Bengal, where he ruled until 1206 A. D. Whatever the truth of this story, the frontier administration of Laksmanasena must have been hopelessly rotten, otherwise the invader would not have been allowed to press on so easily right upto the capital. Western Bengal now fell under the Moslem yoke and in the next half a century or more Bang or eastern Bengal, where the Sena family had taken refuge, too followed suit. Further eastward was Assam, which was neither ever drawn into the main currents of Indian politics, nor was subjugated by the Moslems, although attempts were made by Muhammad ibn Bakhtyar Khilji in Hijri 601 =1205 A. D., and later by Aurangzeb's famous general, Mir Jumla in 1662 A. D. Coming to Kalinga on the south-eastern coast, it was from about the beginning of the eighth century under the sway of the Eastern Gangas, and one of the most striking personalities of the dynasty was Anantavarman Codaganga (c. 1077-1147 A. D.). The Moslem incursions began in Orissa early in the thirteenth century, but it did not succumb to their onslaughts until the sixteenth century.

Step by step the steamroller of Moslem aggression levelled down the various states of Northern India. Even so, all of them did not end their careers by 1206 A. D.; and despite the establishment of the Sultanate at Delhi some, at any rate, continued to exist till long afterwards. It was not a walk-over either for the invaders in each case. Jayapala, Anandapala and Bhimapala, the Sahi kings, resisted the arms of Sabktigin and Mahmud at the very of gates of India; Bala Mularaja II repulsed the attack of Sihabudin on Anhilwada; and Prithviraja III Cahamana and Jayacandra fought bravely with the Ghori Sultan, and indeed the former even defeated his adversary once in Hijri 587=1191 A. D. In their epigraphic documents Bhoja Paramara and Govindacandra and Vijayacandra Gahadavala are respectively represented as having won victories against the Turuskas and Hammira. Of course, there were

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craven-hearted rulers also, like Rajyapala Pratihara of Kanauj, Ganda Candella and Laksmanasena, who sought safety in pusillanimous submission to the invaders. The Hindu princes made no attempts to come together for averting the common danger. Firishta, no doubt, refers to the confederacies of the kings of Delhi, Ajmer, Kalandjra and Kanauj, formed by both Jayapala and Anandapala but his testimony cannot be implicitly relied upon, for the contemporary historian, Al Utbi, makes no mention of these leagues in the Tarikh-i-Yamini. Each power pursued its own course, utterly unmindful of what was happening to the other. They indulged in their petty rivalries even when the enemy was knocking at their doors.

We have so far been moving in the labyrinthic maze of North Indian history. Let us now turn to take a peep into the main trends of the history of Southern India. Here also a number of dynasties played their role on the political stage during the period under review. To mention a few of them : (1) the last few rulers of the early Chalukya dynasty of Vatapi (Badami); (2) the Eastern Chalukyas of Vengi (*c.* 615-1070 A. D.); (3)the Rastrakutas of Manyakheta or modern Malkhed (*c.* 740-973 A. D.); (4) the Western Chalukyas of Kalyana (*c.* 973-1189 A. D.); (5) the Yadvas of Devagiri (*c.* end of the 8th century to 1318 A. D.). Besides these, such minor ruling Houses also come into our view as the Silaharas of Kharepatan and Thana, the Later Kadambas of Hangal and Goa, the Kakatiyas of Warangal, the Ganges of Talkad (*c.* 4th century to 1004 A. D.), and the Hoysalas of Dvarasamudra (11th century to the middle of the 14th). In the distant South, there ruled the Pallavas of Kanci (*c.* middle of the 3rd century to 890 A. D.). the Colas of Tanjauur (*c.* middle of the 9th century to 1267 A. D.), the Pandyas of Madura, and the Ceras of Malabar. This multi-state system naturally provided ample scope for the rapacity of ambitious dynasties. Accordingly, their legions were constantly on the move, and the boundaries of kingdoms shrank or expanded occasionally. More often, however, they merely carried on raids, which left no marks save the horrid scars of bloody warfare. We learn that the early Chalukyas of Vatapi and the Pallavas of Kanci waged wars with unvarying relentlessness but with varying fortunes. The struggle was continued by the Rastrakutas, who stepped into the shoes of the early Chalukyas.

The Rastrakuta power reached its zenith in the time of Krisna III (*c.* 940-68 A. D.), whose most notable exploit in the South was the occupation of Kanci and Tanjore and the defeat of the Cola prince, Rajaditya, in the famous battle of Takkolam (near Arkonam, North Arcot district) in 949 A. D. He annexed Tondamandalam, but he could not seize the southern portion of the Cola realm. He also curbed the ambitions of the Pandyas, the Keralas, and the kings of Simhala. After Krisna III's death, the Rastrakutas suffered decline; the capital, Manyakheta was sacked by Siyaka-Harsa Paramara in the time of Khottiga Nityavarsa ; and ultimately Karka II succumbed to the onslaughts of the Wetstern Chalukya Tailapa in 973 A. D. This new dynasty, founded by Tailapa and known to historians as the Western Chalukyas, became a considerable power during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and it was, therefore, inevitable for them to come into conflict with the Colas of

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Tanjavur and the Paramaras of Malwa, who could never tolerate any serious disturbance in the political equilibrium of the South. Thus Vakpati Munja Paramara (*c.* 974-95 A. D.) is said to have defeated Tailapa (*c.* 973-97 A. D.) no less than six times, which made him so overconfident that the seventh time he plunged headlong into the Chalukya country across the Godavari. This at once gave an advantage to Tailapa and Vakpati-Munja was captured and beheaded. But amid the shifting politics of the times, the Western Chalukya power was eclipsed in 1157 A. D. by the Kalacuri usurpation of Vijjala or Vijjana, and after a short flicker again it finally faded to nothing in 1189 A. D. owing to the aggressions of the Yadavas of Devagiri and the Hoysalas of Dvarasrasamudra.

The Yadavas now definitely came into prominence and wrested the territories to the north of the Kistna from the feeble hands of the Western Chalukya Somesvara IV. But they had now to reckon with the Hoysalas, for, from the time of Bittiga Visnuvardhana (*c.* 1110-40 A. D.), who is said to have humbled the Colas, the Pandyas, the Keralas, the Tuluvas of South Kanara, the Kadambas, etc., they had grown powerful. In the conflict that ensued Bhillama Yadava was killed in 1191 A.D. by Vira Ballala Hoysala (*c.* 1172-1215) in the battle of Lakkundi. This defeat was, however, subsequently avenged by Singhana Yadava (*c.* 1210-47 A. D.), who pushed his authority beyond the Kistna at the cost of the Hoysala Vira Ballala. About the close of the twelfth century Jaitugi Yadava (*c.* 1191-1210 A. D.) killed Rudradeva and placed Ganapati on the Kakatiya throne. Under the latter (*c.* 1199-1261 A. D.), the Kakatiyas of Warangal too saw their utmost rise, for he claims to have successfully encountered the kings of Cola, Kalinga, Seuna (Yadava), Karnata, Lata, and Valanadu. The internecine wars among the Yadavas, the Hoysalas, the Kakatiyas, the Colas and the Pandyas continued in the thirteenth century until all of them, except the Colas whose empire had disintegrated by 1267 A. D., were caught in the all-consuming conflagration of Malik Kafur's southern campaign. Whatever resistance, these effete and mutually warring powers offered, proved of no avail, and he triumphantly marched on to the southern extremity of the peninsula, occupying Madura, the Pandyan capital, in 1310 A. D. In the region of his son, Rajendra I (*c.* 1014-44 A. D.), Colas reached the high water-mark of their power. He placed the Pandya land under a Cola Viceroy, and re-asserted the supremy of his house over the Ceras. Indeed, from now the Colas dominated the Cera country untill the beginning of their decline in the twelfth century, when Virakerala declared his independence.

It has been remarked that the veil of secrecy hung over the South in ancient India except when an enterprising sovereign of the North, like Chandragupta Maurya, Samudragupta, or Harsavardhana, lifted it by the force of his arms. Whatever the case in the earlier age, during the period under review, at any rate, southern India did not remain a backwater, but its affairs often got mingled with the main currents of north Indian history. The kings of the south even turned the tables now against the North, and overran it many a time with their invincible hosts. Thus, Dhruva Nirupama

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(*c.* 780-94 A. D.), having defeated Vatsaraja Pratihara of Ujjain, hurried and spoiled the Gangetic Doab in the reign of Indrayudha and " added the emblem of the Ganges and the Jumna to his Imperial insignia." It was perhaps during the same campaign that Dhruva " seized the white umbrellas, the sporting lotuses of Laksmi of the Gauda king (Dharmapala) as he was fleeing between the Ganges and the Jumna."[1] Similarly, Govinda III (*c.* 794-814 A. D.) triumphantly marched upto the Himalayas receiving the submission of Dharma (Dharmapala) and Chakrayudha[2]; and Amoghavarsa (*c.* 814-78 A. D.) is said to have extended his influence over the kings of Anga, Vanga, and Magadha. The next terrific attack on Madhyadesa was made by Indra III Nityavarsa (*c.* 914-18 A. D.), who advanced through Ujjain, then the bone of contention between the Pratiharas and the Rastrakutas, and " completely devastated that hostile city of Mahodaya "[3] in the year 916 or 917 A. D. Shortly before Saka 862=940 A. D. Krisna III (*c.* 940-68 A. D.) also, as *Kumara* or crown-prince, led an expedition in northern India, and on his approach the Gurjara-Pratihara ruler became so panic-stricken that he lost all hope of the defence of his two best strongholds, Kalanjara and Chitrakuta. Somesvara I Ahavamalla (c. 1042-68 A. D.) was another monarch of the Daksinapatha, who directed his attention northwards after settling accounts with his southern neighbours. His forces marched across Central India unchecked by the Candellas and the Kacchapaghatas, and afraid of his might the king of Kanyakubja is represented as having " quikely experienced an abode among caves."[4] Somesvara I Ahavamalla won a preponderance against Laksmi-Karna Kalacuri too. We are further told that the Western Chalukya prince, Vikramaditya, overran Mithala, Magadha, Anga, Vanga, and Ghauda, meeting with little or no opposition. The last great invasion of the North was by Rajendra I Gangaikonda (*c.* 1014-44 A. AD.), who sometime between 1021 and 1025 A. D.,[5] advanced right up to the Ganges subduing Odda-visaya (Orissa), Kosalainadu (Southern Kosala), Dharmapala of Tandabutti (Dandabhukti, Balasore and a part of Midnapore district), Ranasura of Takkana-Iadam (South Radha), Govindacandra of Vangala-desa (Eastern Bengal), Mahipala—the Pala ruler—(*c.* 922-1040 A. D.), and Uttiraladam (North Radha)[6]. Thus, though these kings of Southern India were despoiling the smiling plains of the North, it is strange that the powers of Northern India could not pay off their scores any time during the centuries under survey.

Another noteworthy feature of the history of the South in our period is that some rulers maintained strong naval forces, and their conquests were not limited to the mainland only but extended overseas also. Besides the two naval expeditions of Narasimhavaram Pallava to Ceylon in the middle of the seventh century A. D., we learn that Parantaka I

1. Ep. Ind., XVIII, pp 244, 252.
2. Ibid., pp. 245, 253.
3. Ibid., VII, pp. 38, 43, v. 19.
4. Ind. Ant., VIII, p. 19.
5. See Dynastic History of Northern India, Vol. I, p. 318.
6. Cf. Tirumalai Inscription, Ep. Ind., IX, pp. 229-33.

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(*c.* 907-53 A. D.) invaded Ceylon, where Maravarman Rajasimha II Pandya had taken refuge after his defeat. The raid, however, proved abortive. Rajaraja I (*c.* 985-1014 A. D.) next invaded Ceylon, and annexed its northern part as a province of the Cola Empire. He further conquered "the old islands of the sea numbering 12,000", which have generally been identified with the Laccadives and the Maldives. The whole of Ceylon was ultimately annexed by Rajendra I Gangaikonda (*c.* 1014-44 A. D.) about 1017 A. D. His powerful fleet also gained successes across the Bay of Bengal, for he is said to have vanquished Samgramavijayottungavarman and conquered Kataha or Kadaram and other places in Further India. It is likely that the expedition was undertaken not merely to feed fat the ambitions of Rajendra I, but also to promote and strengthen commercial relations between Southern India and Malay Peninsula., Lastly, Vira-Rajendra (*c.* 1063-70 A. D.) tried to repeat the exploits of Rajendra I in Kadaram or Sri-Vijaya ; the details which led to this adventure, are, however, obscure.

We have now got a glimpse of the fascinating panorama of events, which unfolds itself during the early medieval period. Of course, our view is to some extent blurred by the multiplicity of actors and the rapidity of their movements. Scenes change swiftly ; empires rise and fall ; and dynasties appear and disappear into the limbo of oblivion. The clash of arms and ambitions is truly bewildering. Accordingly, we would like to turn away from the splendours and tragedies of our history, and take a peep into the state of religion, society, polity, economic life, literature, and art. Was it a period of all-round stagnation and decadence? Or, do we see any sidelights of progress? Questions like these had better be answered by facts themselves. The first point to strike us is that Buddhism was no longer an active force in India. But it certainly lingered on in some localities. We learn that in the course of his itinerary Yuan Chwang (*c.* 629-4 A. D.) saw "some hundreds of Samgharamas and 10,000 priests" in Kanci. They studied the teaching of the Sthavira school and belonged to the Mahayana. It may, therefore, be reasonably presumed that Buddhism may have survived in the Pallava kingdom long after the visit of Yuan Chwang. Its existence in the South is also proved by the gifts made by Rajaraja I Cola, an ardent Saiva, to the Buddhist Vihara at Negapatam, and by those of Kulottunga I to another Buddhist Vihara. In the Dekkan its chief centres were Kampilya (Sholapur district), Dambal (Dharvad district), and Kanheri (Thana district).[1] When the Moslems first came to Sind in the beginning of the eighth century, they found there a fairly large population of Buddhists. The Palas were, of course, patrons of Buddhism, and they generously endowed Buddhist monastries in Bengal and Magadha, where it may be traced up to the time of Bakhtyar Khilji's invasion. But here and in Assam Buddhism had moved far away from its original moorings. Indeed, the new Tantric forms, which had developed, had transformed it almost beyond recognition. The monks were, however, still fired with missionary zeal, and as an instance we may mention the famous Atisa, who is known to have gone beyond the frontiers of India

1. Ind. Ant. XII pp.134—37.

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to Tibet about the middle of the eleventh century to spread the light of his faith. Unlike Buddhism, the Jain church appears to have gained in strength in some parts of India. In the Dekkan it was honoured by Rastrakuta rulers like Amoghavarsa I, Indra IV, Krisna II and Indra III. Many of the Western Ganga kings also favourably disposed towards it. Leaving aside Avinita and Durvinita, who flourished prior to our period, and who respectively patronised the Jain Acaryas, Vijayakirti and Pujyapada, we know that it was during the reign of Rajamalla (*c.* 977-85 A. A.) that his minister and general, Camundaraya, a devout Jain, erected and celebrated image of Gomatesvara at Sravana Belgola in 983 A. D. The great Bittiga Vishnuvardhana Hoysala (*c.* 1110-40 A. D.) was originally a Jain in his beliefs, but was converted to Vaisnavism later in the life by Acarya Ramanuja. Under the Colas, who were staunch Saivas, the Jains continued to pursue their tenets in peace. Describing Mo-lo-kiu-ch'a (Malakuta) or the Pandya country in 640 A. D., Yuan Chwang refers to "a multitude of heretics mostly belonging to the Nirgranthas"[1]. Similarly, he mentions "many Nirgranthas" living in the kingdom of Kanci. Accordingly, it may be supposed that there must have been a fairly good Jain population in the Pallava and Pandya realms in the succeeding centuries. But Jainism had its most notable triumphs under Kumarapala Caulukya (*c.* 1143-72 A. D.), who drew inspiration from the great Acarya Hemchandra. It is believed that as a result of the latter's preaching and encyclopædic learning Jainism rapidly spread in Gujarat, Kathiawad, Kaccha, Rajputana, and Malwa. In the North, however, its influence remained very limited for lack of royal patronage. Here as well as in Southern India the dominant faith was Brahmanism or Pauranic Hinduism, and princes and the common people alike venerated the Brahmanical gods. Among these, the most prominent were Vishnu and Siva, who were known by a number of other names also. The pantheon further included Brahma, Surya, Vinayaka or Damodara (Ganesa), Kumara (Kartikeya), Indra, Agni, Yama, Varuna, Marut, and goddesses like Bhagavati or Durga, Sri (Lakshmi), besides a host of minor deities. Many of them still command popular allegiance, and thus modern Hinduism may be said to have taken shape by this period. As now, there was no exclusiveness in worship. For instance, the Rastrakuta inscriptions begin with invocations to both Siva and Visnu, and the Gahadavala kings made grants after having performed adoration to Surya, Siva, Vasudeva (Visnu), and after having sacrificed to the fire. Members of the same ruling family not unoften paid homage to different gods. This was specially the case with the Pratihara princes[2]. Indeed, royal eclecticism had sometimes a wider range, for an inscription represents Jayacandra as becoming the disciple of a Buddhist monk named Srimitra "with a pleasing heart and an indescribable hankering[3]" We further learn that Govindachandra Gahadavala and Rajaraja I Cola and Kulottunga 1 granted villages to Buddhist Viharas. This must have doubtless promoted a spirit of tolera-

1. Beal, Buddhist Records of the Western World, Vol. II, p. 231.
2. History of Kanauj, p. 290.
3. Ind. Hist. Quart., V (1929), p. 26, v. 10.

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tion and concord among the votaries of the various competing sects. Persecution and sectarian animosity were, therefore, not much in evidence then. An instance to the contrary is, of course, furnished by the aforesaid Kullottunga I, whose disfavour compelled the great Vaisnava reformer, Ramanuja, to leave Srirangam and retire to the Hoysala dominions. His return was made possible only when Vikrama Cola reversed his father's attitude towards him. Generally however, the Colas and other rulers of the South were tolerant of all creeds, and Vaisnava Alvars and Saiva Nayanmars were free to teach and propagate their doctrines. These religious teachers infused new life and vitality in the current beliefs and practices by their precept and example. South India also produced during this period such towering personalities as Kumarila Bhatta, Sankaracharya, Ramanujacharya, and Madhvacharya, who have left an indelible impress on Hindu religion and philosophy by their moral fervour and intellectual grandeur. Lastly, it may be noted that Vedic sacrifices do not appear to have been the vogue then. In the inscriptions of the Rastrakutas, however, there are references to the performance of Hiranyagarbha ceremony and Tuladanas. A Cola inscription of the time of Rajadhiraja I (*c.* 1044-52 A. D.) also contains a solitary allusion to the Asvamedha. Probably greater stress now began to be laid on Dana (gifts) than on Yajnas (sacrifices) with their intricate and cumbersome details. On the other hand, the great Moslem scholar, Alberuni (c. 970-1039 A. D.), writing in 1030 A.D., explains their discontinuance as follows; "The sacrifices differ in duration, so that only he could perform certain of them who lives a very long life; and such long lives do no longer occur in this our age. Therefore most of them have been abolished, and only few of them remain and are practised now-a-days"[1]

Caste-distinctions (varnas) formed the steel-frame of society then, as now. According to Ibn Khurdadba, who died in Hijri 300=912 A.D., there were seven castes, *viz.*, (a) Sabkufria or Sabakferya, (b) Brahma, (c) Katariya, (d) Sudariya, (e) Baisura, (f) Sandalia, (g) Lahud. These are also mentioned by Al Idrisi (end of the 11th century), but the last he calls Zakya. There can be no doubt that (b), (c), (d), (e), and (f) respectively stand for Brahman, Ksatriya, Sudra, Vaisya, and Chandala; and (a) perhaps denotes Sastkstriyas[2]. The identification of (g) is uncertain. Alberuni, however, says that from the very beginning the Hindus had only four castes, viz., (i) Brahman, (ii) Ksatriya, (iii) Vaisya, and (iv) Sudra. Evidently his observation is based on what he had learnt from Hindu *Smritis*, for it is well-known that by this time society was split up into numerous sub-divisions and mixed castes. This is borne out by the later *Smritis* and Kalhana, who refers to 64 sub-castes. The formation of minor castes was due to illegitimate unions, or to the abandonment or hereditary occupations and the adoption of a new calling or craft. Besides the four main castes, Alberuni mentions eight classes of *Antyajas*, and Hadi, Doma (Domba), Chandala, and Badhatau (*sic*), who were not reckoned amongst any caste. They were occupied with dirty work, and had to live outside towns and villages. Our period thus had its untouchables, who were considered

1. Sachau Alberuni's India, Vol. II, p. 139.
2. Rastrakutas and their Times, pp. 318–19.

almost beyond the pale of seciety. Alberuni observes that man of the four castes "lived together in the same towns and villages, mixed together in the same houses and lodgings" (1), but it was tabooed for persons of different castes to sit and eat together (2). Such restrictions were naturally inexplicable to him, and he notes with obvious regret that the institution of caste "is the greatest obstacle which prevents any approach or understanding between Hindus and Muslims" 3. Socially, therefore, the two communities could not come near each other in Alberuni's time. It is, however, interesting to know that reconversions to Hinduism from Islam were possible. Devala, writing after the Moslim conquest of Sind, permits reclamation of those who had been forcibly converted within a period of twenty years ; and Brihadyama prescribes certain *prayaschittas* for the purpose. Al Biladuri (died 892-3 A. D.) laments over the fact that "the people of India had returned to idolatry excepting those of Kassa" 4. Al Utbi also refers to the case of Nawas Shah, an Indian prince, who having embraced Islam, subsequently "held conversations with the chiefs of idolatry respecting the casting off the firm rope of religion from his neck" (5). Among the Hindus, the ascendancy of the Brahmans was fully established. They were distinguished by their *gotras* and *pravaras*, although surnames now in use, were then gradually coming into vogue. Provincial labels had not yet arisen ; however, in an inscription the composer of the grant calls himself "Nagara-Jnatiya Brahmana" 6. The Brahmans were honoured by members of other castes by gifts and personal reverence. According to Al Masudi and Al Idrisi, the Brahmans abstained from taking flesh and lived a life of piety and earnest endeavour. Ibn Khurdadba also deposes that they did not take wine or fermented liquors. They practised Yoga 7, and pursued the study of the Vedas, which they did not allow to be committed to writing, but learnt by heart. Further, they studied the eighteen Puranas, Smritis, and philosophical treatises on Samkhya, Nyaya, Vaisesika. Mimansa etc., the Epics, and those dealing with the exact sciences like Grammar, Metrics, Astronomy, Astrology, Mathematics, and medicine, etc. 8. In fine, they were the repositories of all learning and sacred lore. The Brahmans taught the Vedas to the Ksatriyas. "The later learnt it, but were not allowed to teach it, not even to a Brahman." Regarding the Vaisya and the Sudra, Alberuni says that they "are not allowed to hear it, much less to pronounce and recite it. If such a thing can be proved against one of them, the Brahmans drag him before the Magistrate, and he is punished by having his tongue cut off" 9. These invidious distinctions and disabilities

1. Sachau. Alberuni's India. Vol. I, p. 101.
2. Ibid, p. 102.
3. Ibid, p. 100.
4. Elliot, History of India. Vol. I, p. 126.
5. Ibid., Vol. II, p. 32-33.
6. Ep. Ind., III 123.
7. Ind. Ant., XVI, pp. 174, 175.
8. Sachau, Alberuni's India, Vol. I, pp. 130-9.
9. Ibid., I, p. 125 ; II, p. 136.

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were a blot on the society of the day, and they must have damped the ardour of the masses for the existing order of things. It is no wonder, therefore, that the Moslem invaders, fired as they were by a new message of universal brotherhood, succeeded in planting their standards in India, despite the numerical superiority of the Hindus over them.

Caste-pretensions also expressed themselves in the growing disapprobation of inter-caste marriages. Alberuni notes that though *anuloma* marriages were permissible the Brahmans in his time "never married any women except one of their own caste" [1]. Ibn Khurdadba, on the other hand, informs us about Western India that Brahmas (Brahmans) took the daughters of Katarias (Kshatriyas). History has undoubtedly preserved some instances of such marriages. We learn that Rajasekhara (end of the ninth century and first quarter of the tenth) married a Ksatriya lady, Avantisundari by name, belonging to the Cahamana clan; and Samgramaraja, a king of Kashmir, gave the hand of his sister to a Brahman. It appears that among Royalty at least marriages with persons of different persuasions were not prohibited. For Govindacandra Gahadavala is known to have married Kumaradevi, an ardent Buddhist. Early marriages were perhaps prevalent during this period. Thus says Alberuni: "The Hindus marry at a very young age; therefore the parents arrange the marriage of their sons" [2]. The "upper ten", at any rate, practised polygamy, and divorce was not a recognised custom. If a woman lost her husband, she could not remarry. She had either to remain a widow, or become a *Sati*. In Kashmir it was a common practice, though not so in the Dekkan. Probably the custom of *Sati* then obtained in royal families only, and did not prevail among the masses as in later times. There are grounds to believe that *purdah* had yet to establish itself. Abu Zaid observes; "Most of the princes of India, when they held a court, allow their women to be seen by the men who attend it, whether they be natives or foreigners. No veil conceals them from the eyes of visitors" [3]. The position of women was, on the whole, not bad. Some of them distinguished themselves by their intellectual attainments. Rajasekhara refers to female poets, and his own wife, Avantisundari, was a very talented lady. Mandana Misra's wife is said to have baffled even the great Sankaracharya by her brilliant intellect. Lilavati was deeply proficient in Mathematics. Our period also boasts of some women rulers like Didda of Kashmir (*c.* 980—1003 A. D.) and the Kakatiya queen, Rudramba (*c.* 1261—90 A. D.). A less pleasing aspect of society was the existence of slavery, if we are to believe the testimony of Vijnanesvara, the protege of Vikramaditya VI (*c.* 1076—1126 A. D,) and author of *Mitaksara*, who refers to fifteen kinds of slaves and how they could purchase their freedom. Pilgrimages to holy places like Varanasi (Benares), Mathura, Pukar (Puskara) etc., were then in vogue among the Hindus. They also celebrated certain days of the year as festivals, and observed fasts to gain merit. Thus we may trace to our period certain

1. *Ibid.*, II, pp. 155—56.
2. *Ibid.*, II, p. 154.
3. Elliot, *History of India*, I, p. 11.

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practices, which in later day Hindu society received considerable emphasis.

Having got a picture, dim though it is, of the social life of the people, let us consider the system of government under which they lived. It may at the outset be remarked that the governments set up during this period, were fairly well organised. This would be clear from the fact that notwithstanding the shocks of intermittent wars the rule of the Palas, the Colas, and the Eastern Chalukyas lasted about four centuries, and that of the Partiharas, the Rastrakutas, and the Western Chalukyas for over two centuries each. The machinery of administration was more or less the same in all cases except that its parts or constituents sometimes varied with the century or with the locality. The names of the functionaries changed but not their functions. As before, the kingdom (*rajya*) was divided for administrative convenience into a number of provinces (*bhukti*, *bhumi*, *mandla* or *mandalam* of the South), which were in turn sub-divided into divisions (*visaya* or *bhoga*; called *Kottams* or *valanadu* in the South). The other units of administration in the descending scale were the districts (*adhisthana* or *pattana*; called *nadu* in the South), groups of villages (*pattala* or *agrahara i, e*, modern *tahsil*; called *kurram* in South Indian records), and lastly the village (*grama* or *gramam*). There existed a host of officials—high or low—,central, provincial and local, to carry on the administration. It would not be pertinent to our purpose to enumerate them here, and we, therefore, content ourselves with merely indicating a few broad features of the polity of the period. The first striking point is the utter absence of non-monarchical governments. The last glimpse that we get of democratic clans is from the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta. Now they had become a thing of the past, completely submerged under the rising tide of monarchism. It was a hereditary monarchy, and there was no question of electing the ruler. Of course, we learn that about the middle of the eighth century Gopala was chosen king by the people of Bengal on account of the anarchical conditions then prevailing, and in 939 A.D., after the death of Suravarman II, Yasahkara was elected as ruler of Kashmir, but these exceptions do not prove the rule. Generally the eldest son succeeded his father. If, however, the younger one was abler, the claims of the eldest son were passed over, as happened in case of Stamba (Khambayya) when Dhruva Nirupama nominated Govinda III to the throne. Such preferences not unnaturally led to wars between the brothers. Sometimes half-brothers, like Bhoja II and Mahipala, also contended against each other for the crown. During this age royal absolutism was fully established, and though *mantrins* and *amatyas*—ministers and counsellors—are heard of, there does not appear to have been any regular *mantriparisad* of earlier days to advise and guide the king and act as a sort of check on his arbitrariness. Indeed, the records of our period seldom refer to consultation with the ministry before the king embarked on a new venture. In order to retain their position and gain the favour of their all-powerful masters the ministers often thought it prudent to play to their tune, and Kalhana alludes to such puppets in the history of Kashmir.

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Feudatories (*Samantas* or *Mahasamantas*) were a prominent feature of our polity. Of course, they existed from much earlier times, for conquerors mostly followed the policy of non-annexation of territory, advocated by Manu and Kautilya. About the middle of the ninth century Al Sulaiman too observes : "When a king subdues a neighbouring state in India he places over it a man belonging to the family of the fallen prince, who carries on the government in the name of the conqueror. The inhabitants would not suffer it to be otherwise". Attempts were, no doubt, made from time to time by Imperialistic powers to annex the territories conquered. Thus the Rastrakutas tried to absorb Gangavadi and in the reign of Krisna III even Tondamandalam; and the Colas also adopted a similar policy regarding Kerala and the Pandya land, but success in each case was short-lived. Feudatories rendered the suzerain personal attendance, and helped him in military undertakings. The Kanarese poet, Pampa, tells us that Narasimha Calukya accompanied his overlord, Indra III, in his northern campaign, and the records of the Palas, the Pratiharas and other ruling families preserve numerous instances of feudatories participating in their wars. For this purpose they maintained a certain number of troops, and it appears that the paramount powers, specially of Northern India, for the Colas had at their command effective land and naval forces, began to rely now on these levies to such an extent that they sometimes even neglected to keep their standing armies in proper strength and efficient condition. Thus we see the growth of *a sort* of feudal system, which subsequently became a bane, contributing in no small measure to the disruption or weakness of the suzerain authority.

The records of Southern India throw considerable light on the existence and working of village assemblies during our period. Under the Colas they were the most characteristic feature of rural life in the South, although they have been referred to in later Pallava inscriptions also. Unfortunately, however, they do not find any mentiou in North Indian records. It is hardly necessary here to detail the functions of the *Mahasabha* or *Sabha* of a South Indian village, but suffice it to say that subject to the supervision and general control of Imperial officers it enjoyed full powers in the management of rural affairs. For purposes of efficiency it was divided into various sub-committees, which were severally responsible for the upkeep and improvement of temples, tanks, public baths, gardens, fields, etc.

The mainenance of law and order is one of the primary duties of the State, and there are grounds to believe that howsoever aggressive kings were in their foreign relations they were anxious to preserve internal peace and security within their kingdoms. Thus Al Sulaiman (851 A. D.), writing about the Pratihara Empire of Bhoja observes : "There is no country in India more safe from robbers." This would appear a great tribute indeed to the excellence of the Pratihara administration, if we remember that while travelling in Madhyadesa more than two centuries earlier Yuan Chwang was troubled by bands of brigands.

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The State also undertook public works of utility to promote the prosperity of the people. The Colas constructed grand trunk roads, which served as arteries of commerce and communication, besides facilitating the movements of armies. Further, they sank wells, excavated tanks, threw mighty dams across the Kaveri, and cut channels to supply the irrigational needs of the cultivators. With this object in view Rajendra I dug near his capital, Gangaikondacolapuram, an artificial lake, which was filled with water from the Kolerun and Vellar rivers. Similarly, the Candellas and the Paramaras constructed a number of embanked lakes, like Madanasagara at Mahoba and Munjasagara at Dhar. In Kashmir, Suyya, minister of Avantivarman (*c.* 855—83 A. D.), provided channels for irrigation. He even changed the course of the Vitasta (Jhelum) to prevent floods, and thus reclaimed vast marshy lands for cultivation. As a result of this, people became economically more prosperous in Kashmir, for a *khari* of rice could be bought for 36 *dinaras*, whereas previously the price of the same was 200 *dinaras*. These beneficent measures clearly indicate that during this period kings did not simply minister to their whims and warlike proclivities but they also kept the well-being of the silent masses in view.

The stability and usefulness of the administration depended upon a sound system of taxation. We learn of many kinds of taxes from the records of North as well as South India, and it appears from their comprehensive nature that almost all conceivable sources of income were tapped by the government. The capacity to pay these numerous taxes also indirectly throws light on the economic condition of the people. Of course, the mainstay of finance continued to be the land-revenue. Land was periodically surveyed with meticulous care, and a record of holdings was maintained. This was specially done by the Colas. The State also derived income from trade, and in this connexion it may be mentioned that the Cola fleet helped them considerably in their overseas commercial intercourse. Economic life was organised on the basis of crafts. Persons following the same occupations formed themselves into guilds or corporations for regulating their business. There are numerous references to them in the records of our time. Each guild had its chief, and its members in their corporate capacity made gifts to temples, etc. These guilds sometime acted as banks where money could be deposited at a certain rate of interest. They were free to administer their internal affairs, and the State did not meddle much with them. Besides organising society, they were of great benefit to the State, in as much as they certainly fostered a law-abiding spirit.

To turn to literature ; it shows considerable development during our period. It was, however, not of a high order. There were a number of rulers, who were not only patrons of the polite letters, but who were themselves proficient in the Muses. Indeed, it appears that they could wield the pen with no less dexterity than the sword. Thus, the *Harakeli-Nataka*, portions of which were recovered from an inscribed stone slab at Ajmer, is attributed to Vigraharaja Visaladeva Cahamana. Vallalasena compiled the *Danasagara* and the *Adbhutasagara*, and the

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unfinished portion of the latter is said to have been completed by Laksmanasena. Vakpati-Munja is described as having been gifted with poetic talents of a high order, and the great Bhoja Paramara is the putative author of about two dozen works on a variety of subjects, such as medicine, astronomy, religion, grammar, architecture, poetics, lexicography, arts, etc. Among his productions, we may mention a few: *Ayurveda-sarvasva*, *Rajamriganka*, *Vyavahara-samuchaya*, *Sabd-anusasana*, *Samarangana-Sutradhara*, *Saraswati-Kanthabharana*, *Nama-malika*, *Yukti-Kalpataru*, etc. Amoghavarsa I Rastrakuta wrote the *Kaviraja-marga*, a Kanarese work on poetics and the *Prasnottara-malika*, which is, however, sometimes ascribed to Sankaracharya or to one Vimala. The *Manasollasa*, dealing with topics of varied interest, was probably the work of the Western Chalukya, Somesvara III (c. 1126—38 A. D.), and Mathematics was assiduously cultivated by the Eastern Chalukya, Vinayaditya III Gunaga. There were authors among the Ganga and Pallava sovereigns also. It is, however, likely that some of the kings, mentioned above, may have been helped in their compositions by their literary proteges. Princes extended their patronage to men of genius and literary merit, who have vastly enriched the literature of the period by their labours. We may enumerate here in tabular form some of the works by way of illustration :

SANSKRIT.

Subject.	Author	Name of work.
Poetry ...	Kaviraja	Raghavapandaviya.
	Jinasena	Parsvabhudaya--kavya.
	Sri-Harsa	Naisadha-carita.
	Mankha	Srikanthacarita.
	Jayadeva	Gita-govinda.
	Dhoyika	Pavana-duta.
	Sandhyakara-nandi ...	Rama-carita.
	Bilhana	Vikramanka-deva-carita.
	Padmagupta ...	Navasahasanka-carita.
	Hemacandra	Dvasraya-kavya.
	Somadeva	Kirti-kaumudi.
	Jayanaka	Prithviraja-vijaya.
	Kalhana	Rajatarangini.

It may be noted that the last seven are of historical importance too.

In 1037 A. D. Ksemedra produced the *Brihat-Kathamanjari*, a translation in Sanskrit prose of Gunadhya's Paisachi *Brihat-Katha*, which was also rendered into the *Kathasaritsagara* by Somedeva about the third quarter of the eleventh century.

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Subject.	Author.	Name of work.
Poetics ...	Rajasekhara ...	Kavyamimansa.
	Anandavardhana ...	Dhvanvaloka.
	Mammata	Kavyaprakasa.
	Dhananjaya	Dasarupa.
	Dhanika	Dasarupavaloka.
	Bhoja	Sarasvati-Kantha-bharana.
	Hemacandra ...	Kavyanusasana.
	Vaidyanatha ...	Prataparudriya.
Drama ...	Bhavabhuti ...	Malatimadhava.
		Mahavira-carita.
		Uttara-rama-carita.
	Rajasekhara ...	Balaramayana.
		Balabharata.
		Viddhasala-bhanjika
	Damodara	Hanuman-nataka.
	Krisna-Misra ...	Prabodha-chandrodaya.
	Somadeva	Lalitavigraha-raja.
Dictionary ...	Halayudha	Abhidhana-ratna-mala.
	Hemachandra ...	Abhidhana-chintamani.
	Yadava-bhatta ...	Vaijayanti-kosa.
	Mahesvara ...	Visva-prakasa.
Philosophy ...	Kumarila ...	Commentary in three parts-
		Slokavarttika
		Tantravarttika, and
		Tuptika.
	Mandana Misra ...	Mimansanukramani
		Vidhiviveka
	Vachaspati Misra ...	Nyayakanika
		Tattvabindu
		Samkhya-tattva-kaumudi.
	Sankaracharya	Commentaries on the Upanishads.
		Gitabhasya,
		Brahma-sutra-bhasya
		Upadeshsahasri
		Atmabodha.
	Ramanuja	Sribhasya on the
		Brahma sutra,
		Gitabhasya.
		Vedantasara,
	Udayana	Kusumanjali
	Madhvacharya ...	Tattavasamkhyana
		Sarasamgraha
	Hemachandra	Pramana-mimansa.

Besides the above, there were a number of other commentaries and sectarian literature produced.

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Subject.	Author.	Name of work.
Astronomy ...	Aryabhata II ...	Arya Siddhanta
	Bhoja	Rajamriganka.
	Bhaskaracharya (1150 A. D.)	Siddhantasiromani.

Prithudaka Swami wrote a commentary on Brahmagupta's *Brahmasphuta-Siddhanta*; and Cangadeva, who flourished under Singhana Yadava, founded a *matha* at Patna (Khandesh district) for the study of Bhaskaracharya's *Siddhanta-Siromani*.

Subject.	Author.	Name of work.
Astrology ...	Bhattotpala	Commented on Varahamihira's works, Harasastra.
	Harsakirti Suri ...	Jyotisasaroddhara
	Sripati (1039 A. D) ...	Ratnamala.
Mathematics ...	Mahaviracharya ... (ninth century)	Ganitasarasamgraha
	Sridhara ... (born in 991 A. D.)	Trisati.
	Bhaskaracharya ...	Lilavati.
		Bijaganita.
Law ...	Medhatithi (9th cent.) } Govindaraja (11th cent.) }	Commentary on the Manusmriti
	Vijnanesvara (11th century)	Mitaksara (commentary on the Yajnavalkya Smriti).
	Laksmidhara ...	Smritikalpataru.
	Hemadri or Hemadpant ...	Caturvarga-Chintamani.
	Halayudha (12th century)	Brahmanasarvasva.
Politics ...	Somadeva	Nitivakyamrita.
	Hemachandra ...	Laghu Arhanniti.
	Bhoja	Yukti-Kalpataru.
	Candesvara	Nitiratnakara.
Ayurveda ...	Vagbhata	Astamgasamgraha.
		Astamgahridaya-samhita.
	Madhavakara ...	Rugviniscaya.
	Vrinda ...	Siddhiyoga.
	Cakrapanidatta ... (c. 1060 A. D.)	Cikitsasara-samgraha.
	Sarngadhara ...	Sarngadhara-Samhita.
Music ...	Sarngadhara ...	Samgita-Ratnakara.
Grammar ...	Sakatayana ... ... (9th cent.)	Sakatayana-Vyakarana
	Hemachandra	Haima Vyakarana
	Kramadisvara ... 12th cent.)	Samksiptasara.

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PRAKRIT.

Subject.	Author.	Name of work.
Grammar (contd.) ...	Vakpatiraja	Gaudavaho.
	Rajasekhara... ...	Karpuramanjari.
	Bhoja	Kurmasataka.
	Hemachandra ...	Kumarapala-carita. (Prakrit Dvasraya-Kavya)
		Kalakacaryakatha.
		Prabandha-Chintamani.
	Somaprabha ...	Kumarapala-prabhodha.
	Dhanapala	Bhayasayattakaha.
		Paiyalacchi (Kosa).
	KANARESE.	
	Amoghavarsa ...	Kavirajamarga.
	Pampa ...	Pampabharata.
	TAMIL.	
	Jayagondan ...	Kalingattupparani.
	Adiyarkkunallar ...	Commentary on the Silappadhikaram.

It would be evident from the above list, which is only illustrative and not exhaustive, that, though the volume and range of works was large, the literature produced during this period consisted mostly of commentaries and digests etc., and was lacking in originality.

As regards Art, it was undoubtedly a fruitful age, as would be apparent from the numerous temples that are extant. They are among the most exquisite edifices ever raised in India, representing all the styles of architecture. The famous temples of Orissa, specially those of Bhauvanesvar (Puri district), are superb specimens of the "Indo-Aryan style" in its most advanced stage of development. Each temple consists, as you all know, of the *vimana* (towered shrine), and the *jagamohana* (audience chamber), besides the *nata-mandapa* (dancing saloon) and the *bhogaman dapa* (refectory); the last two, however, are perhaps later appendages. The Orissan temples, the best example of which is great Lingaraja shrine of Bhuvanesvar (11th century), are characterised by an abundance of decorative motifs, inspired by human, animal and vegetable life; and by lofty spires, surmounted by *amalakas*, commanding the landscape for miles around. Curiously enough, the sun-temple at Konarak abounds in indecent representations, and it is an interesting, though baffling, problem to explain this phenomenon. Another place, where several excellent structures still stand, is Khajuraho in Bundelkhand. It was lavishly beautified by the Candellas, and the Kandarya Mahadeva temple (10th or 11th century) there presents another fine example of the Indo-Aryan type. One is simply enthralled by its beautiful statuary and decoration. During this period there flourished in Kashmir a style of architecture, which had certain distinc-

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tive peculiarities, and its most typical example is the Martanda temple, built by Lalitaditya Muktapida sometime in the second quarter of the eighth century. The Jains also were great builders, and their temples have generally the octagonal dome, and are decorated with subjects drawn from Jain mythology. In the North they are of the "Indo-Aryan style," and in Southern India of the Dravidian. The best specimens of their architectural activity are the famous temples of Dilwara (Mt. Abu.) and Satrunjaya (Palitana). Those built by one Vimala and the brothers Tejahpala and Vestupala on Mt. Abu are most remarkable for their elegant carvings and rich design. The temples of Vatapi (Badami) and Pattadakal (Bijapur district) are built on the Chalukyan or Dekkani style, and do not, strictly speaking, come in our period. In this type, the temple stands on an elaborately decorated base or plinth and it is polygonal, often star-shaped in plan. The Dekkani style was probably derived from the Dravidian, but in course of time it developed on independent lines. Some good specimens of this type are those of Belur in Mysore, built by Bittiga Visnuvardhana (*c.* 1110-40 A. D.), and the Hoysalesvara temple at Halebid (end of the 12th century), which, though incomplete, is "unsurpassed by any Indian temple in both its structural and its decorative features."[1] Sometimes temples in the Dekkan were hewn out of solid rock. As an instance, we may mention the magnificent temple of Siva at Elapura (Ellora), excavated by Krisna I Rastrakuta (*c.* 757-72 A. D.), which has been regarded as "the most marvellous architectural freak in India." The Pallavas give an immense impetus to art, and the temples at Dalavanur (South Arcot district), Pallavaram, Vallam (Chingleput district), as well as the Rathas, like the Dharmaraja at Mamallapuram, the Kailasanatha at Kanchi, and the Shore temple of the seven Pagodas group stand today as noble monuments of their artistic genius. But they belong to a period slightly earlier than the one we are directly concerned with. The Colas carried on the architectural traditions of the Pallavas, and erected a number of edifices in the South. The Dravidian temples were marked by the square *vimana*, *mandapa*, *gopuram*, halls with elaborate columnation, conventional lions (*yalias*) for ornamentation, the use of the bracket and of compound columns, etc.[2] In later structures the central towers are dwarfed by exquisitely carved *gopurams* or gateways rising to a great height. The temple of Siva at Tanjore, called Rajarajesvara after the name of its builder, Rajaraja I (*c.* 985—1014 A. D.) may be taken as a splendid example of Dravidian architecture. Its lofty *vimana* or tower rises like a pyramid upon a base of 82 feet square in thirteen successive storeys. It is crowned by a massive piece of granite, 25 feet high and about 50 tons in weight, and one can well imagine what a tremendous amount of labour and engineering skill it must have called forth to be placed in position. Among other noteworthy Cola temples are those of Tanjore, Kalahasti, and Gangaikondacolapuram. The Colas also encouraged plastic art, and the stone and metal images executed in their time are full of dignity,

1. Antiquities of India, pp. 244-45.
2. Ibid., p. 242.

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charm and grace. Thus some of the most beautiful monuments of our country, that have survived the wear and tear of time, belong to our period. and they reflect great credit on their builders.

We have now finished our rapid survey of the political and cultural history of India for about five centuries. Thanks to the patient investigations of a multitude of scholars, Indian as well as European, the tangled webs of our history have been progressively unravelled in recent years. If I refrain from mentioning any names, it is not because I want to withhold from them my humble tribute of praise, but because I fear I may be inadvertently guilty of some unfortunate omissions. It is doubtless due to the excellent work they have done that we are now able to give a synthetic account of dynastic vicissitudes, their inter-relations and cultural aspects. The period, however, still bristles with numerous difficulties; and we would, therefore, take the liberty of inviting the attention of scholars to some knotty points that demand further elucidation and enquiry. The first is the oft-discussed but much-vexed problem of the origin of the many ruling families that appear prominently now on the stage of history. They have often been called Rajput, though not with much justification, for the term does not come into common use till the eleventh century or later. Accordingly, it is a misnomer to describe our period as the Rajput period of Indian history. The puzzle that needs solution is: who were the Pratiharas, the Paramaras, the Cahamanas, and the Caulukyas; and what does the *agnikula* legend exactly signify? Were they indigenous Ksatriyas? Or, were they Hinduised foreigners? Then again, who were the Candellas, the Gahadavalas, the Guhilas. and the Kacchapaghatas? Were they autochthons of the land? Or, did they also come from outside India? These questions have occasioned interminable controversy among scholars, and I submit, without committing myself here to any view, that they need being examined afresh with an open mind. In this connection I may be permitted to mention the assumption, naively made, of the affinity between the Gurjaras and the Hunas, as it is believed that they are uniformly associated together in inscriptions and literature. But it was pointed out to me some weeks ago by that versatile scholar and stateman, Mr. K. M. Munshi, that it is nowhere so except in the Harsacarita, where among a number of powers they are referred to as having been subjugated by Prabhakaravardhana. If his contention proves correct, we shall certainly have to revise our notions regarding the origin of the Gurjaras.

Secondly, it would be interesting to trace the migrations of tribes from one place to another during this period. For instance, we know that in course of time the Gurjaras had three main seats of power—Mandor, Broach, and Ujjain. What were the causes of their movements and how did they succeed in spreading themselves over a vast area? What was the exact connotation of Gurjaradesa? These questions still await the pen of a historian for a proper answer.

Thirdly, not much light has so far been thrown on the polity of our period. How far was it feudal? Were there any checks on the powers

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of the king ? What were the relations between the sovereign and the people ? Such queries doubtless offer ample scope for enquiry.

Fourthly, we do not know much about the military policy of the various states. Did they continue to maintain sufficient standing armies in an efficient condition, or did they begin to rely more on levies from feudatories ? Did the Hindu rulers improve their military tactics and equipment to meet the danger from the north-west ? Of the traditional fourfold division of the army, which one received the greatest emphasis during our period ? How far was the success of the Moslems due to their superior strategy and better arms ? Somebody ought to work on this absorbing subject.

Fifthly, did the Hindu rulers of this period have any Frontier Defence policy ? Except the Sahi kings, Jayapala and Anandapala, who fought on the frontiers of their kingdom and even organised counter-attacks on the enemy's territory, they generally allowed the invaders to march right into the heart of their country, Here we many recall the instances of Rajyapala, Ganda, and Laksmanasena. How far did the lack of a vigorous frontier policy contribute to the final decline of the Hindu States ? This is another problem to work upon.

Sixthly, how far was the Hindu social polity responsible for the decay of their political power ? Did the caste-pretensions and exclusiveness of the Brahmans engender a widespread feeling of discontent against the existing order of things ? What was the status of the different classes of subjects in the eye of the Law ? What was the nature of education given to people in general ? These and other questions require critical analysis and answering.

Seventhly, we know that some of the Cola monarchs made overseas conquests. What was the political and cultural effect of this contact between South India on the one hand and Ceylon, the islands of the Indian Ocean, and the Far East on the other ? This topic still provides a lacuna in our knowledge.

Eighthly, some scholar should take up a regional survey of the Archaeology of our period. This will prove a very valuable basis for future historical research. I am sure the Archaeological Department, which is now presided over by a distinguished archaeologist and scholar, Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, will provide all the necessary facilities for such an undertaking.

Ninthly, the careers of Mihira Bhoja and Prithviraja III Cahamana call for more intensive study. They were perhaps far greater figures than what we have represented them to be.

Tenthly, there is a gap in the history of Kanauj from the time of Rajyapala and Yashapala to the rise of the Gahadavalas. Of course, some work has already been done to fill it, but more detail are needed.

Lastly, we have learnt of the constant wars that the States of our period waged against each other, but their relations in peace time are

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still more or less unkown. This furnishes another promising field for enquiry.

But enough of these suggsstions regarding subjects to work upon, I need not multiply them here. They clearly indicate that we have still to make much headway before we can produce a complete history of India for our period. There is as yet no dynastic history of the Daksinapatha and the Far South written on the same lines as Dr. H. C. Ray's 'Dynastic History of Northern India' which is indeed a monument of historical scholarship. Separate monographs on the history of the Gurjara-Pratiharas, the Gahadavalas; the Candellas, the Cahamanas, the Caulukyas of Anhilwada, and the western Calukyas are still desiderata. Or, regional histories for Kashmir, Sind, Gujarat, Dekkan, and Central India (Malwa) may be written on the model of Dr. R. C. Majumdar's 'History of Bengal' and the late R. D. Banerji's 'History of Orissa'. When such volumes are ready the task of writing the history of the whole country for the centuries under survey will be greatly facilitated. In our new work, equal emphasis should be laid on political as well as cultural aspects. So far kings and their courts and conquests have almost monopolised our attention. We should now turn the flashlight on the people in general. An account of their social, religious and economic life and of Art must form an essential part of our history. The picture that we present must be faithful in the minutest details. We should scrupulously guard against any temptation to enlarge or colour it. For, as historians, we owe no duty to please anybody's fancy. Our supreme loyalty is to truth and to nothing but the truth. Our sole guides are facts, and we cannot afford to deviate from them even by a hair's breadth. We must strictly eliminate the subjective element, otherwise there might be a lurking tendency to put facts on the Procrustean bed of our pre-conceived ideas and cherished notions. Above all, we should never allow extraneous considerations or any sort of sloppy sentimentalism to influence our writings or warp our judgment. Kalhana rightly observes: "That man of merit, alone, deserves praise whose language, like that of a judge, in recounting the events of the past has discarded bias as well as prejudice." With this ideal alone in mind, we should undertake the task of writing an objective and scientific history of our country.

Gentlemen, I have taken much of your time, and I must now close with the following prayer from the Rigveda used on the occasion of the gatherings of assemblies:

"The place is common, common the assembly,
common the mind, so be your thought united!
A common purpose do I lay before you, and
worship with your general oblation!
One and the same be your resolve, and be
your minds of one accord!
United be the thoughts of all that all
may happily agree!"

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A NOTE OF THE EARLY YEARS OF KULOTTUNGA I

BY

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In the inscriptions of Kulottunga I beginning *Tirumanni vilangum* and dated in the early regnal years of the monarch, there appears a picturesque description of how he rescued the earth from anarchy and made her happy. As the inscription begins with a reference to the achievements of Kulottunga in the region of the Bastar state, and as one phrase in the inscription has been interpreted by Hultzsch to mean the eastern direction, I was led to hold the passage in question as a description of Kulottunga's work in that quarter*. Hultzsch himself thought that it applied to his work in Vengi, while others Dr. S. K. Aiyangar, and following him Prof. R. C. Majumdar saw in it evidence of Kulottunga's activity in Srivijaya and even China,[1] I have had occasion to reconsider the text of the Tamil inscription more than once since, and I have now come to think that too much history has been read into what is really a rhetorical statement of a well-known fact attested clearly by other records more or less contemporary. Let us consider cerefully as much of this *prasasti* as is required for our purpose and see what aid other records have to give towards its interpretation. The text is :

Tirumanni vilangam iru-kuvadanaiya tan
tolum valun- dunaiyenak- kelalar
vanjanai kadandu Vayiragarattuk-
kunjarakkulam pala vari-yenjalil
Sakkara-kkottattu-t Taravarasanai-t
tikku nikalat-tirai kondaruli
arukkan udayatt-asaiyil-irukkun-
gamalamanaiya nilamagal tannai
Munnirk-kulitta-vannal Tirumal
adi-kkelal-agi yadunjaliya-vagaiyinil
eduttu-ttan kudainilarkil-inbura-virutti.

The opening statement is that Rajendra—the name by which Kulottunga is mentioned in these early records—overcame the treacherous designs of his enemies by the strength only of his arm and sword ; then he caught many elephants (in fight) at Viaragaram (Wairagharh) and levied tribute on Dharavarsa of Sakkarakkotta in such wise that the whole world came to know it. (lit. so as to let it be known in all directions). So far there is no hitch, though the proper name of Dharavarsa was missed by Hultzsch[2], in the Tamil form Taravarasanai and he rendered it into 'the king of Dhara'. The rest of the citation was

*See Colas i pp. 346-8.

1. Suvarnadvipa i, pp. 186-8.
2. SII. iii, p. 134.

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translated by Hultzsch thus : '(He) gently raised, without wearying (her) in the least, the lotus like goddess of the earth residing in the region of the rising sun,—just as (the god) Tirumal (Vishnu) having assumed the form of the primaeval boar, had raised (the earth) on the day when (she) was submerged in the ocean (by the demon Hiranyaksha), and seated (her) under the shade of his parasol, (where she) experienced delight'. Hultzsch equated the expression 'the region of the rising sun' with 'the Vengi country' and the Andhra-mandala or Andhra Vishaya of the later inscriptions of Kulottunga[1], and others, including myself, have so far kept up the meaning put forward in Hultzsch's rendering and sought to identify the region elsewhere, going so far afield as the Colonies in the Indo.Chinese Peninsula to discover the field of Kulottunga's youthful activity. In realitiy, however, a little reflection shows that 'arukkanudayatta-saiyilirukkum kamalam anraiya nilamagal' actually means something much simpler and even more in accord with the other inscriptions of these early years and with the circumstances that preceded his accession to the Colax throne narrated in the *Kalingattup-parani*. It means : the earth who was like a lotus eagerly awaiting (asaiyilirukkum) the arrival of the rising sun' *i. e.* the earth plunged in darkness, the darkness of anarchy described with great force in the Tamil poem of Jayangondar, and mentioned in other inscriptions as the 'solitude of the land of the Kaveri' which had lost her proper ruler. In other words, the reference is to the Cola country itself to which Kulottunga betook himself after his wars in the north, and this is made clear by the contrast in his early inscriptions (with the pugal sulnda punari prasasti) between *Vadatisal vagai sudi* (having gained the garland of victory in the north) and the phrases immediately following viz, *ten tisai temaru kamalappumagal podumaiyum tavirttu, i. e.*, removing the commonness of the honied lotus-like earth in the southern direction. Thus there is no warrant for attributing to Kulottunga any adventures either in India or outside, beside those mentioned clearly in his own early inscriptions supplemented by the later records of Virarajendra.

I must add that the simple rendering of 'arukkan-udayuttu-asaiyil irukkum kamalam' has been implicit in Mr. A. V. Venkatarama Ayyar's writings on the 'Life and Times of Vikramaditya' and was recently stated with some emphasis in the course of a foundation lecture he delivered at the University of Madras. I now accept this position without any reserve and cancel my previous statements on what seemed to be a mysterious passage in the early history of Kulottunga.

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1. Ib., p. 128.

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THE RASTRAKUTA KING KRSNA II AND GURJARA-PRATIHARAS OF KANAUJ

BY

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The struggle between the Rastrakutas of Malkhed and the Gurjara Pratiharas of Kanauj began very early in their history. Dantidurga, the founder of the Rastrakuta kingdom of Manyakheta came into conflict with a Gurjara king probably Nagabhata I whom he is said to have reduced to the position of Pratihara, at his gate[1]. Dhruva attacked Vatsaraja, defeated him in battle, and established his authority in the Doab between the Ganges and the Jumna.[2] Govinda III vanquished Nagabhata II, and carried his victories to the foot of the Himalaya mountains.[3] Though Amoghavarsa I did not interfere in the affairs of Northern India, owing to internal troubles within his kingdom, Dhruva III of Gujarat, his recalcitrant cousin whom he appears to have ultimately subdued, had to ward off the attacks of Mihira (*i. e.* Bhoja I) of Kanauj and maintain his authority.[4]

The relations of Krsna II, the son and successor of Amoghavarsa, are not, however, so well known owing mainly to the failure of scholars to assess at their proper value certain facts on the subject mentioned in the records of the period. The Barton Museum epigraph alludes to the victory of a certain king called [Va]raha and the retreat of a king named Krsnaraja.[5] The King [Va]raha mentioned in this record has been identified by the editor with Bhoja I, the Gurjara Pratihara king of Kanauj, and Krsnaraja with Krsna II, the Rastrakuta ruler of Malkhed. "The name (Va)raha contained in the above account," says he, "is significant and reminds us of 'Adivaraha,' the *biruda* of Bhojadeva, the famous king of the Pratihara dynasty. If it is really meant for the said ruler, as is very likely, the inscription can well be relegated to his reign and the king Krsnaraja mentioned in l.12 can safely be identified with the Rashtrakuta King Akalavarsha Krshna II (875—911 A. D.), who was his contemporary. We know that the Pratiharas and Rastrakutas were constantly at war with each other, and were alternately victorious."[6] Though no definite evidence is brought forward in support of these identifications, it is not improbable that [Va]raha and Krsnaraja referred to in Barton Museum record are really Bhoja I of Kanauj and Rastra-

1. Journal of the Department of Letters (Calcutta University) X. p. 25.,—
Hiranyagarbham rajanyaih Ujjayinyam Yada sitam
Pratihari (h) krtam yena Gurjjares-adi rajakam.
2. Ibid, p. 37, No. 2.
3. Altekar, Rashtrakutas, p. 66.
4. IA XII. pp. 180-81.
5. IA. XIX. No. 29, pp. 174-77.
6. Ibid.

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kuta Krsna II. Accepting for the nonce the identification suggested by the editor, it may be stated that Bhoja I and Krsna II came into conflict and that the latter being worsted in the fight was compelled to retreat. Unfortunately, the place where Krsna suffered defeat at the hands of Bhoja is not known. Very probably it took place on the bank of the Narmada, as that river is referred to in the record; and in that case Krsna must have lost, as a consequence of his defeat, his hold upon Malva; Bhoja's invasion seems to have extended into Lata which was situated to the south of the river. An important passage in the Cambay plates of Govinda IV may be noted with advantage in this connection. Harassed by the prowess of Krsna II, it is said that an enemy who was in possession of Khetaka and the district of which it was perhaps the chief place had to abandon them.[1] Considerable difference of opinion prevails among scholars regarding the identity of Khetaka and of the enemy who occupied it. In the opinion of Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, the editor of the Cambay Plates, Khetaka referred to therein is none other than Manyakheta the capital of Rastrakutas itself :—

"After Amoghavarsha," says he, "the throne was occupied by his son Akalavarsha (-Krshna II), of whom verse 13 says that his enemies abandoned the city of Khetaka, which, in my opinion, is here meant to denote Manyakheta itself, the capital of Rashtrakuta princes. Two Eastern Calukya records (IA. XX. P. 102) mention that Gunaka-Vijayaditya III (A. D. 844-888) "frightened the fire-brand Krshna and completely burnt the city", and that "king Vellabha did honour to the arms of Vijayaditya (III)." It, therefore, appears that the Eastern Calukya prince Gunaka-Vijyaditya III defeated the Rastrakuta King Krshna II and was in possession of his capital Manyakheta, and it is to the act of repulsing this Calukya prince from Manyakheta that verse 13 of our grant refers."[2]

Dr. R. C. Majumdar accepts Bhandarkar's identification, and states that the Rastrakuta king Krshna II was involved in a life and death struggle with the Eastern Calukya King Gunaka-Vijayaditya III who occupied and burnt the capital city of the Rastrakutas.[3]

The Eastern Calukya inscriptions do not, however, lend support to the contention that Gunaka-Vijayaditya III occupied Manyakheta and set fire to it. The evidence of the Verse,[4]

"Gamgan-amgaja-vairi-saktir-asaman Rattesa Sam-codito
Jitva Mangi-siro-harat yudhi maha bahv-apta viryy-Aryyama
Krsnam Samkilim-amkit-akhila-bala-prapt-oru sad-Vikramo
Bhit-artau ca Vidhaya tat-puravaram yo nir-ddadaha prabhu

1. E. I. VII. p. 38.
   Tasmad Akalavarso nrpatir abhud yat parakrama trastaih.
   Sadyah sa mandalagaram Khetakam ahitaih pari-tyaktam.
2. Ibid p. 29.
3. Journal of the Department of Letters X, p. 53.
4. I. A. XIII. p. 56-599 I. 36.

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which is usually cited in this connection to prove that Gunaka-Vijayaditya III burnt the city of Krsna is not quite unambiguous. The pronoun '*tat*' in the fourth line of the verse may refer either to Krsna or Samkila, or both. It is not therefore possible to state definitely, on the authority of this verse, whose city Gunaka-Vijaya ditya III had actually burnt. The Eastern Calukya Inscriptions, which describe the victory of Pandaranga, the general who at the command of his master Gunaka-Vijayaditya III led the expedition against Krsna II, and enumerate the number of cities burnt down by him, clearly show that neither Manyakheta, nor Kaira, as suggested in the alternative by Dr. R. C. Majumdar,[1] was affected by his operations. In the Dharmavaram Epigraph of the time of Calukya Bhima I, the achievements of Pandaranga are described at some length. It is said that Pandaranga, at the command of his master, Vallabha-Gunakanalla, drove the boyas into the forests; at the instance of Vallabha (*i. e.* Gunakanalla) who having ascended the Lohasana[2] defeated Rahana, he saw the back of the king Kannara (in battle) in a manner that was known to all; he put down the pride of a king called Samkila, offered protection to the Cola, who being defeated by the enemy who came upon him, took refuge with him; and he entered Kiranapura, Dalenadu, and Acalapura."[3] It is significant that this record which narrates among other incidents the principal events in Gunaka-Vijayaditya's war with Krsna does not refer either to Manyakheta or Kaira. Moreover, the names of the cities burnt by Gunaka-Vijayaditya are definitely known. In the Attili Grant of Calukya Bhima I, it is stated that Gunaka-Vijayaditya acquired the title, *Tripura-martya-Mahesvara* because he burnt the three cities of Kirnapura, Acalapura and Nellurupura. If Manyakheta or as to that matter Kaira had actually been reduced to ashes by Gunaka-Vijayaditya, that fact would not have been left unnoticed by the Eastern Calukya Prasasti writers. There is reason to believe that the city which is said to have been burnt by Gunaka-Vijayaditya in the verse cited above is Kiranapura, the modern Kiranpur in Baleghat district of Central Provinces, as pointed out correctly by Dr. Altekar.[4] In the Maliyapundi grant of Amma II, Pandaranaga, the celebrated general of Gunaka-Vijyaditya, is said to have burnt Kiranapura, the residence of

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1. Journal of the Department of Letters, (Calcutta University), X. p. 53 n. 3.

"But even if we hold with him (Dr. Fleet) that Khetaka is Kaira in Gujarat, the severity of the struggle will be quite apparent from the fact that the Eastern Chalukyas had over-run the whole of the Rashtrakuta territory, up to its western border."

2. ARE. 839 of 1922, NDI II. O. 39, Bharati V, i, p. 619.

3. Cf. 14 of 1913, ASPP. XI. p. 241, JBORS, VIII, p. 82 ff.

Kiranapuram-Acalapuram-uru-Nellurupuran Vidaha cai tat/
Tripura-martya-mahesvara namna khyata-yaso-rasir
ababhau yat-satatain.

4. Rashtrakutas p. 95.

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Krsnaraja as Mahesa (Siva) (burnt) Tripura.[1] This makes it quite clear that the city of Krsna burnt, according to the Idar plates mentioned above by Vijyaditya III was Kiranpura and not Manyakheta as supposed by Dr. Bhandarkar.

In the opinion of Dr. Altekar, the Cambay Plates do not refer to any invasion from outside, but to the rebellion of the Rastrakuta princes of Gujarat who were holding sway over Lata under the suzerainty of the imperial family at Manyakheta. He believes that during the early years of his reign, the Lata princes were loyal to him; and that after A. D. 888, they rose in rebellion and overthrew his authority but Krisna soon managed not only to re-establish power, but expelled the Lata princes altogether from the district and annexed it to his kingdom.[2] There is, however, no evidence to show that the Lata princes ever rose in rebellion against Krsna II; and their disappearance from Lata need not necessarily have been the result of a rebellion. It is not unlikely that they were destroyed in the Gurjar-Pratihara invasions which frequently disturbed the peace of the district.

The Cambay Plates, in fact, refer to a Gurjara-Pratihara invasion of Lata under Mihira Bhoja, the greatest of the Gurjara-Pratihara kings who ruled at Kanauj. It may be noted in this context that Bhoja invaded Lata during the time of Dhruva III.[3]

An ambitious monarch like him who was bent upon extending the boundaries of his kingdom was not likely to give up his attempt to seize Lata though he failed at first. The Barton-Museum Epigraph alludes, as stated already, to the retreat of Krsna II from the bank of the Narmada. It is obvious that Krsna II had lost his hold on Malva, and retreated very probably into Lata drawing the invader in his wake. Bhoja does not appear to have met with any serious opposition. The Cambay and the Sangli grants make it quite clear that not only Khetaka but the entire district passed into his hands. Though Bhoja succeded in dislodging the Rastrakuta monarch both from Malva and Lata, he could not long maintain his hold on the conquered territory. Krisna seems to have gathered fresh forces and returned ere long to Lata to expel the invader. He received considerable help from his cousin and namesake Krsna II of the Gujarat branch. The details of the warfare are not unfortunately recorded. The struggle between the contending parties was severe. The Nausari Plates state that it left a permanent impression in the minds of the people so that the incidents connected with it were still vividly recollected by old

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1. E. I. IX. pp. 53, 56.

   Kiranapuram-adhaksit Krsnaraja-shitam yas
   Tripuram-iva Mahesah Pandaranga pratapi/
   Tad-iha umkha-sahasrair-anvitasy-apy-asakyam
   Gananam-amala-kirtes-tasya sat-sahasanam.//

2. Rashtrakutas, p. ?

3. I. A. XII. pp. 188-9.

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men who survived into the next generation.[1] Krsna was ultimately successful. Unable to withstand the force of Rastrakuta armies, Bhoja was not only compelled to abandon Khetaka, the capital of Lata, but had to seek safety beyond the frontiers of the province.[2] He was not, however, allowed to retreat unmolested. Krsna, followed, at the head of his army, hard on his heels, and forced him to offer battle at Ujjaini in Malva. It was here that the Gujarat prince Krsna II distinguished himself fighting under the eye of his master. Bhoja once again sustained defeat as a consequence of which he probably abandoned Malva and retired northward into his kingdom.

Bhoja did not long survive his defeat. Though the precise date of his death is not known, he must have died sometime before A. D. 893, the first known date of his son and suecessor, Mahendrapala I. Although Mahendrapala was a strong and capable monarch he did not make any attempt to measure his strength with the Rastrakutas and reverse the decision of the battle of Ujjain. Thanks to the menace of the Eastern Calukyas whose frequent inroads led to confusion in his dominions, Krsna II did not venture to embark upon a distant military expedition. Towards the close of his reign, however, Krsna gained some respite, owing to the dynastic revolution which convulsed Vengi. The death of Mahendrapala about A. D. 907-8, and the dispute between his sons about succession to the throne presented a favourable opportunity to Krsna to settle old scores with the king of Kanauj. He, therefore, set out at the head of an army and marched into the Gurjara Pratihara dominions and occupied the Doab between the Ganges and the Jumna. The Jaina writer Gunabhadra who completed the Uttarapurana in A. D. 908-9 states that the (war) elephants of Krsna II drank the waters of the Ganges and enjoyed the cool shade under the trees in the forests of Kumari.[3] Dr. Altekar lightly brushes aside the evidence of the Jaina author with the remark: "This is conventional praise" and attempts to justify his attitude by the following observation: "We know", says he, "that Krsna's rule did not extend beyond Banavasi 12,000, and so his army could not have reached Cape Comorin. Similarly his soldiers could not have entered the waters of the Ganges as the Gurjara-Pratihara rule was firmly established in the Ganges."[4] With due deference to so great an authority as Dr. Altekar, it must be stated that the available evidence on the subject points to the contrary. The provenance of Krsna's inscriptions clearly shows that his authority was

1. Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, XVIII, pp. 257 ff.

2. E. I. VII. No. 6. p. 43.

3. Yasy-ottumga-matamgaja-nija-mada-srotasvini-samgamad,
Gamgam-vari-kalamkitam katu muhuh pitva-apagacchet trsah
Kaumaram ghana-candanam vanam-apampatyus-taramg-anilai
Mand-amdolita-masta-Bhaskara karac-Chayam sam-asisriyan
Uttarapurana, Mysore Edn. Vol. III. pp. 877-8.

4. Rashtrakutas, p. 97. n. 27.

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recognised in the south of the Tungabhadra[1], and in Chitaldrug in the Mysore country [2] and like all his predecessors, he took an active interest in the affairs of the southern kingdoms, and despatched occasionally, a military expedition to help some one or other of the Tamil princes who was in distress. Very little, in fact, is known of the relations of the Rastrakuta monarchy with the southern kingdoms subsequent to the reign of Govinda III. It is no doubt vaguely surmised that Amoghavarsha gave his daughter Sanka in marriage to the Pallava King Nandivarman III and that the son born to her was named Nrpatungavarman after his maternal grandfather;[3] but the fact that Amoghavarsa I sent military assistance to his son-in-law and helped him to maintain his authority is absolutely unknown. A passage from an epigraph at Isamudra in the Chitaldrug District of Mysore State dated A. D. 937 in the reign of Amoghavarsa III which recounts briefly the achievements of a collateral branch of the Rastrakuta family states that Deva, son of Amoghavarsa I, fought in the battle of Palaiyaru, Deva's son (*i.e.* Indra) killed a Pandya ; his son, Deva II killed in the battle of Sripura a certain Vira ; his son Indra II vanguished the Pallavas ; and finally Iriva Kannara, the son of Indra II put to death the Ganga Permanadi and gave the kingdom to Bhuvallabha.[4] The battle of Palaiyaru took place in the reign of Amoghavarsa I. It was one of the series of battles in which the Pallava Nandivarman III defeated the Pandya King Srimara Srivallabha, who in an attempt to extend his torritories invaded the Pallava kingdom. The Nandikkalambakam, a contemporary Tamil poem composed in praise of Nandivarman III refers to the destruction of the King's enemies in the battle of Palaiyaru. "Who were those", asks the poet, "that followed in the train of the victor of Palaiyaru where the forces of the enemies were destroyed ? Who were those who rode on horses and elephants with umbrellas adorned with peacock's feathers ? Were they the poets who sang the victor's glory ? Were they his vassal kings.?[5] It is evident that Nandivarman III received military help from his father-in-law which must have helped him considerably in overthrowing the Pandya.

It is not possible to identify the Pandya who was slain by Rastrakuta prince Indra I of Isamudra. Probably this event also took place in the reign of Amoghavarsa himself.

Krsna II who succeeded to the throne about A.D. 778 adopted the policy of his father in his dealings with the southern kingdoms. He espoused the cause of the Pallava monarch and rendered him valuable assistance in crushing the Pandyan king Varaguna II, who, like his

1. A. R. E. 40 of 1904, 542 of 1915.
2. E. C. XI. D G. 17.
3. R. Gopalan, The Pallavas, p. 139.
4. E. C. X. Cd. 76.
5. Nandikkalambakam, verse 31. I am obliged to Sri Rao Saheb S. Vaiyapuri Piilai, B. A., B. L., Reader in Tamil, University of Madras, for the English rendering.

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father on a former occasion, attempted to overthrow the Pallava supremacy. The battle of Sripura in which Deva II slew Vira is identical with the famous battle of Sriperambiam where Varaguna sustained a crushing defeat at the hands of the Pallava king Aparajita and his Ganga ally Prthvipati I.[1]

It is not unlikely that the Pallava monarch after his victory over the Pandya marched triumphantly at the head of the army accompanied by his Ganga and Rastrakuta allies on the Pandya capital. There is therefore nothing improbable in Gunabhadra's statement that Krsna's army rested in the cool shade under the trees in the Kumari forests.

Similarly Gunabhadra's statement that Krsna's war elephants quenched their thirst in the waters of the Ganges must not be rejected as fiction. The Gurjara-Pratihara records clearly show that Gunabhadra did not draw upon his imagination. On the death of Mahendrapala about 907-8 A.D., the Gurjara-Pratihara kingdom fell, as stated already, into confusion owing to the outbreak of a war of succession. Taking advantage of the unsettled state of affairs, Krsna II invaded the kingdom and occupied the Jumna-Gangetic Doab. An important passage in the prologue of Ksemisvara's drama, the Candakausikam, affords us a glimpse of the condition of the Gurjara-Pratihara kingdom on the eve of Mahipala's accession. It is said that formerly the Maurya emperor Candragupta acting according to the counsel of the noble Canakya, conquered the Nandas and captured their capital Ksumunagara ; and king Mahipala who was a re-incarnation of Candragupta overthrew the Karnatakas who were the re-incarnation of the Nandas by the force of his own arm.[2] It is obvious that at the time of the accession of Mahipala, the Gurjara-Pratihara kingdom including probably the capital, Mahodaya, was in the possession of the Karnatakas, the foes of this family ; and Mahipala, acting perhaps on the advice of his minister Ksemisvara, dispossessed them and reconquered his kingdom and capital. Commenting on this passage Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri most judiciously observes that "the whole point of a comparison is, and here it is the similarity underlying the *utpreksa* of the verse, that there is some *sadrsya* in the midst of many differences between the two objects of comparison and we shall see presently that the *sadrsya* in the comparison is really to be sought in the exile of the king from his country by the success of his enemies and his regaining possession of it by diplomacy and foreign aid.[3] The *sadrsya* would be most oppropriate, if the expulsion of the Karnatakas from the Gurjara-Pratihara kingdom by Mahipala is placed at the beginning of his reign rather than in the middle.

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1. S. I. I. II. No. 76 and 18.
2. Candakausikam :

   Yah sam-sritya prakrti-gahanam-arya-Canakya nitim
   Jitva Nandan Kusumanagaram Candragupto jigaya
   Karnatatvam dhruvam-upagatan-adya tanev hantum
   Dor-darpodhyah sa punar abhavac-Chri Mahipaladevah.

3. J. O. R. VI. p. 193.

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No doubt, Mahipala suffered defeat at the hands of Rastrakuta Indra III during tha latter part of his reign ; but the circumstances under which Indra III invaded the Gurjara-Pratihara kingdom were different. At the time of Indra's accession to the throne or a little later, the Rastrakutas lost most of the northern provinces of their kingdom owing to the aggressions of Mahipala, who after establishing himself firmly on the throne, planned an invasion of the Rastrakuta dominions as a measure of retaliation. He met with considerable success in his enterprise ; and if we may trust Rajasekhara, he not only reduced several people on the borderland of the Rastrakuta kingdom to submission but annexed some of its outlying provinces including Lata and Kerala.[1] It was for dislodging Mahipala from his territories that Indra III launched his expedition. Pampa traces the course of this expedition ; it began with the reconquest of Lata ; which was followed by the defeat of Mahipala at Ujjain and the subjugation of the seven Malvas ; and it terminated with the arrival of the Rastrakuta armies on the banks of the Ganges[2] and the sack of Mahodaya.[3] Although Mahipala is said to have fled before the Rastrakuta armies, there is no evidence to show that he ever lost his throne. The Khajuraho epigraph which is frequently cited in this context to prove that he was restored to his kingdom does not refer, as pointed out by Dr. Tripathi "to Mahipala's restoration, but merely to his accession to the throne with the help of the Candella prince."[4] It is therefore reasonable to take the Karnataka occupation of the Gurjara-Pratihara kingdom referred to by Ksemisvara as an event which had taken place before the accession of Mahipala to the throne of Kanauj; and consequently it must be laid to the credit of Krsna II whose reign lasted up to A. D. 915.[5]

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1. Balabharata, I. 7.
   Namita-Murala-maulih pakalo Mekhalanam
   Rana-kalita-Kalingah Kelitat-Keral-endoh
   Ajani Jita-Kulutah Kuntalanam Kutharah
   Hatha-hrta Ramatha Srih Sri Mahipaladevah.

Most of the people mentioned in this verse with the exception of the Ramathas can be easily located. Kalinga is well known. Kuluta is the name of a small country which together with Orissa formed a single kingdom in the 11th century A. D. (E. I. xxv. p. 261) ; The Mekhalas were the people living in the outskirts of the Mekhala mountain in the Central Provinces ; Kuntalas were, of course, people of the Rastrakuta kingdom ; Muralas were the people who inhabited the country situated on the banks of the river Murula in Northern Konkan (E. I. III p. 271.) and the Keralas lived further south along the West Coast.

2. Pampa Bharata 1 :
3. E. I. VII. p. 43, v, 19.
4. The History of Kanauja, p. 261. The Khajuraho record (E. I. I. p. 122) is a fragment. The part of line 10, 'punar yena Sri Ksitipaladevanrpatih simhasane sthapitah' means that the Candella Harsadeva among other things also established King Ksitipaladeva on the throne.
5. The last known date of Krsna II is A. D. 912 (EC. VIII. Sb. 88) but as the coronation of his successor Indra III did not take place until February 915 A. D., it is evident that he continued to rule up to the beginning of that year.

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A NEW APPROACH TO THE DATE OF JAYADEVA, THE AUTHOR OF THE GITAJOVINDA— BETWEEN A. D. 1150 AND 1210.

BY

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Dr. A. B. Keith[1] in his remarks on Jayadeva, the celebrated author of the Gitagovinda notes the following points about his chronology :—

(1) Jayadeva belonged to the reign of King Laksmanasena of Bengal[2] (A. D. 1175—1200).

(2) The contemporaries of Jayadeva who like him adorned the Court of Laksmanasena were Govardhana, author of Arya Saptasati, Dhoi, Sarana and Umapatidhara[3].

(3) An inscription[4] of A. D. 1292 cities a verse from Jayadeva's songs.

(4) In A. D. 1499 Prataparudradeva ordered that the dancers and Vaisnava singers should learn Jayadeva's songs only.

It will be seen from the above remarks that A. D. 1292 is the sure later limit for Jayadeva's date supported by the date of inscription *viz.* Samvat 1348.

I purpose to record in his paper some evidence which pushes back this sure limit by about 100 years on the strength of literary and inscriptional evidence which is as follows :—

(1) The Paramara King Arjunavarmadeva in his commentary on the Amaru Sataka[5] mentions Govardhanacharya and quotes a stanza from his Arya Saptasati as follows :—

" यदुक्तं गोवर्धनाचार्येण—

'अन्यमुखे दुर्वादो यः प्रियवदने स एव परिहासः ।
इतरेन्धनजन्मा यो धूमः सोऽगुरु समुद्भवो धूपः ॥"

1. Vide pp. 190-191 of Hist. of Sans. Literature, 1928.

2. Vide footnote 1 to page 338 of 'Classical Sanskrit Literature' by M. Krishnamachariar, where many articles on the date of Laksmanasena are noted.

3. Ibid footnote 2—" Tradition has preserved a verse said to be a part of an inscription which says—

गोवर्धनश्च शरणो जयदेव उमापतिः ।
कविराजश्च रत्नानि समितौ लक्ष्मणस्य च ॥"

4. Vide p. 1042 of Vol. II of Dynastic History of Northern India by H. C. Ray (1936) The Anavada stone inscription of Samvat 1348) (c. A. D. 1291) begins with the opening stanza of Gitagovinda..

5. Vide 12 of Kavyamala No. 18 (N. S. Press, Bombay, 1929.)

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(2) The above verse can be identified with the following verse of the Arya Saptasati[1] :—

"अन्यमुखे दुर्वादो यः प्रियवदने स एव परिहासः ।
इतरेन्धनजन्मा यो धूमः सोऽगुरुभवो धूपः (॥१३॥ ॥[2]

The above identification proves that Govardhanacharya, the author of the Arya Saptasati is earlier than Arjunavarmadeva who mentions and quotes him.

(3) There are three inscriptions[3] for the reign of Arjunavarmadeva, giving the dates Vikrama Samvat 1267 to 1272 corresponing to A. D. 1211-15.

(4) If the statement of the contemporaneity of Govardhanacharya and Jayadeva made by Dr. Keith is correct, we get in the dates A. D. 1211-15 for Arjunavermadeva a definite terminus for the date of Jayadeva, the author of the Gitagovinda.

(5) The later terminus of A. D. 1211 for Jayadeva's date indicated above is in harmony with the dates of Laksmanasena of Bengal at whose court both Jayadeva and Govardhana are said to have flourished. Govardhana in his Arya Saptasati refers to "सेन कुल तिलक भूपति" who is supposed to be identical with king Laksmana of Bengal.[4]

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1. Vide p. 24 of Kavyamala Edition of Arya Saptasati with comm. of Anantapandita. In Ms No. 463 of 1891-95 of Arya Saptasati at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona, folio 6a we find the reading "समुद्भवो धूपः" for "भवो धूपः"

2. The Sarangadharapaddhati (A.D. 1363) quotes this verse as "Govardhana's" (Stanza No. 466 of Peterson Sp. Vol. I, 1888) Chaturbhuja Misra in his commentary on Amaru Sataka also quotes this verse (vide folio 5 of Ms No. 321 of 1884-87).

3. Vide pp. 895-897 of Dynastic History of Northern India by H. C. Ray, Vol. II (1936), Arjunavarmadeva was a king of literary accomplishment. His preceptor was Upadhyaya Madana alias Balasarasvati, whom he quotes in his Amarusatakans-Tika. This Madna is the author of the drama Parijatamanjari found incised on a stone at Dhar. It is a natika in 4 acts, of which only 2 acts are available in fragments (vide p. 647 of Krishnamachariar: Classical sans. Literature, 1937—articie No. 678 on Madana) Dr. D. C. Ganguly gives a summary of the available fragment of the above natika (vide pp. 205-207 of the History of Parmarr Dynasty, Dacca, 1933).

4. Vide p. 13 of Arya Saptasati (K. M. No. 10)—

"सकल कलाः कल्पयितुं प्रभुः प्रबन्धस्य कुमुदबन्धोश्च ।
सेन कुल तिलक भूपति रेको राका प्रदोश्च ॥ ३६ ॥

The editor makes the following remarks :—

"सेनकुलं कायस्थकुलं बङ्गदेशप्रसिद्धम्, तत्तिलकायमानो भूपतिर्लक्ष्मणसेनः यत्सभायां गोवर्धनाचार्य आसीत् न तु सेतुबन्धकाव्यकर्ता कश्मीरमहाराजः प्रवरसेनः स तु क्षत्रियकुलावतंस आसीदिति राजतरङ्गिण्यां स्फुटमेव ।"

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(6) According to Dr. H. C. Ray[1] "Laksmana Sena probably came to the throne in about 1185 A. D." He was a liberal patron of letters. Learned men at his court were the following :—

(1) Jayadeva—author of the Gitagovinda.

(2) Dhoyi—author of the Pavanaduta.

(3) Hatayudha—author of Brahmana Sarvasva.

(4) Sridharadasa—author of Sadukti Karnamala.

The king himself was a poet of some repute. Nine of his verses are quoted in the Saduktikarnamala. He also finished the Adbhuta Sagara of his father. Elsewhere Dr. Ray gives c. A. D. 1185—1206, as the period of the reign of Laksmanasena.

(7) If Govardhanacharya, the author of the Arya Saptasati was a contemporary of Jayadeva as observed by Dr. Keith and other scholars and if Jayadeva was a court poet of Laksmanasena (c. 1185—1206) we can easily explain the reference to Govardhanacharya by Arjunavarmadeva who is assigned to A. D. 1211—1215 on the strength of inscriptions of his reign. It is possible to suppose that at least for some periods of their lives both Laksmanasena of Bengal and Arjunavarmadeva were contemporaries.

It would thus be seen from the foregoing evidence that the quotation from the Arya Saptasati of Govardhanacharya occurring in the Amarusataka Tika of Arjunavarmadeva and identified by me in this paper amply corroborates the date of Jayadeva (c. 1185—1206 A. D.) arrived at by scholars on the strength of his contemporaneity with king Laksmanasena of Bengal.

(8) The verse of Govardhanacharya occurring in Arjunavarmadeva's commentary on the Amarusataka is also quoted in the anthology of Jalhana (composed in A. D. 1258) called the Suktimuktavali.[3] It reads as follows :—

"अन्यमुखे दुर्वादो यः प्रियवदने स एव परिहासः ।
इतरेन्धनजन्मा यो धूमः सोऽगरुभवोभूपः ॥ १३ ॥"
गोवर्धनाचार्यस्य ।

(9) In the anthology of Sridharadasa called the Sadukti Karnamala[4] there are many verses introduced as "of Jayadeva" (जयदेवस्य) Out of these verses the following two verses have been identified by Dr. Har Dutt Sharma in the Gitagovinda of Jayadeva :—

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1. Dynastic History etc. Vol I, 1931, p. 367. The Pavanaduta of Dhoyi informs us that the Gauda king Laksmana came as far as the Sandal hills in Malaya (Travancore hills) in the course of his world conquest.

2. Ibid, p. 386.

3. Vide p. 304 of G.O.S. (Baroda) No. LXXXII, 1938, Ed. by E. Krishnamacharya.—Jalhana also gives some verses of Madna the Guru of Arjunavarmaadeva.

4. Punjab Ori. Series No. XV, Ed. by Ramavatara Sarma with Intero. by Hara Dutta Sharma, Lahore 1933.

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(1) Sadukti Karnamala I, 59, 4 = Gitagovinda XI, 11

"जयश्रीविन्यस्तैर्महित..... . मुरजितः ॥ ४ ॥

जयदेवस्य ॥ [1]

(2) Sadukti II, 37, 4 = Gitagovinda VI,3

"अङ्गेष्वाभरणं तनोति.....निशांनेष्यति ॥ ४ ॥

जयदेवस्य ॥ [2]

As this anthology was composed in A. D. 1205 [3] the evidence of the verses of Jayadeva quoted by his contemporary Sridharadasa harmonizes with Arjunavarmadeva's reference to Govardhanacharya, the author of the Arya Saptasati who is also supposed to have been a contemporary of Jayadeva.

Though the evidence of anthologies by itself may not possess very great historical value such evidence may be looked upon as sufficiently trustworthv, if supported by other evidence. In the present case my identification of a verse of Govardhanacharya whom tradition makes a contemporary Jayadeva has been linked up with the known dates of Arjunavarmadeva *viz* A. D. 1211-1215 and consequently the definite later limit for Jayadeva's date *viz.*, A. D. 1292 has now been pushed back to *C.* A. D. 1200. The following chronological table will show at a glance the evidence regarding Jayadeva's date as recorded by me in this paper :—

A. D.	Particulars.
1185—1206	Reign of King Laksmanasena of Bengal.
,,	Jayadeva, Govardhanacharya Dhoyi, Hatayudha and Sridharadasa flourished at Laksmanasena's court
1205	Sridharadasa composed his anthology Sadukti Karnamala in which he mentions and quotes from Jayadeva.
1211—1215	Dates of inscriptions of Arjunavarmadeva, who mentions and quotes from Govardhanacharya the author of Arya Saptasati in his commentary on the Amaru Sataka.
1258	Jalhana quotes in his Suktimuktawali the same Arya of Govardhana as is quoted by Arjunavarmadeva.
1292	Date of Anavada inscription which quotes a verse from Jayadeva's Gitagovinda.
1499	Order of Prataprudradeva directing that Vaisvava singers should learn the songs of Jayadeva only.

In connection with the chronology of references to Jayadeva by subsequent writes I may record here the influence of the Gitagovinda on a Marathi Mahanubhava writer Bhaskarabhat Borikar [4] who composed

1. Ibid p. 44.
2. Ibid p. 93.
3. Ibid p. 34 of Introduction and p. 222 of Keithfs Sanskrit Literature, 1928 A. D.
4. Bhaskarbhat Borikar ed. by V. B. Kolte; Amraoti, 1935, p. 103— "भास्करभट व जयदेव।"

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his 'Sisupalavadha' about Saka 1230 (=A. D. 1308). Prof. V. B. Kolte of Amroati has already pointed out this influence by a comparison of the passages in the 'Sisupalavadha' and the Gitagovinda. Jayadeva's influence spread in Gujarat also within a few years of the composition of the Gitagovinda [1a] as observed by Dr. M. R. Majmudar in one of his recent papers. All these facts are in harmony with the chronlogy of Jayadeva recorded in the above table.

GURJARA RULE AND GURJARA ART IN THE CHAMBA HIMALAYA.

BY

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It is now generally acknowledged that the invasion of the Gurjaras in the 7th century had been the decisive event shaping the whole subsequent history of Northern India in the Hindu Middle Ages [1] Through the 7th and 8th centuries the Northwest, broken by the Huna disaster, had lain prostrate under these hordes like Europe under the heel of the Teutonic migration tribes of the 5th—7th centuries. In the 9th and 10th centuries this barbarian chaos crystallized into the great Pratihara Empire of Kanauj, paramount lord of Northern and Central India [3] and champion of orthdox Hindu religion and civilization, in the same way as the orthodox Christian empire of Charlemagne sprang from the preceding heathen or heretic Gothic, Burgundian, Langobard and other tribal states. As this Frankish empire disintegrated again into a swelling number of Teutonic, Latin or mixed fedual dominions, likewise the Pratihara empire dissolved into the Rajput kingdoms. And as the Mediaeval European feudal lords had prepared for themselves pedigrees connecting their houses with the late Roman patricians and emperors, or even with the heroes of Greco-Roman or ancient Teutonic mythology, the descendents of Gurjaras, Gurjara feudatories, submerged former Kshatriyas and nondescript tribes likewise claimed all to be Rajputs, offspring of the ancient Indian aristocracy, of the house of Rama or of some other Puranic dynasty [3].

Just this complete assimilation into the fold of orthodox Hinduism and of post-Classical Hindu civilization, this conscious obliteration of all the vestiges of an earlier barbarian past, however, has not only obscured the actual history of this fateful period for a long time, but also renders

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1a. Vide p. 43 of Journal of Bombay University. XII, (New series) Part 2 (Sept. 1943)—Dr. M. R. Majmudar's paper on "Discovery of a folio of Bhagavata Dasama Skandha.

1. D. R. Bhandarkar, Foreign Elements in the Hindu population, Indian Antiquary 1911, p. 7 ff.)

2. R. C. Majumdar, The Gurjara-Pratiharas, Calcutta 1923.

3. Bhupendranath Datta, The Rise of the Rajputs, (J. Bihar and Orissa, Res. Soc. 1941, p. 34 ff.)

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very difficult any elucidation of the real character and culture of the original Gurjaras. What we know so far is the outcome of a combined historical, linguistic and ethnological analysis (4). Further results, therefore, may be expected only by the combined application of the same methods, in such Rajput states where local circumstances have been favourable to the parallel survival not only of historical traditions, but also of religious, artistic, linguistic and other cultural pecularities going back to that remote age.

Such a state must obviously be Chamba which has already yielded numerous remarkable artistic and epigraphic documents going back to the early Middle Ages [5]. But there are special reasons which offer us a hope that the Chamba monuments might throw some new light on the Gurjara problem : (1) The Western Pahari spoken in Chamba belongs to the same linguistic group as Western Rajasthani, *i. e.* is one of the Indian dialects most closely related to Gujari [4]. (2) Chamba lies comparatively near to the old Gurjara kingdom in the Punjab, round Gujarat and Gujranwala, but more isolated from outside influences than the former hill states nearer to the latter. (3) Chamba springs out of complete obscurity into the bright light of history and archaeology towards the end of the 7th century with king Meruvarman of Brahmor, just in the critical period when the Hinduization of the Gurjaras and the formation of Gurjara kingdoms must have set in.

Nevertheless yields a first study of the epigraphs not a single tangible clue in this direction. Meruvarman poses as an orthodox and devout Saiva. His genealogy for three generations back shows pure Hindu names, claiming to be of Suryavamsi origin. All his progenitors are even said to have been yogis. The temples and images dedicated by him are in the best post-Gupta tradition. But why this sudden outburst of religious zeal and royal munificence, and this complete silence before ? Chamba has yielded an almost uninterrupted series of monuments from the 7th to the 19th century. Should all the preceding vestiges have completely disappeared ? There are traces of an earlier influx of Hindu civilization into these valleys [6]. The lotus roundels both on the fountain stones of the 11th century and in the still living wood work tradition of the Brahmor province and of parts of Chamba-Lahul are an echo of the Buddhist and probably also Hinduist chaitya railing of the 2nd and 1st centuries, B. C. The groundplan of the wooden Sakta hill temples goes obviously back to the Gupta temple type. That the original monuments have disappeared is no wonder, for they must have been of ceder wood like the still existing shrines of Meruvarman. But also the surviving traditions have undergone a complete barbarization to a rural folk art when they reappear in Mediaeval Chamba. With other words, there must be a primitive interval between the art of which they are degenerated remnants, and the new start under Meruvarman. The historical

4. G. A. Grierson, Linguistic Survey of India, Ix, pts, 1 and 4, 1916.
5. J. Ph. Vogel, Antiquities of Chamba State, I, Calcutta 1911.
6. H. Goetz and B. C. Chhabra, Antiquities of Chamba Stats II (in preparation).

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gap between those faint vestiges of an earlier civilization and the reign of Meruvarman, therefore, can neither have been accidental, but must in all probability coincide with a barbarian inter-regnum.

Against such a background, however, it must be regarded as very significant that the whole new civilization at the court of Meruvarman has been foreign, the Sanskrit of his inscriptions as well as the Central Indian Gupta style of the wood sculpture of the Lakshanan Devi Temple and of the brass idols of his chief artist Gugga [7]. Meruvarman, therefore, cannot be regarded as some irrelevant raja whose memory has by accident been preserved to us, but must have been a barbarian chieftain who set up for sovereign lord over the surrounding valleys posing as the protagonist of orthodox Hinduism and Hindu civilization. His zeal had been that of the convert, his munificence inspired by the desire to buttress up his new position with the splendour and sanctity of cultural superiority. But who had been these barbarians ? The almost complete destruction of the preceding Hindu (Khasa) civilization of the Chamba hills, however fragile it may have been, pre-supposes a foreign invasion. The very time of the barbarian interregnum, *i. e.* the 6th—7th centuries and the Gujari connection of the Pahari dialect spoken in Chamba make it probable that these invaders had been Gurjaras. And that Meruvarman had played the same role in the history of the Chamba Gurjaras, as Nagabhatta I in Rajputana [4].

With all these conjectures, however, we are still on debatable ground. For direct evidence cannot be expected from a dynasty interested to obliterate all vestiges of former barbarian origin and claiming descent from the best and most orthodox Kshatriya stock. But in the parallel case of early Mediaeval Europe we can observe that for centuries, after the courts, higher aristocracy and clergy had accepted the late Roman-Byzantine civilization, the masses of the population and even part of the landed aristocracy remained on the original primitive culture level. If this may be regarded as a general phenomenon, the traces of the original Gurjara tradition must be sought outside the Chamba court, in the outlying provinces. Now we know already a quite unique group of monuments, the fountain stones dedicated in the 11th and 12th centuries by the local feudal lords (ranas) of the northern provinces of Churah and Pangi [5]. They reveal a curious mixture of orthodox Hindu and "popular" art and religion. Whereas the centre of these broad relievo slabs has a high-Mediaeval Hindu ornamentation and, as an occasional supplementary filling, the primitive lotus roundels which we have already met with in Brahmor, parts of Lahul and also Kulu, the enclosing border and often also the bands separating the chief representations consist of a duplicated plaitwork decoration else not known in India. Dr. Vogel, the discoverer of these fountain stones had regarded this plaitwork ornament as peculiar to this part of the Himalaya, as vestiges of it can be traced also in the wood architecture of Pangi, Bhadrawah, Kulu, Bashahr, etc. [8]. But

7. St. Kramrisch, Indian Sculpture, Calcutta 1933.

8. Longhurst, Influence of the Umbrella on Indian Art ; Francke, Antiquities of Indian Tibet, I.

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on a closer analysis this opinion cannot be maintained. For the fountain stones of Pangi represent a mere cultural overflow from Churah, and the kindred motifs in the art of the remaining Punjab Himalaya prove to be nothing but late and degenerated offshoots of the Churah tradition belonging to the first cultural revival after the choas created by the Muslim invasion (15th-16th centuries). The Churah fountain stones, therefore, represent a unique group not characteristic for Himalayan folk art, and the plaitwork ornament on them is likewise unique, characteristic neither for the Himalaya nor for India at all. And yet it is an ornament motif very well known to art historians. For it turns up everywhere in Southern Europe and South Western Asia immediately after the fall of the Roman Empire, *i. e.*. at a date hardly earlier than the Gurjara invasions into India. It is peculiar to the art of all those migration tribes who had come from the steppes of Southern Russia and South Western Central Asia, the Ostrogoths, Visigoths, Langobards, Alans, and Iranian nomads. The great explorer of Asiatic folk art, J. Strzygowski[9] has classified it under the somewhat debatable, but in principle indubitably justified name "Saka" art. With other words, the plaitwork ornament of the Churah fountain stones must be a relic of an Iranian nomad art brought into these hills from outside. And in the whole context so far analyzed by us, these nomads can only have been the Gurjaras.

If we approach the problem from the religious side, we arrive at similar results. With the only exception of a few stones the ruling deity of the Churah fountain stones is Varuna, represented in a primitive style parallel to that of the Western monuments showing the same plaitwork ornament, and, at his side, occasionally also water nymphs, especially the goddesses of the great Punjab rivers. At the first moment this looks quite natural. For Varuna as the god of the waters, and the water goddesses should be the normal tutelary deities of fountains. But this is untenable. For the protective deities of the water in the Himalaya are not Varuna and the river goddesses, but the Nagas. Likewise is Varuna here adored not as water god, but as lord of heaven and giver of heavenly bliss to the pious, *i. e.*, in a role familiar to the early Vedic period but not to Mediaeval India. And for the few already mentioned exceptions, there are in Churah not the least early vestiges either of the Himalayan Chamunda or Naga cult, or of orthodox Hinduism. The few orthodox Hindu (Saiva and Vaishnava) fountain stones of Naghai near Sai, at Sai and at Salhi in Pangi, however, are also the sole which reveal a more pronounced influence of Mediaeval Hindu court art, and also of the official Sanskrit, and are donations of influential local Rana families in close connection with the court[10]. The few Vishnu and Ganesa idols found in Churah[11] are contemporary with those stones. It is, therefore, evident that orthodox Hinduism and Hindu court art found

9. J. Strzygowski, Altai-Iran and Volkerwanderung, Leipsic 1917.

10. Devaprasada, feudatory of Vallapura, and Ajayapala and Indrapala, feudatories of Chamba.

11. Vogal, Antiquities I, pl. 29 b dedicated by Rana Nagapala in 1159/61 ; Ujfalvy, Aus dem Westlichan Himalaya, Leipsic 1884.

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their way into Churah only in the course of the 11th-12th centuries: and that the Varuna and water nymph cult preceding them must have represented a separate religion alien to the Naga service of the hills which it had superseded, as well as to the Hinduism from which it had borrowed some names and ideas. The archaic conception of Varuna might indicate an introduction from the outmost, unorthodox borders of Hindu civilization. But even this explanation cannot solve the mystery, for neither Indra nor any other early Indian god is mentioned. And it seems more probable that we have to do with a non-Indian religion slightly adapted by a change of names as it has happened so many times in history. If we be permitted to follow the hint offered by the figure style and plait-work ornament of these same fountain stones, we might see behind this Varuna some popular form of Ormuzd, behind the nymphs an echo of the Anahits, behind the curious and quite out-of-place cult of Gugga or raja Mandalik [12] which is also found in the same area, Mithra. G. A. Grierson has thought that the Gurjaras had possibly been Iranians from Sistan [4]. This would fit very well to the observations just made, though it must be conceded that much still remains obscure.

There are many other features pointing in the same direction, but not discussed here in detail because they appear only occasionally, e. g. the semi-Iranian costume on the more popular fountain stones without inscriptions, of the 12th century ; the Central Asian scroll ornaments on these costumes ; "Scythian" running-animal motifs ; the thigh ornaments of horses and other animals, likewise hailing from the sphere of Central Asian nomadic art ; "Gandharan" columns ; an expression of line, figure and movement intermediate between Sasano-Iranian and later Rajput art ; the first appearance of certain motifs later common in Rajput art, etc.

But so much we may say with certainty that in Churah we are in face of a foreign cultural enclave with pronounced peculiarities pointing towards a nomadic Iranian origin which was Hinduized not before the 11th-12th centuries. As both in Churah and Brahmor the same Pahari dialect, with its close relationship to Gujari, is spoken we may interpret the historical situation in this sense that the whole of South Western Chamba (the area of the Ravi and its tributaries) had in the 6th or 7th centuries been conquered by Gurjara clans. In Churah they had preserved their identity up to the high Middle Ages, whereas at Brahmor the process of Hinduization had set in very early, in consequence of the conversion and culturo-political aspirations of Meruvarman.

With our evidence as much strengthened we may perhaps venture to find out at least a few hints of the original home of the Chamba Gurjaras. Probably the two groups of Churah and Brahmor originally have not formed one entity. For until the early 10th century they had been separated by a wedge of aboriginal population as is evident from the preponderance of Naga worship in the area round Chamba town. It

12. Vogel, Catalogue of the Bhuri Singh Museum, p. 6 ; Cunningham, Arch. Survey Report XIV, p. 81.

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is likewise probable that the Churah group came direct from the Western Punjab whereas the Brahmor group which so quickly adopted Hinduism, may have become susceptible to it by a closer contact with Indian civilization deeper in the interior of India. There are a few clues in such a direction, legendary, but not without value. Meruvarman mentions as the ancestor of his line a certain Mushunavarman (5) whom later folk tradition has surrounded with curious legends of his having been exposed, saved by mice and miraculously recognized as the royal child. Suchlike stories might be brushed aside but for two reasons. First, this type of story is, in primitive folklore, very commonly connected with heroes and dynasty founders. This would mean that Mushunavarman cannot have been some genuine Kshatriya prince, but a tribal chieftain. Second, the Chamba tradition has preserved these legends even after it had forgotten that Mushunavarman had been the founder of Meruvarman's house. With other words the stories cannot be simply a later invention, but represent a genuine and very old tradition. For in the Chamba Vamsavali Mushunavarman is placed into the dark period (of Pratihara or Kashmiri suzerainty ?) after Meruvarman's next successors. In his place a raja Maru, culled from the Bhagvata Purana, is mentioned as the founder of the dynasty which in this way is connected by a long, and no doubt, faked pedigree with the glorious house of the Raghavas. But why just Maru ? Had it been pure fancy to select just this figure as link with the Puranic tradition, or had there existed some, perhaps misunderstood tradition influencing this selection ? For in its present form the Vamsavali is very late (end of the 16th century), and probably its detailed Puranic pedigree had been fabricated during this last reduction, elaborating an unspecified claim of Suryavamsa origin already pronounced by Meruvarman. Nevertheless, already Dr. Vogel has observed that the Vamsavali contains many valuable and often trustworthy traditions. May we assume that the descent of the Brahmor dynasty from Maru is such a misunderstood tradition, and that behind the historically impossible raja Maru there hides the country Maru, *i. e.*, Marwar which just in the 7th century had been the centre of Gurjara power ?

As already mentioned, the later conscious obliteration by the Gurjaras, of their barbarian origins, makes it impossible, and will probably do so for ever, to elucidate their early history with absolute certainty. But within this limitation I hope to have been able to demonstrate that early Chamba offers us a peep into this obscure period, that in Churah we find, in the local fountain stones, remnants of an alien, apparently nomadic-Iranian civilization which with strong reasons may be identified with that of the Gurjaras before their Hinduization, and that in 7th century Brahmor we can follow the process of the Hinduization of another group possibly come from Marwar.

NETHERLANDS INSTITUTE OF INDIA

A NOTE ON THE DEOPARA PRASASTI OF VIJAYASENA.

BY

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The Deopara Prasasti,[1] though undated, is perhaps the earliest of the Sena inscriptions. Composed by a poet like Umapatidhar it is also remarkable as a literary production. But in some places clarity of statement has been sacrificed to poetic flourishes and the veiled references can hardly be understood beyond doubt. Thus the verse 19 of the Prasasti has baffled our scholars for about half a century. In this paper an attempt has been made to review the whole situation afresh.

The verse runs as follows :

"dattadivyabhuvah pratiksitibhrtamurvvimuri kurvvata
virasrg lipi lanchitohsi ramuna prageva patrikrtah
nettham cet kathamanyatha vasumatibhoge vivadonmukhi
tatrakrsta krpana dharini gata bhangam dvisam santatih"

The generally accepted view is that it refers to a struggle between the Palas and the Senas. Dr. R. G. Basak writes[2] "there took place some sort of an exchange of territorial divisions between the Sena king Vijayasena and his rivals, who must have been the Pala kings, to whom he gave away the parts of Varendri belonging formerly to Divya, and he himself accepted for his own occupation some lands (probably in south Varendri) from the Palas" Dr. N. K. Bhattasali[3] has found in it "a clear proof of Vijayasena's having helped Ramapala in his recovery of Varendri." The identification of Vijayaraja of Nidravala mentioned in the Ramacharitam with Vijayasena of the Sena dynasty[4] lends support to this. Dr. Bhattasali has given a new interpretation ta verse 47 Ch. III of the Ramacharitam and supposed that Ramapala—allowed Vijayasena "to proceed to Kamarupa and conquer the country practically marching over the back of Ramapala." Thus he has showed "the growing power of Vijayasena, for the king can be nobody else."[5]

1. E. I. Vol. I. Page 306.

2. "Govindapala Records Re-examined" (Proceedings of the 3rd. Ind. Hist. Congress, 1939. Page 335).

3. "Second Struggle of Bhima and his friend Hari in Ramacharitam" (I. H. Q. Vol. XIX. Page 137.)

4. N. N. Vasu. Vanger Jateya Itihas (Rajanyakanda) p. 145 and Dr. H. C. Roy Choudhury—Studies in Indian Antiquities, p. 158 and also I. H. Q. Vol. XIII p. 358. For counter arguments reference may be made to R. D. Banerjee-Vanger Itihas Vol. I, p. 262 and Ramacaritam (V. R. S. Edition) p. XXVII.

5. I. H. Q. Vol. XIX pages 137-138. His correction of the word "dena" to "senah" cannot be supported.

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On the authority of Seka-Subhodaya[1] we know that Ramapala died in the forenoon of September 23, 1120 A. D. (Sake Jugma-ka-renu-candraganite Kanyam gate Bhaskare). The Nimdighi inscription of Gopala III shows that he was the Pala king killed Vijayasena in the year 1140 A. D.[2] Vijayasena ruled for 62 years (c. 1097-1159 A. D.)[3] Thus we find that he made the Palas fly away from Varendri 19 years before his death. Strangely enough in the Madhainagar[4] and Bhawal[5] plates of Lakshmanasena this victory is claimed for Vijayasena in his early years. (Kumara or youngman) Ramapala ruled for 42 years or for 46 years according to Taranath[6]. So he came to the throne in 1078 A. D. or 1074 A. D. If Vijayaraja be identified with Vijayasena it is found that Ramapala began his drive against the rebels twenty three years after his accesion. A period of 19 years thus left to him seems to be too short for his later achievements.

According to verse 3 of the Naihati grant of Vallalasena many kings of the dynasty ruled in Radha. The Deopara Prasasti only tells us that Samantasena retired to the bank of the Ganges in his old age[7]. None esle of the Sena Inscriptions refer to Radha as the seat of the family. The find places and donated lands of some are, of course, within the bounds of ancient Radha. Curiously enough there is a village called Nidol not far from Sitahati[8]. This may be ancient Nidraval. All these show that the identification of Vijayaraja of Nidraval with Vijayasena and the location of their first kingdom in Radha can only be provisionally accepted with a big " ? "

Leaving aside this problem for the present, let us try to interpret verse 19 of the Prasasti. Vijayasena was an younger contempory of Ramapala. Another contemporary of the Pala king was Harivarman. He was a most powerful and trusted ally of Ramapala. Bhatta Bhavadeva, his minister, excavated a tank on the outskirts of a village in Radha[9].

Radhayamajalasu Jangalapathagramo Kanthasthali
simasu sramamagnapantha-parisat-pranasaya-prinanah
yenakari Jalasayah parisarasnatabhijatangana
vaktravjaprativimvamugdhamadhupi sunyanjanikananah—V. 26.

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1. Dr. S. K. Sen in the Hrsikesa series of Calcutta.

2. Dr. N. K. Bhattasali—Two Inscriptions of Gopala III of Bengal (I. H. Q. Vol. XVII pages 207-22).

3. I. C. IV p. 227 and J. L. XVI.

4. Journal and Proceedings of the A. S. R. Vol. V, page 471.

6. J. R. A. S. B.

7. Yenasevyanta sese vayasi bhauabhayaskandibhirmaskarindraih Purnnotsangani gangapulinaparisararanyapunyasramani.

8. Bharatavarsa—1350 B. S. Vol. I, Pt. 11, p. 155.

9. Popularly known as Anantavasudeva inscription or Bhuvaneswar Inscription. But the inscription did not really belong to Anantavasudeva temple. (vide Mr. P. Acharya's paper in the proc : Third Ind. Hist. Congress, pp. 287-318).

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This shows that the kingdom of Harivarman extended upto that. The same Prasasti tells us that the kingdom remained in tact upto the time of his son :

tannandane valati yasya ca dandaniti
vartmanuga vahala kalpalateva laksmi.—V. 16.

Siddhala, the native village of Bhatta Bhavadeva has also been identified with Sidhal in the district of Birbhum[1]. In the face of the contemporary evidence afforded by the Bhavadeva Prasasti we cannot agree with Dr. Bhattasali when he fixes the Bhagirathi as the western boundary of the Varman kingdom during the time of Harivarman[2]. From the location of the lands donated by Bhojavarman it may be deduced that the Varmana kingdom extended upto the Bhagirati during his reign. But it included Radha during the reign of Harivarman. Thus we find that the Varmans were ousted by the Senas.

It may be pointed out that verse 19 contains no explicit reference to the Palas or to Gauda. The words 'pratiksitibhrt' and 'dvisam santath' might have referred to any enemy of the Senas. Gaudendra is mentioned in the next verse.

tvam nanyavira vijayiti girah kavinam
Srutvamanyatha manana rudha-nigudha-rosah
Gaudendramadravatapakrta kamarupa
bhupam kalingamapi yastarasa jigaya.—V. 20.

This repetition (?) is strange. I like to suggest that "dvisam santath" of verse 19 is not the 'Gaurendra' of verse 20. The two slokas refer to two different enemies of the Palas.

The words "virasrg lipilanchitohsiramuna pragava patrikrtah" should be carefully noted. Those refer to the struggle that had taken place before the treaty was concluded.

But the Ramacharitam does not refer to any war by which any of the Samantas were won over. Moreover it refers to lavish gifts of territory to them.

devenbhubo vipuladravinasya ca danatah sukhacakre[3].

The words "dattadivyabhubah pratiksitebhrtam" show that there was an exchange of territorial divisions. Ramapala was then weak and helpless. He was trying to bribe the samantas. Vijayasena might have accepted any offer of land made by Ramapala but there is no reason why he would have given his own possessions in exchange. Dr. Bhattasali to cite a proof of Vijayasena's having helped Ramapala reads[4] verse 46, Ch. III of the Ramacharitam—

yo vajinamadhibhuva nagavalisamjateritaskandhah
krtasahayakvidhina senapriyakarinaproni:

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1. I. B. III p. 28. J. R. A. S. 1939 pp. 97-99. V. S., pp. 1339, p. 20.
2. I. H. Q. XIX page 136.
3. Ramacharitam I, 45.
4. I. H. Q. XIX, p. 137.

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and then shows that Ramapala "was propitiated by the Sena bent on pleasing, whose policy was to help (Ramapala) and who was a master of the cavalry". But his correction of 'denah' to 'sena' is unwarranted. It is to be noted that Sandhyakar Nandi has nowhere referred to Vijayasena. If we accept the identification of Vijayaraja with the Sena king then too it is mentioned only once and that also cannot be called a glorious reference. The words "tatrakrsta krpanadharini gata bhangam dvisam santath" show that the treaty did not last long and Vijayasena extirpated his enemy. Thus the verse refers to two engagements with a short interval when hostilities were suspended. The Ramacaritam says that one Varman prince propitiated Ramapala :

svaparitrananimittam patya ya pragdisiyena
vara-varanena ca nijasyandanadanena varmanaradhe.—ch. III v. 44.

From whom did the Varmana king desire 'paritrana'? It may be argued that Ramapala attacked the Varmana king and so the latter had to bow down. Harivarman, we know, was in the friendliest terms with the Palas. On the otherhand, the western boundary of the Pala-empire was being threatened by the rise of several foreign powers. Nanyadeva[1] ascended the throne of Mithila in 1097 A. D. Codaganga was reigning in Orissa (1076-1147 A. D.) and he proceeded upto the Ganges. The ruler of Mandara had to flee before him. So it is improbable that Ramapala attacked the kingdom of an ally instead of safeguarding the empire on the southwest. The next verse in the Ramacaritam clearly shows that Ramapala led his victorious arms into Kalinga. This was to safeguard the kingdom. Ramapala had neither the opportunity nor the necessity of attacking Vanga. It has been suggested that there was a family feud amongst the Varmanas and one of the contestants sought the help of Ramapala. The Vajrojogini grant of Samalavarman makes a proud mention of Hari and even of his son. This shows that the family feud had not taken place even then. The Velava grant of Bhojavarman makes no reference to the collateral branch. So the breach, if any, took place after Samalavarman. If we accept the view that one of the Varmana kings sought the protection of Ramapala during this family feud we are to place it after Samalavarman. Is it not then too remote ?

Taking all the above points into consideration I like to suggest that verse 19 of the Deopara Prasasti refers to the two successive clashes between the Senas and the Varmanas and not the Palas. During the first struggle the Varmanas sought the help of their hereditary ally and Ramapala overran the whole country upto Kalinga. A treaty

1. I. A. IX, p. 188; XIII p. 418; J. A (?) H. R. S. 1926 pp. 55-63; I. H. Q. 1931 pp. 681 ff.
2. J. A. S. B. 1896 pt. I, p. 239.
3. bhavabhusanasantatibhuvamannjagrahajitamuakalatramyah Jagadavatesma samastam Kalingatastan nisacaran nighnan—verse 45, ch. III.

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was concluded. The Bhagirathi was the most convenient natural boundary. So that was fixed as the western limit of the Varman kingdom. Vijayasena thus gained the whole of Radha. But he had to give up some territory in exchange as the verse shows. This might have been his new acquisitions from the Varmans or the land he had got as a reward from Ramapala for helping him, if we accept the identificatiou of Vijayaraja with Vijayasena. "Divyabhubah" is generally taken to have meant 'the land formerly belonging to Divya'. (Divya visaya of the Ramacaritam) The second meaning is more plausible then.

According to the Kulasastras Vijayasena first gained fame in Varendri (tadanu Vijayasena pradurasid Varendre). The authenticity of these accounts is questionable. But the verse may refer to Vijayasena's gaining some land in Varendri. Vijayaraja is mentioned only once in the Ramacaritam and no special epithet is ascribed to him. Was he a mercenary only? It might have been that this Karnataka prince joined Ramapala and thus secured a foothold at Nidravala, when the Pala king made lavish gifts of land in the riverine tract. Soon he gained strength and when Ramapala was busy in consolidating his position in Varendri, Vijayasena came into conflict with the Varmans.

The view that verse 19 of the Deopara Prasasti refers to a struggle between the Senas and the Palas may, perhaps, well be discarded. The engagements took place between the Senas and the Varmans leading to the extirpation of the latter.

Bhavadbhiranumanyatam.

INFLUENCE OF CONTEMPORARY SCULPTURE ON THE KANNADA POET RUDRABHATTA.

BY

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It is a well known fact that the distinguishing feature of the Hoysala architecture is the richness of ornamentation and the enormously large variety of motifs employed in the sculptural decorations on the walls, pillars, towers and wherever space could be found in temples of this stype. The fabulous bird *gandabherunda* (the mighty double-headed eagle) was a favourite bird with the sculptors of the Kannada country; and fine specimens of the sculptural representation of this bird are found in many temples in the Hoysala country. Students of South Indian History are familiar with the fact that the Hoysalas bore the tile of *Gandabherunda* and possibly this mythical bird was one of

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their emblems.[1] That this bird was adopted as the insignia and *biruda* of this dynasty of rulers, as well as of many others in the Deccan,[2] is probably due to the fact that it is a symbol of extraordinary strength and ferocity. It is depicted in many places as carrying elephants and lions in its claws and beaks. According to popular tradition, at the time of the Narasimha (man-lion) incarnation of Vishnu the world was frightened and to allay the fear of men Siva took the form of a *Sarabha*, which is suppossed to have eight feet and to be capable of subduing lions, whereupon Vishun assumed the form of a *Gandabherunda*, which is said to be stronger than the *Sarabha* and its deadly enemy. Thus on account of its being associated with the royal insignia and on account of its incredible strength and form as narrated in the legendary account, noted above which afforded the sculptor unlimited scope for the display of his imagination and skill, this fabulous bird must have been chosen as a favourite theme in the decoration of many temples of the Hoysala period. In one frieze the artist could delineate the superiority in form and strength of one animal to another from the lion upto the *Gandabherunda* showing

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1. An. Rep. on S. I. E. for 1937, p. 77 where is noted the existence of the figure of a gandabherunda sculptured on each of the four door-jambs of the big Gopura in the middle of the Kilchittirai-vidi at Srirangam.

2. The history of the double-headed (the heads looking opposite ways) eagle or *gandabherunda* goes back to very early times. On this motif Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy has observed as follows:—"The two headed-bird which first appears in Hittite art at Boghazkoi, then on a Jaina stupa base at Taxila, later, as a common Sarcenic and European armorial device, and finally in Simhalese folk art". (History of Indian and Indonesian Art. p. 12. See also Sir John Marshala's Guide to Taxila, p. (88 and pl. XII The Taxila monument is referable to the reign of the Scytho-Parthian king Azes II *i. e.* about the 1st century A D. The earliest example of *gandabherunda* in South India is the one at the top of the *gandabherunda-stambha*, set up at Belsgami, in the Mysore State, by the *Mahamandalesvara* Chamundarasa in Saka 969 (A. D. 1047) though as a title Bherunda is found in an inscription of Saka 953 to have been borne by a chief named Satyasraya (Ep. Carn. Vol. VII, Shikarpur 30). It may be noted, however, that the sculpture at Belagami "takes the form of a human being, standing upright with two birds' heads looking opposite ways like the Russian eagle. It is eating or tearing something which it holds in his hands." "(Cousena' Calukyan Architecture, p. 145 and fig 41). The Cola feudatory chief Tribhuvanamalla Mallidcva-Cola is given the title *Vairi-nripa-sarabha-bherunda* in an inscription of Saka 1101 S. I. I., Vol. IX, No. 273). More than one Hoysala kings had the title *gandabherunda* (see *e. g.* Ep. Carn. Vol V., Arasikere 178, S. I. I., Vol. IX, No. 343; S. I. I., Vol. VIII No. 99). Coming to the Vijaynagara dynasty we notice that *Raya-gaja-andabherunda* is the legend on the coins of Devaraya (Ind. Ant. Vol XX, pp. 303-304), Krishnadevaraya had the title *Gajaugha-gandabherunda* (S. I. I., Vol. IV. p. 53) and *Aribha-gandabherunda* is a biruda of Achyutaraya. On one of the gold coins of Achuta is found the figure of a Gandabherunda holding elephants in its beaks and claws. (Ind. Ant. Vol. XX, pp. 303-304 photograph on pl. ii). Some later chiefs are also known to have had the title *Gandabherunda*. *Arirayagaja-ganda-bherunda* is a biruda of the Saluva chief Saluva-Malla of Nagara who flourished in the 16th centurv (S. I. I. Vol. VII., No. 207). In the ceiling of the Virabhadra temple at Keladi (Mysore State) constructed by the Keladi chief Dodda-Sankanna-Nayaka (A. D. 1566) is carved a fine specimen of the figure of Gandabherunda (Mys. Arch. Rep., 1928, pl. XI). Even atthe present day the royal house of Mysore uses this as a *biruda* and the figure of the bird adorns the flag of the family.

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the *Gandabherunda* as the most powerful of the series so as to make the whole design beautiful and attractive. Such sculptural panels intended to give an idea of the strength and ferocity of the Gandabherunda are to be found at least in two Hoysala structures, namely, the Kesava temple at Belur and the Buchesvara temple at Koramangala, both in the Mysore state, the home-country of the Hoysalas. These sculptures have been called the 'chain of destruction' by the late Mahamahopadhyaya Rao Bahadur R. Narasimhacharya who has described them fully. The following description of the sculpture in the Belur temple which was built by the Hoysala king Vishnuvardhana in A. D. 1117 is given in his monograph on the Kesava temple at Belur:[1] "To the right of the north-east ugly structure enshrining Ranganatha, a chain of destruction—a double-headed eagle or *Gandabherunda* attacking a *Sarabha* which attacks a lion, which in its turn attacks an elephant, the latter seizing a snake, which is in the act of swallowing a rat—with the figure of a sage wondering at the sight". The same scholar has described almost in the same words a similar sculpture on one of the walls of the shrine of Surya in the Buchesvara temple at Koramangala which was consecrated by a chief named Buchiraja on the day of the coronation of the Hoysala king Ballala II in A. D 1173. "A chain of destruction—a double-headed eagle or Gandabherunda attacking a Sarabha which attacks a lion which in turn attacks an elephant, the latter seizing with its trunk a huge serpent which is in the act of swallowing an antelope—with the figure of a sage wondering at the sight"[2] (see the accompanying plate).

This sculptural motif, in spite of its not being natural, appears to have been so highly popular with and evoked the admiration of the cultural classes of the 12th century that the Kannada poet Rudrabhatta thought it appropriate to give a graphic description of it in his work Jagannathavijaya. There are reasons to believe that this work was composed in about A. D. 1180, during the reign of the Hoysala king

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In the Telugu country *Gandabherunda* occurs as the chief Rachuri Daraparaja, whose wife made a grant in Saka 1008 to god Bhimesvara at Draksharama (S. 1. I. Vol. IV, No. 1053). The Kota chiefs of Amaravati had this title and the seal of the Edavalli plates of Keta III of this family (Saka 1162) bears in relief the figure of a *Gandabherunda* (Mad. Ep. Rep. 1917, App. D. No. 415). It was also borne by the Telugu Choda chiefs Bhaktiraja and Annadeva (Journal of Oriental Research Vol. V. pp. 139 and S. I. I., Vol. V., No. 145). The Sagi chief Gannama-Nayaka is stated in an inscription of Saka 1339 at Vinukonda in the Guntur District of the Madras Presidency (No. 528 of 1913 of the Madras Epigraphical collection) to have borne the title *Gandabherunda*. "Below this inscription is a fine figure of the fabulous man-bird lifting up two elephants with his two hands."

It may not be out of place to add that the two-headed eagle is represented on the coins of Nasir-ud-din Mahmud (A. H. 597-619) and Rukn-Ad-Din Mandud (A. H. 619-29) of the dynasty of Urtukis of Kafy (Coins of Urtuki Turkumans by Lane Poole pp. 20 ff; pl. V Nos. 3, 4, 5 and 7). On one of them (No. 3) the eagle appears with grotesque wings and bearded heads of men. Lane Poole observes :—The origin of the two-headed eagle is very obscure. One thing alone is certain, that is was known in the East long before it was adopted by the emperor of Germany".

1. Page 8.
2. Mys. Arch. Rep. 1920. pp. 4—5.

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Vira-Ballala II who ruled from A. D. 1173 to 1220.[1] While expatiating on the grandeur of the forest on the slopes of the Raivata mountain, Rudrabhatta has recorded his appreciation of this artistic design in vivid language in the following verse:[2]

"Mare-dind-a sarpanam hastiye pididudv-a sarpanam hastiyam ke. sari kop-atopadim poyd-ugibagiduduv-a sarpanam hastiyam kesariyam simhariy-entum padadin-iridud-a sarpanam hastiyam kesariyam simhariyam tumdadole pididu parittu bherumdan-agal."

It may be translated thus :—

"The elephant caught the serpent which had eaten the deer; the lion struck and tore asunder that serpent and that elephant, with furious rage; the lion's enemy (*i. e.*, Sarabha) seized and pierced with its eight feet that serpent, that elephant and that lion; and then the Bherunda caught hold of that serpent, that elephant, that lion and that lion's enemy in its beak and flew away".

How exactly the Koramangala panel mentioned above answers to the description of the imagery in this verse from Jagannathavijava will be clear by observing the illustration of the panel reproduced on the plate accompanying this article. We may take it, therefore, that the poet Rudrabhatta was apparently inspired by the sculptural representation of this scene which must have been displayed prominently on several structures and arrested his attention frequently.

SILAHARA VIJAYADITYA'S POLITICAL ACTIVITIES

BY

PROF. K. G. KUNDANGOR.

(Summary.)

Political sagacity of Vijayaditya (1140—1178) is marked by three important political events : (1) reinstatement of his kinsman in Northern Konkana, and that of the fallen Lord of Goa ; (2) his help to Bijjala to usurp the Calukya empire ; and (3) his relation with Ratta Kartavirya of Venugrama. Silaharas of Northern Konkana and Kadambas of Goa were his relatives, In fact he was born at Goa. To all appearances it appeared that he was actuated with tender feelings of blood-relationship. Nevertheless the underlying motive was that of unity and safety of all the neighbouring feudatories. His help to Bijjala was based on the principle of having a strong ruler at the top as Emperor. The third event like the first was an act at the back of which was the security of himself and his neighbours. To achieve this he had to exploit religious feelings of Kartavirya through his (Vijayaditya's) Jain Generals and Acaryas. Nothing but religion would influence Jain princes for any political, social, economical, or educational matters. Vijayaditya rightly

1. Karnataka-Kavi-charita, V. R. Narasimhacharya, Vol. I (Reviseded.), p. 270.
2. Jagannathavijaya (ed. Mysore Oriental Library), Asvasa 16, v. 14.

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caught this point, astute politician as he was. and was successful in his mission. The inscriptions of his time openly point out his political sagacity in all these affairs and affirm that he brought peace and security to his kingdom.

LATER BUDDHISM IN KAMARUPA

BY

PRO. BIRINCHI KUMAR BARUA, GAUHATI

(Summary)

Saivism was prevalent in Kamarupa in the early centuries. The early kings of Kamarupa were great protagonists of the Saiva cult. The copper-plate land-grants bear ample evidence of it. Kalika Purana, Yogini Tantra, Hara Gauri Sambad record evidences about the popular ity of Saivism in early Kamarupa. Archaeological remains, both of earlier and later periods, connected with Siva worship are discoverad in Assam.

Saivism greatly helped the introduction of later or Tantric Buddhism which assumed three distinct forms, namely, Vajrayana Sahajayana and Kalachakrayana in Kamarupa about the 10th century A. D.

Taranath describes Uddiyana, where Tantric Buddhism first developed, as a country divided into two kingdoms, namely, Sambhala and Lankapuri. Prof. Jacobi aad others are of opinion that Lankapuri is located somewhere in Kamarupa.

Dr. B. Bhattacharyya would like to locate Uddiyana in Assam "possibly in the western part of it." These evidences are examined.

Some eminent Vajrayana Siddhas either hailed from or propounded their doctrine in Kamapura. The *Pag Sam Jon Zan* refers that Saraha or Rahulabhadra was born of a Brahman and a Dakini in the city of Rajni in the eastern country. This city of Rajni was probably the small kingdom of Rani (in the Kamrup-Goalpara districts in Assam), which was in the later period a feudatory of the Ahoms. G. Tucci also points out that according to the Tibetan tradition Rahulabhadra was a Sudra from Kamarupa.

The disciple of Saraha was Nagarjuna, who was well-known in 'Kamarupa, Nepal and Bhutan.' Luipa was another prominent Siddhacharyya who probably hailed from Kamarupa. According to the Tibetan tradition he is known as Minanath or Matsyendranath. In the introduction to the Kaulajyana Nirnaya Dr. Bagchi holds that Minanath was born "in an island or sea-coast called Chandradvipa, in all probability in eastern India and promulgated his doctrine (Yogini Kaula)in Kamarupa. His works were once very popular in Kamarupa.

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Minanath's book namely Bahyantara Bodhicintabandhopadesa was written in a language which was very much akin to old Assamese.

In early Assamese there developed a distinct type of literature known as Mantra Sahitya. This literature bears the stamp of Mahayana tenets. The nature of this literature and its relation to the later Buddhistic faith is discussed.

THE TERMS DANDANAYAKA AND MAHADANDANAYAKA IN THE HINDU ADMINISTRATIVE MACHINERY

BY

BAIJ NATH PURI, Lucknow.

(Summary.)

The popularity of these two terms in the administrative machinery, is clear from the numerous epigraphic records of different periods where we notice them. The term dandanayaka also appears in Kalhana's Rajtarangini. These two terms first occur in the inscriptions of the Kusana period. The Allahabad Pillar inscription of Samudra Gupta mentions the name of Harisena who besides holding the title of Mahadandanayaka was also a Kumaramatya. Besides these two we also notice a still higher title Mahaprachandadandanayaka in certain records of later times.

The exact meaning and significance of these terms is not yet determined. The term Dandanayaka has been translated as a "trying magistrate" (Prinsep), 'the great leader of the forces' (Fleet), Prefect of Police' (Auriel Stein), Commissioners of Police (R. S. Pandit) and sometimes left untranslated (Nagurjuni Kund inscriptions). It appears that such a high officer was different from any of these mentioned above. He was distinct from a Senapati (E. I. Vol. XV p. 283 & 2628) but at the sametime connected with the army (E. I. Vol. VI p. 92). His assistance was sought even in civil administration (I. A. Vol- V. p. 49)- Such a title was hereditary (E. I. Vol. VI p. 92 ; C. I. L. Vol, III p. 10) and even the ruling kings gave their daughters in marriage to Mahadandanayaka (cf Nagarjunikund inscriptions, E. I. Vol, XX p. 1 ff.)

It therefore appears that Dandanayakas were fendatory chiefs who were required to render military aid in times of need, and their help was also sought for civil administration. The three grades of Dandanayaka, Mahadandanayak and Mahaprachandadandanayaka were similar to the mansabs of 33 grades of the Mughal Period. As the mansabs were liable to be disbanded, so also were the Dandanayaka (E. I. Vol. VI p. 92). The promotion to the higher grade depended on certain considerations either brilliant act of heroism in battle or efficient administration.

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SECTION III

MEDIEVAL INDIA 1206-1526

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

BY

PROF. HAROON KHAN SHERWANI, F. R. HIST. S., BAR.-AT-LAW.
Head of the Department of History, Osmania University
Hyderabad, Deccan

MEMBERS OF THE INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

I stand before you to-day with feelings of gratitude to the members of the Congress for having elected me President of this section and thus given me an opportunity of addressing this learned gathering. I must also thank the Osmania University and the Government of His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad and Berar, for having permitted me to assume the functions pertaining to this office.

It is not by way of a mere platitude that I am saying this, but is due to two or three distinct thoughts that are reacting on my mind to-day. Aligarh is the district which my ancestors made it their home in pre-Mughal times, and my people have been in the closest connection with the Aligarh Movement ever since its inception by its great founder, Sir Syed Ahmad Khan.[1] I myself have been in almost continuous relationship with the institution which has extended its hospitality to us to-day, from the time I joined what was then the M. A.-O. Collegiate School as a pupil forty-five years ago. I was appointed a member of the Muslim University Association after its formation in order to set up a University at Aligarh, elected Honorary Joint Secretary of the M. A.-O. College Old Boys' Association in 1917, member of the Central Standing Committee of the All-India Muslim Educational Conference in 1938, member of the Court of the Muslim University in 1939, and member of the Editorial Board of the Aligarh Historical Research Institute in 1940. As I ventured to suggest on the occasion of the inauguration of the fifth session of the Indian History Congress by His Excellency Col. Dr. Nawab Sir Ahmad Sa'id Khan Bahadur, Chancellor of the Osmania University, in December 1941, this Congress is definitely the most representative body of its kind in India and has among its members learned men from all the Provinces and most of the major States of India. I fully appreciate the honour of being called upon to preside over a section of a body like the Indian History Congress.

1. It might interest the members to know that Sir Syed died on 27-3-1898 in the house of my late uncle Nawab Haji Muhammad Ismail Khan, which has recently been transferred to my wife.

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Some of you, ladies and gentlemen, living at Aligarh may not be aware of it, but your city and district are full of monuments of Ancient Mediæval and Modern History of India. The historical importance of the site of the ancient fortress of Kol, now called the Upar-kot or Bala-i Qil'ah goes back at least to Buddhist times and the sculptures excavated there are still to be seen in the Society Gardens at the back of the Muslim University Tibbiyah College. The Upar-kot is also the place where was seen as late as 1861 one of the loftiest minarets of victory in India, the Kol-Minar, built in 1253, and its demolition by the orders of Sir George Edmonstone in 1862 was "a piece of vandalism"[1] which has very few equals in the history of the destruction of monumental art. A few furlongs off can be seen the cemetery, the central point of which is the tomb of Shah Jamal who fell in the battle of Kol[2] which ended in its conquest by Qutbu'd-din Aibak in 1194. In 1342 Ibn-i-Batutah passed through the town of Kol and Jalali, perhaps offered his prayers on the great mosque of Jalali which was built in 1267 and which still serves the spiritual needs of the Muslim population of the town. Jalali is the centre of important historical remains, for a few miles round about may be seen a number of huge mounds one of which might well contain the remains of the Koshaki Sultan, where Nizam Khan son of Bahlol Lodi was selected king of Delhi and which was a kind of Pavilion-Palace used for the purposes of shikar by the Delhi Sultans. Three miles south-east of Jalali is situated the village of Pilakhna named after the Filkhana or Royal Elephant Stables, considerable remains of which still exist near the quaint old mosque with the inscription of Babar on its gateway.[3]

These and many other relatively modern historical monuments may well make Aligarh and its vicinity the object of a close study by a student of history. I would mention the 'Idgah' built in 1563, the great fort which has given its name to the district and which was the scene of the decisive battle fought in 1803, and the garden house of the French General Perron, now called Sahib Bagh with an inscription dating back to the ascendency of the Marathas.[4] But these monuments fall outside the purview of my address. I should like to take this opportunity of requesting the authorities of the Muslim University that the Buddhist sculptures now lying in the Society Gardens should be removed to the Nizam Museum and thus be saved from the ravages of the weather. I would also request the Archæological Department of the Government of India to preserve the important monuments at Pilakhna from further decay and get the mounds round about Jalali excavated as they are bound to yield a rich harvest of archæological remains.

1. Thus P. H. R. Nevill, Aligarh District Gazetteer, 1926, p. 165.

2. Kol was the name of the town spread round the great fortress of Upar-kot, and in spite of the name of Aligarh which has supplanted it, it still persists in the local parlance and is the name of the Tahsil which is still officially called Kol.

3. For this see my article published in the Journal of Indian History, Vol. XI, part II.

4. Perron's Mughal titles, Nasiru'd-Daulah Intizamu'l-Mulk Muzaffar Jung, are inscribed on the stone slab along with his name and date.

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In this connection I cannot help referring to the neglect of the tombs of the Sultans at Delhi and elsewhere. As may be known to some of you, the remains of the founder of the Sultanate, Qutbu'd-din Aibak, happen to lie buried in the verandah of a modern three-storied house now rented to a bank in one of the blind alleys of Lahore, and surely it is time that the site should be extricated from private possession by all the means at the disposal of the Archæological Department and its Government. I most earnestly appeal to the Punjab University and its Department of History to move immediately in the matter and to see that the Government does all that is needed to acquire the building. Rarely indeed are seen distinguished dead men's remains in the grasp of private persons and rarely do graves form part of the houses of non-descript people, and it is time that the grave of the founder of the Sultanate of Delhi should be held as a public trust. Coming to Delhi itself we find mausolea of some of the Shamsi, Lodi and other Sultans in varying stages of decay. Most of them have the misfortune of not being on or near the main arteries of New Delhi, with the result they are neglected and rarely visited. It is time that they should be connected with the main avenues by means of good cement roads and the growth of acacia jungle round about some of them be cleared.

The Early Mediæval Section, some problems of which you are about to discuss, is one of the most clearly demarcated periods of Indian history. Central Asia had been the home of successive waves of invaders from times immemorial, some of whom settled in this country and created distinct cultures in times gone by. But these invasions and settlements have now become almost prehistoric in their significance and their details have sunk into hoary oblivion. The two centuries preceding and the two succeeding the commencement of the second millennium of the Christian era were marked by the incursions of a new people who were not confined by limits of race or language but had charged themselves with the spreading of a new ideal and a new culture brought into being through words and acts of the unlettered Apostle of Arabia. The first waves of these people began to cross the Indus border early in the eighth century and were purely Arab in composition; but soon the infection was taken over by the virile Turki peoples of Central Asia who crossed the north-western passes of the Himalayas and swept over all that came in their way as far as the Gangetic Doab in the east and Gujarat in the south. These peoples of the cold and wintry highlands of Turkistan contented themselves with taking enormous amount of booty and carrying back with them artisans and skilful workers of Hindustan, and thus enriched their land both materially as well as from the æsthetic point of view. Some of them settled down in the fertile Land of the Five Rivers with its salubrious climate which at least in wintry months was not greatly different from their own land of birth. The early invasions from the north-west were followed by the final conquest of the ancient city of Delhi and the rich province of Bengal, and just as in the case of the invaders of days gone by—the Aryans and the rest—the desire to settle down in the country became irresistible and resulted in the foundation of the kingdom of Delhi by the Turkish manumitted slave Qutbu'd-din Aibak in 1206.

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This date is an important landmark in the history of India. Although the people of India had known the followers of Islam in different walks of life as traders, missionaries, learned men, *litterateurs* and conquerors they regarded them essentially as foreigners, who were out to exploit the people in various ways and then return home. But in 1206 these very invaders became a part of *the people* of the country, happy in its own climate, enjoying all that God had given to this land, sharing the economies of life with those who had come and made it their home before them. These votaries of the religion of Islam spread to the remotest corners of India, directly influencing the lives of the people in the far south, far east, and far west of India, not failing to be influenced themselves by those with whom they came in contact, and thus becoming the forerunners of the composite culture which was to be the distinguishing mark of the next epoch of Indian history. In the early days they came as one solid mass, but when they gradually spread over the length and breadth of India, the distances and individual peculiarities of the different parts of the country reacted on their personal proclivities and character with the result that their erstwhile sense of unity gave place to effective centrifugal tendencies which have been the marks of the history of India through tha ages. This led to the crumbling hegemony of Delhi resulting in the independent Muslim Sultanates of Kashmir, Jaunpur, Bengal, Gujrat, Malwa, Deccan, and Madura apart from the gradually rising power of resucitated Hindu dynasties of the east and south, chief of which were the Rayas of Vijayanagar and the Gajapatis of Orissa.

History now repeats itself and another branch of the Turki race, the Mongols or Mughals from Central Asia began to knock at the gate of India, finally destroying what was now the effete principality of Delhi at Panipat on the fateful day of April 12, 1526. The hordes which had made India their home three hundred years before had lost their virility, their sense of one-ness and their power of action, and were easily subdued by their more powerful kinsmen. This was another landmark in Indian history, although it was perhaps not of such a great import as the first foundation of the kingdom of Delhi ; for, in a sense it was but the direct sequal of the first contacts of cultures during the preceding three hundred years. The Mughals only carried the consequence further and sponsored the policy of intermixture with the people resulting in the comparative obliteration of differences in social; political and economic sphere of life. But this is a subject which goes beyond my purview to-day, as it is only the earlier part of this period—the period of the first direct contacts—which is covered by the first section of the Mediæval period.

It will thus be seen that the two main features of the history of India between 1206 and 1526 are : (1) the impact between the Turko-Muslim and the Indian cultures, first leading to mutual distrust but slowly breeding an atmosphere of gradual conciliation ; and (2) the decentralisation of cultures in the foundation of what might be termed Provincial dynasties. The phases of Hindu culture existing in western, central, eastern and southern India were as distinct from each other as

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any two cultures can be, and coupled with the vast difference in the percentages of Muslims in those parts, they produced distinct Indo-Muslim cultures and outlooks. Old animosities were revived without regard to the unity in the religion of the rulers and the aristocratic elements, and centrifugal tendencies had their full sway in politics as in art, language, literature, architecture, customs and habits of the people.

It is a pity that the fashion of giving very little importance to these kingdoms and their individual composite cultures, which perhaps showed the way to the cultural synthesis under the Mughals, still persists. There is no doubt that Zainu'l 'Abidin of Kashmir, Ibrahim Sharqi of Jaunpur, Nursat Shah of Bengal, Mahmud Khilji of Malwa, Bahadur Shah and Mahmud Begada of Gujarat, Taju'd-din Firoz and Mahmud Gawan of the Deccan were far greater personages than the later Tughluqs, Syeds and Lodis, and yet much more is made of these petty dynasties of Delhi than all of them taken together. The Persian chronicles of the period as well as the copper plates on which the history of the Hindu dynasties is based, gave full importance to those kingdoms, but dazzled perhaps by the brilliant epoch of the Mughals with its centripetal forces, succeeded by our own with its fad for extreme uniformity and even monotony of outlook, we have almost forgotten the great contribution which these kingdoms made to Indian culture. Laterly some scholars such as Prof. Hodivala, Mr. G. Yazdani, Dr. Nazim, Dr. L. H. Qureshi, Mr. M. Bashir Ahmad, I. C. S., Mr. S. M. Jaffar, Prof. Habib, Dr. P. Saran and Dr. I. N. Topa have done something towards making the culture and history of early Mediæval India better known to the modern student, while other eminent historians like the late Robert Sewell, the late Prof. R. D. Banerji, Diwan Bahadur Dr. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar, Khan Bahadur Prof. Commissariat, Rev. Father Heras, Dr. Venkata Ramnayya, Dr. Rama Rao and the Poona School of historians have brought to light the culture of the provincial kingdoms of the period under review. But the number of scholars working on the period is too small commensurate with its importance and far les attention is being paid to the history and civilisation of the three momentous centuries from 1206 to 1256 than is their due. I may be permitted to say that it was the thread of the culture evolved in the Provincial States and not at Delhi of the fifteenth century which was taken up by the Mughals and utilized by them to spin their own brilliant handwork, and I appeal to the distinguished scholars on this occasion to give this period as a whole as well as the provincial states the attention that is their due, if only in order better to understand the real significance of the Mughal rule. I would suggest to the Universities of this country that they have a duty to perform in respect of culture and civilisation of these states and this they can easily do with the special opportunities at their disposal. I am glad that the scholars of Delhi are doing useful researches in the history of the Delhi Sultanate and the Universities of Madras Presidency and Mysore are supporting work done on the culture of the Mediæval Hindu States of the south. As regards the Deccan I can say with full reponsibility that Hyderabad and the Osmania University are doing all they can to see that the history of

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Mediæval Deccan is better known. In the same way may I suggest in all humility that Calcutta University might specialise in the history of Mediæval Bengal, Bombay in the history of Mediæval Gujarat, Agra in the history of Mediæval Malwa, Benares in the history of the Sharqi kings, the Punjab in the history of Kashmir and Multan, and so on, and thus help to bridge the gulf which seems to exist between the ancient and Mughal periods ?

Ladies and gentlemen, I thank you for the consideration and patience with which you have listened to me to-day, and I hope and trust that the deliberations of this Section will lead to a better appreciation of the significance of the Mediæval India.

A HISTORICAL OUTLINE OF THE LATER TUGHLUQ AND THE SAYYID STYLE OF ARCHITECTURE IN INDIA.

BY

Dr. S. K. Bannerji, Lucknow University

The Sayyid style of architecture is an evolution from the preceding Tughluq style and in order to explain it, let us begin with a brief mention of the features of the earlier style. There were three noted kings in the Tughluq dynasty, its founder, the warlike Tughluq Shah, the quixotic Muhammad Shah and the pious Firuz Shah. All these rulers adopted the plain and sloping style of Egypt, the first making his buildings look cyclopean, the second elegant and artistic and the last rigidly plain bordering on ugliness. But Firuz, exercised great influence on his contemporaries and the following generations. Though the first as the warden of the marches was noted for his incessant wars with the invading Mongols, and as a patriot king was keenly interested in the welfare of his subjects, he made himself unpopular by coming into a clash with Nizamuddin Aulia, the principal saint of Delhi. The second, Muhammad Shah, found himself for the larger half of his reign at war with his own subjects and the people of all classes felt a relief at his death. Firuz Shah possessed the virtues of either; he was as keenly interested as his uncle Tughluq Shah in looking after his people and was also as deeply versed in Islamic lore as his cousin, Muhammad. There were other redeeming features in Firuz, for, instead of engaging in a quarrel with the Aulia's successor, Nasiruddin Awadhi, he was on the best of terms with him and unlike Muhammad, Firuz's erudition made him orthodox and pious. So his contemporaries adored him for his gentleness and piety even when in his last years he had withdrawn from an active share in administration and to pass his days in seclusion.

Such a saintly king, as would only be natural, left an indelible impression even in the field of architecture. The succeeding rulers and politicians overlooked the obvious defects of his buildings,—their unpretentious design and general ugliness,—they only slavishly imitated the style and were proud to be associated with whatever

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had been designed by the devout Firuz. For an illustration, it may be stated that the great Timur felt satisfaction in praying at the mosque of Kotla Firuz Shah and took back with him a copy of its plan for raising a similar work at Samarqand. Again, round the tomb of Firuz grew a large cemetry because his principlal subjects considered the ground consecrated by the burial of his godly master and so were eager to be buried in his neighbourhood.

So Firuz Shah's style of architecture was consciously adopted by his immediate successors. But as they were poverty-stricken mediocres, their buildings, though an imitation of Firuz's were of an unpretentious character and mostly have fallen with the lapse of time. The one mentioned by Sir J. Marshall as built in honour of Kabiruddin Aulia by Nasiruddin Muhammad Shah (1389-94) is claimed by Dr. A. M. Husain as the work of Muhammad Tughluq Shah who intended to be buried there after his death.[1] All the other buildings of the period have either been completely demolished or left to crumble to dust.

The reasons for the commonplace nature of the buildings are easily told. The several progeny of Firuz were quarrelling among one another and more than once do we find two crowned heads at the capital, one in the old Delhi and the other in the Kotla Firuz Shah. Also, the nobility, because of the large latitude that they had secured for themselves had formed different groups, supported one or the other of the pretenders and often controlled their master. Some of them while acting as governors of provinces detached themselves from the Delhi kingdom, *e. g.* Malik Sarwar entitled Khwaja Jahan Malik-us-Sharq in Jaunpur, Zafar Khan in Gujrat and Dilawar Khan or his son Hushang Shah in Malawa.

The dwindling Delhi kingdom had been further deprived of its wealth and power by Timur's invasion, for not only did he carry away the whole wealth of the capital but also annexed the Punjab to his world-wide empire.

After the Tughluqs, the Sayyids came in. The dynasty consisted of four kings of which the first, the most powerful of the lot, had considered himself Timru's deputy or his successor's and had refrained from assuming any royal title. So he is known merely as Khizr Khan[2] though for seven years he ruled in Delhi and in the latter part of his reign had even Khutba read in his name. He also refrained from issuing any coin and there are no remains of his building.

The second ruler, Sayyid Mubarak Shah, for eight years followed his father, Khizr Khan's policy of reading Khutba but refraining from

1. See 'The Cambridge History of India,' Vol. III, p, 593 and A. M. Husain :' The Rise and Fall of Muhammad bin Tughluq', 242. Marshall is mistaken in calling the Tughluq king Nasiruddin Mahmud and to make him reign for three years, 1389-92. See also Finshawe : 'Delhi Past and Present, p. 287.

2. Of course his successors remembered him as king, e. g., see Sayyid Muhammad Shah's coin No. 897 of Delhi museum or Nos. 534 and 535 of the Indian museum of Calcutta.

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stamping any coins in his name. But from almost the opening years he came into trouble with Jasrath Khokar, who had at one time obtained possession of Lahore and made a bid for the throne of Delhi. So failing in obtaining any help from his Turki chief or his agent, Shaikh Ali of Kabul, Mubarak assumed the royal titles of Sultan and Shah, still refraining from stamping any coin in his own name. The underlying policy in the assumption may have been to rally his subjects round himseif for otherwise they might feel divided in their loyalty for Mubarak and for the distant Turki suzerain. It was really after eight years of rule when he found that Shaikh Ali had definitely joined his enemies, that he assumed the second mark of royalty, *viz.*, the issue of coins calling himself Al-Sultan, Al-ghazi, Al-mutwakkil ala Rahman Mubarak Shah Al-sultan and the *naib* of the Amir-ul-muminin without putting down the name of the Amir[1]. Of course this resulted in a further series of wars ending in the murder ol the king five years later in 1434.

Though Mubarak Shah was a less powerful ruler than his father and due to the continuous drainage of resources in his wars commanded less wealth, he has to his credit several public works. He built his father's mausoleum on the bank of the Jamna near the modern pleasur-resort, Okhla ; founded the city of Mubarakabad and in his last year fearing the fatal consequences of his numerous wars raised his own mausoleum in 1433 A. D[2]. It is built on the model of the Tilangani tomb, *i. e.*, is octagonal in shape with a colonnade round the mortuary chamber, has three arches on each of the eight sides, also a central dome supported at each corner by eight subsidary structures and is of the Tughlaq sloping style. But Mubarak Shah's age though in political decadence ushered in more freedom in thought and art[3]. The Hindu artists while keeping to the deadening model of Firuz's time were left free to introduce improvements in the details. For instance, in comparing Mubarak's mausoleum with that of its prototype one notices that the chief defects of the latter—the low arches of the verandah, the squatting domes both central and subsidary and the want of symmetry and finish—have been removed. Height has been added to the verandahs, the central dome is fuller and the subsidiary domes, almost invisible from below, have been substituted by pillared kiosks and buttressed piers have been added at the outer angles of the building. Mubarak was not content with these. He embellished it further with encausted tilling —rather sparingly—and also with pinnacles (guldastas) at the angles

1. See N. Wright : The coins of the Sultans of Delhi, pp. 231 and 239. According to the author of the Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi, who was a contemporary of Mubarak, the latter was called Bandagi-i-Rayat-i-Ali or simply Rayat-i-Ali till 835 when he took the title of Shah, Badshah and Sultan. See E. J. Series pp. 225-6. According to the Tabaqat-i-Akbari, he took the royal title immediately after ascending the throne. See N. K. ed. p. 136. Farishta agrees with Nizamuddin Ahmad.

2. From his mausoleum, the neighbouring village takes the name Mubarakpur.

3. This was the age of Ramnaud and Kabir followed by that of Nanak and Chaitanya.

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of the drum of the central dome and in place of the usual finial, placed an arched lantern. Altogether, Mubarak Shah's tomb indicates a welcome advance on the gloomy Tughluq style.

The next king, a more faded figure had in addition to his predecessor's difficulties to face the advent of a large number of the Afghans under their redoubtable leader, Buhlul Lodi, in the Punjab and the attacks from the rulers of Jaunpur and Malwa. The fact was that Sayyid Muhammad Shah was devoid of courage and manliness and so appeared lustreless by the side of Buhlul or Mahmud Khalji of Malwa. The disorder had increased to such an extent that at the time of his death his kingdom had shrunk to a small trace of some eighty miles in length.

The next king, Alauddin, though styled Alam Shah, the lord of the world, had hardly any territory to rule and a contemporary distich describes him as

بادشاهی شاه عالم — از دهلي تا پالم

"The kingdom of the lord of the world

(stretched) from Delhi to Palam"

Palam being a village about nine miles south-west of Delhi[1]. His main problem was to keep himself aloof from the more active and determined rival, the Afghan chief, and when in 1451 the continued encroachments on his small principality made it inevitable for the Sayyid ruler[2], he retired to Badaun resigning the capital and the crown to his inexorable rival. Buhlul, who had been styled son by Muhammad Shah and elder brother by Alam Shah, was content with his success and allowed the latter to sink quietly into his grave at Badaun.

Alam Shah is remembered for further improvements introduced in the Sayyid style of architecture. His chief contribution is the Mausoleum of his father in Khairpur[3]. Though of the usual Tilangani type, he made the dome still fuller, increased the height of the drum of the dome and of the kiosks and added a second row of pinnacles at the angles of the terrace. He also added at the top of the dome a beautiful lotus finial, termed *mahapadam* by the Hindu architects and made a more copious use of the blue enamelled tiling probably borrowed from Iran. The subdued surface ornamentation incised on plaster and embellishments in colour on the interior as well as the exterior and the deep dripstone

1. See Keene : History of India, Vol. I, p. 70, footnote. The Cambridge History of India, Vol. III, applies this to Mahmud Lodi with a slight variation of the words. See p. 205. Both were weak and landless kings.

2. Both he and his father, Muhammad called themselves Al-khalifa or naib of the Amir-ul-muminin See coins of the Delhi Museum, nos. 898, 904, 905 A, 917, 920 and 921.

3. Both Ferguson and Marshall give a picture of the mausoleum, but the former could not identify it. Besides the latter, Finshawe mentions it correctly. See Finshawe : Delhi past and present, p. 244. Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan thinks it was built in 1543 see the Asar-us-Sanadid, p. 52.

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resting on heavy corbels are the other noticeable features and proclaim the revival of the Hindu elements and their happy fusion with the Muslim.

As Alam Shah was the last ruler of the Sayyid dynasty, it will be profitable to sum up the progress of architecture in the Sayyid period :

1. The tombs of the two Sayyid rulers discussed here were modelled on that of the Tilangani Khan Jahan, built in Firuz Shah's reign.

2. In Mubarak Shah's tomb not only are the blemishes of its prototype removed but also improvements effected by adding a beautiful lantern as a pinnacle and making a free use of plaster ornamentation. The low subsidiary domes were subsituted by guldastas and pillared kiosks.

3. Alam Shah, though one of the most insignificant of the rulers of Delhi, introduced the second series of improvements. He made a much freer use of the enamelled tiling, introduced the *mahapadma*, the dripstone resting on corbels and 'a few other Hindu and semi-Hindu motifs.'

4. The Sayyid period forms one of the few links between the ultra-plain and inelegant Tughluq and the truly graceful Mughal style. Under more zealous and orthodox Muslim kings, the deviation would not have been permitted. When it was once introduced by the Sayyids, the next group of rulers, the Lodis, convinced that the improvements were on the right lines went on with other additions and people gradually became reconciled to these embellishments in the domain of architecture. When the Mughals came, of course they took to them with zest, made contributions and enabled their works to reach a much greater perfection.

5. The lack of political power in the Sayyids rulers led them to take a more lenient view of art and architecture. It was the same lack of political power in the rulers that allowed the sufistic or Vaishnava preachers like Ramananda and Kabir to come into prominence and preach to the masses on entirely new lines. Under an autocratic Alauddin or ultra-pious Firuz[1] this might not have been possible. The same reason may partly be assigned to the developements of the vernaculars in the Punjab and Delhi province. Under a more centralized and unsympathetic government, only the court languages would have had a chance to flourish.

1. He burnt a Brahman because of his publi cworship of idols in his house. See Afif in Elliot and Dowson's History of India, Vol. III, p. 365.

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THE IBAHATIYAHS.

BY

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Khusraw mentions this sect in the Khaza'in-u'l-futuh. (Text p. 21) and gives a few details about them: "it was discovered that among these shameless wretches, mothers had cohabited with their own sons and aunts (mothers' sisters) with their nephews; that the father had taken his daughter for his bride and there had been connection between brothers and sisters." (Professor Muhammad Habib's translation, p. 127.)

Professor Habib says in a foot note; "By the 'fraternity of incest' is meant the Carmathians, Isma'ilis and other Shi'ah 'heretics' of the sect of seven *imams*, whom the 'orthodox' Sunnis accused of permitting marriages within prohibited degrees and of practising incest in their secret assemblies. The charge, whether right or wrong, was generally believed."

This sect is also mentioned by Firuz Shah in his 'Futuhat-i-Firuz-Shahi' (pp. 7, 8) in the following words: "Besides, a group of mulhids and Ibahatiyahs had come together and persuaded people to accept *ilhad* and *ibahat*. They gathered at a fixed place on a night where near relations and strangers met, ate food and drank intoxicating drinks in company and called this worship. They made an image and induced people to prostrate themselves before it. They brought together their wives, mothers and sisters during that night and they drew lots of the garments of the assembled women and whichsoever women's garment a man drew, he cohabited with her. I beheaded their leaders who were Shi'ahs and imprisoned, exiled or punished others so that their mischief was completely eradicated from the dominions of Islam."

It is noteworthy that the phrase "who were Shi'ahs" does not occur in all the manuscripts (*vide* editor's note on p. 8). This phrase seems to be a later interpolation.

The reason why the sect has been identified by some scholars with the Isma'ilis is that they were accused of similar practices. They had adopted secret methods of propaganda from the Manicheans and Mazdakis. They did not disclose the place or time of their assemblies to the un-initiated and an air of mystery surrounded all their activities. Hence they were very often unjustly confused with the Manicheans and the Mazdakis (Kitab-u'l-milal wa'nnahl ed. Cureton, p. 147). The Mazdakis believed in extreme communism which included the doctrine of sharing wives as well. There is no proof that the followers of Qaramat or any other section of the Isma'ilis believed in incest. Indeed there are reasons to believe that such accusations are baseless.

So far as the sect mentioned in the Futuhat-i-Firuzshahi is concerned it could not have been any section of the Isma'ilis. Firuz

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Shah treats the Shi'ahs in a separate paragraph. Besides, he mentions clearly that the Ibahatiahs made an image and worshipped it. No one has ever accused the Isma'ilis of idolatory.

The parallel passage in Sirat-i-Firuzshahi (p. 146) adds to our information. It runs as follows : "The officials of the city stated before the Imperial throne, may God make its dominion eternal, that a group of the Mulhids and Ibahatiyahs have appeared in the city and persuade people to join their false religion. They have an appointed day when they gather at a place fixed for the purpose. They plaster the ground with cowdung and in accordance with the custom of idolators scatter rice and flower on it. They, then ask the person whom they want to convert into a follower to prostrate himself on the ground, teach him formulae of infidelity, and ask him to repudiate Islam and to say that he has become their follower. That night they collect their daughters, wives, mothers and sisters and give them pork to eat and wine to drink. Then the lamp is put out and they take off the garments of the women. Every one then pulls out a garment ; cohabits with the woman to whom the garment belongs, even though she may be his own mother, sister or daughter."

It is quite obvious that the customs of plastering the ground with cowdung and throwing rice and flowers on it are not Muslim. Nor does any section of the Muslims consider pork to be clean. There is a casual mention of this sect on p. 59 which shows clearly that the Ibahatiyahs were not Isma'ilis: "The inhahitabnts of the land of Jajnagar are all polytheists, eternal wine-bibhaers, great drunkards, idolators, Ibahati Mulhids. These Mulhids have taken images for their gods and in every city they have a temple. The more famous of these is Jagannath," This reference makes ite. quite clear that the Ibahatyahs were a sect of the Hindus. Professor Hodivala is right in identifying this sect with the Vama-margi or Vama-chari section of the Shaktas. The Tantaras constitute the scriptures of this sect and the essential requisites of Tantric worship are the five Makaras, wine, flesh, fish, mystical gestculations and sexual intercourse. These Vama-Margis or Vama-charis worship the female principle, not only symbolically but in actual woman and promiscuous intercourse is said ro constitute a necessary part of the orgies. The garments mentioned by the Sultan is the female devotee's *choli* or *kancholi*, *i. e.*, bodics (H. H. Wilson : Religious sects of the Hindus. Works ad. Rost I, pp. 254-263). Mr. Crooke says that one division of the Vama-margis is known as Choli-margis because they make the women place in a jar their bodices, the owners of which are then allotted by chance to the male worshippers. The ceremony is called "Bhairavi-Chakra (Tribes and castes, I, pp. 136-137)" (Studies in Indo-Muslim History, p. 342).

The followers of the sect still exist in various parts of India. They seem to have been particularly strong in Orissa (Jagnagar of Muslims historians) at the time of Firuz Shah's invasion. That they were not known in other parts of India is also certain. They find mention in the Dabistan-i-Madhahib as one of the religious sects of Shah Jahan's time.

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Professor Hadivala, however, curiously contradicts himself on p. 282 (Studies in Indo-Muslim History) where he is inclined to believe that the Ibahatiyahs were Ismailis. It is true that here he is discussing the Ibahatiyahs in the reign of 'Ala-u'd-Din Khalji, but it is unlikely that the term should have changed its significance in such a short time.

Baranî (p. 336) says that Ibahatiyahs and Bodhagan appeared in the city در شهر بودهگان و اباحتیان پدید آمدند Professor Hodivala thinks that Bodhagan is a misprint for Borhagan (plural of Borah. The Bohras are a sect of the Isma'ilis). This conclusion is based on the assumption that the Ibahatiyahs were Ismai'lis, an assemption which the Professor himself discards in his comments on the translation of Futuhat-i-Firuz-shahi in Elliot and Dowson. (Studies in Indo-Muslim History, p. 342). There is no difficulty in understanding and interpreting the word Bodhagan. Blochmann (T. A. S. B., 1870 p. 51 note) did not have all the date before him. The Ibahatyahs were a Tantric sect; Tantrism was a common feature of the later day Mahayana Budhism in its debased form. The Muslim chronicler, therefore, considered the Vama-charis to be Budhists, hence Barani uses the term Bodhagan (or Budhists) for this sect. The term Ibahatiyah has been used as a synonym to convey some idea of the customs of this sect to Muslim readers.

"ASHIQAH" OF AMIR KHUSRAU.

BY

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At the Calcutta Session of the History Congress a paper was read in which an attempt was made to show that the 'Ashiqa of Amir Khusrau' is not a historical Masnawi, and that it is a pure fiction of the type of Laila O Majunun or Shirin O Farhad. The main line of argument was that the incident has not been mentioned either by a contemporary historian like Barani, or by any subsequent writer like Yahiya, to be worthy of credence. There is, however, the suggestion of a certain Hindi writer Jagan Lal Gupta that Ashiqa was written to abuse and humiliate Raja Karan and Deval Devi.

Three questions press themselves to the attention of a serious student. Is 'Ashiqa' a historical Masnawi ? Is the love-story of Khizr Khan and Deval Devi a figment of the imagination of Amir Khusrau ? Did the poet write merely to denounce a Hindu Raja and his daughter ? Convincing answers to these questions are to be found in the poem itself.

Without attempting the definition of a historical Masnawi, it may be pointed out that Ashiqa is full of references to numerous historical events. The story of the Conquest of India by Muizzuddin bin Sam,

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and the account of the Slave dynasty have been beautifully comprised in a style in which sequence and accuracy have not been sacrificed in favour of poetical licence. The respective periods of the reigns of Ruknuddin Firuz, Razia, Balban, Masaud, Nasiruddin Mahmud and Kaiqubad have been correctly indicated. But as the poet was writing in the time of Alauddin, he has omitted to mention the events relating to the tragedy of the last ruler of the so-called Slave Dynasty, and the part played in it by the first Khilji ruler. The disappearance of the former is justified in the line :

چو بود این طفل درکارے جهان خام * جهان بر پخته کارے یافت ارام

As to Jalaluddin, he is full of praise for him *e. g.*

هزبرے بود هنگام جوانی * نموده بر هژ براں پهلوانی

His exploits as the Governor of Multan have been detailed at length *e. g.* the invasion of Ghazni, the defeat of the Moghals, *e. g.*

بترکستان چناں هندي نموده * که از ترکان بهندي جان بوده

and the suppression of Kokhars

جو زانجا باز ایں سو رخ نهاده * بقتل کهکراں بازود نهاده

But the end of Jalal is summed up as :

غرض چوں دور آں دولت بسرشد * سپهر ملک را دور دگرشد

And when at last the poet comes to the contemporary period he becomes more eloquent as well as informative. He says that Alauddin was the son of Shihabuddin Masaud, brother of Firuz

دو در بود ایں سرائے تاج شاهي * زیک باراں و از یک گوش ماهي
ازاں روشن شهاب چرخ حقدار * علاءالدین و دنیا شد پدیدار

And although the episode of the murder of Jalal has been omitted, the date of Alauddin's accession has been given :

زروزه رفته نصفے با بهین فال * زهجرت ششصد و پنج و نود سال
که در دولت شد از عون شاهی * نما نکپور تخت ارائے شاهي

and so also the new Sultan's method of weanning away the supporters of Ruknuddin Ibrahim who had been proclaimed at Delhi.

مُوک و خاني زاندازه برون بود * که هر یک تخت دهلی راستون بود
اگر چه بود بخشش را سکونے * کز انبوه ستون بد بے ستونی
زبانگ زر که در رقص آورد پاے * برقص آورد ستونها جمله از جاے
ستونها چوں سوئے تخت که گر راند * زارکان تخت رکني بے ستوں ماند

The coronation ceremony at Delhi was celebrated on

شمار ماه ذی‌الحجه دو و بیست * بر آں طالع که در دولت توان زیست
بدولت خانهٔ دهلي در آمد * به تخت ملک در دولت بر آمد

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This is followed by the discription of Ulugh Khan's campaign to Multan (p. 58) and the account of the repulse of succession of Mongol invasions, led by Qutlugh Khwajah, Turhi, Tartaq and Ali Beg, Iqbalmandah and Kabh, one after the other. Then the poet turns to the conquests in India. Gujrat, Ranthambhor, Chitor, Malwa and the Deccan fell before the royal arms. And Amir Khusrau's sequence of events is fairly correct. Therefore, a poem which yields so much historical information may justly be styled a historical masnavi.

It may be asked that if the object of the poet was merely to produce a versified and fictitious romance where was the need of making it replete with so many accurate historical details ? One answer which may suggest itself to the critics of 'Ashiqa' is that this was a device to make the description realistic. But such a contention involves the presumption that Amir Khusrau was devoid of the power of imagination which is not a fact. There is no doubt that he wanted to write the love story of Prince Khizr Khan, and with the help of his genius to impart to it an appeal which may raise it to a very high standard of feeling and sentiment. But although romance is there, it is based on fact, and not in pure fiction.

It is inconceivable that in the life time of Khizr Khan the leading poet of the age should have dared to exploit his name in a manner that ill-fitted the dignity and status of the Crown Prince. Besides this, Amir Khusrau clearly says that he composed this Masnawi at the instance of Khizr Khan who supplied him with the outlines of the story, of

ز تو خواهم که ایں افسانه راز * که کرد از زخمهائے آسینه در باز
چناں سنجي ز بهر ایں دل تنگ * که در میزان دلها کم شود سنگ
دل مرده حیات از سر پذیرد * و گر کس زنده دل باشد بمیرد
بفرمود آنگهے کان نامه درد * نهاني محرمے سوئے من آورد

These lines dispose of the suspicion that Elliot has been responsible for the error of supposing 'Ashiqa to be a true story.

As to this episode having been omitted by the contemporary historian like Barani and later historians like Yahiya and Nizamuddin and others, it may be urged that they were writing history and not romances. And also that Khizr Khen having played no important role in contemporary politics, his figure and the details of his private life were not matters of much significance to them.

There is, however, another test which may be applied to ascertain the varacity of the event. Do the facts narrated by the poet fit in with the authentic details related by other historians ? According to Amir Khusrau the Sultan ordered Ulugh Khan Muazzam to lead a campaign to the countries on the sea-shore :

الغخان معظم را بفرمود * که لشکر جانب دریا کشد زود

The general succeeded in the enterprise. He defeated Rai Karan and during the pursuit that followed

سپه دنبال کرد آن محترم را * ستد زان کعبه گبران حرم را
حرمهاے مہیں رائے والد * سراپا غرقه در لو کوئے لا لا
بدست افتاد باپیل و خزانه * حبابے بر شد از رانی و رانه
بتانے فی ستاره دید نے ماه * نه چشم بد در ایشان یافته راه
سراں جمله خوبان گل اندام * پری روے که کملادی بدش نام

So far, every incident related above finds confirmation in the works, with the exception of the name of Karan's wife which has been omitted by Barani very likely because he was weak in Hindu names, or perhaps because he knew that the details had been given by his predecessor, the poet-historian. But he does say that the wives and daughters of Karan fell into the hands of the invaders. Yahiya mentions the event very summarily. His remarks are confined to the defeat of the Raja and his flight towards Somnath.

Nizamuddin who is otherwise a very discreet writer is in this particular case very confused. He writes that

راے کرن ضالط نهر واله گریخته آمده
بوالی دیو گیرد کهنی ببوست و زنان و دختراو دولرانی نام با خزانه و پیل
و هرچه داشت در دست لشکر افتاد

The reference to Devalrani shows that the historian has consulted Amir Khusrau, but by an error of judgment has omitted the name of the wife given by the poet. He has also given a wrong date of the recovery of the princess. The suggestion that the version of the Tabaqat-i-Akbari is a verbatim repetition of Barani written with an incautious interpolation of the name دیوالرانی is not very convincing. Nor can we believe that دیوالرانی was not a princess because Nizamuddin has very definitely called her دختر او *i. e.*, his (کرن) daughter.

Badauni has emphatically acknowledged his debt to the Parrot of India". He has consulted the latter works. He calls خزائن الفتوح to be a 'marvel of literature' (p. 252 Ranking). Farishta has repeated all the details, and he places the recovery of Deval Devi in 1306 A. D. when Malik Naib and Khwaja Haji were appointed to lead a campaign to the Deccan.

Thus inspite of some divergence in the versions of various historians it is hard to deny the existence of Devalrani or to reject the evidence of Amir Khusrau completely.

The Gujrat campaign occurred in 1299. This was the year when Kamla Devi was separated from her two daughters, the elder one died, and the younger one, an infant of six months somehow survived. She

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grew under the fostering care of her father and when she was seven or eight years of age

در ندم بود خان ده سالهٔ راست * که این هنگامه شادیش برخاست
دولراني بقدر هفت ساله * که هفته ماه را بسته کلا که

Alauddin appointed Malik Kafur and Khwaja Haji to bring Ram Deo to the path of loyalty. It was at this time that Kamla Devi pleaded with the Sultan to get back her young child from the custody of her former husband.

Rai Karan was living at Baglan under the protection of Ram Deo. Alauddin first made an attempt to win over the Rai and suggested matrimonial alliance between his son Khizr Khan who was at this time aged ten and the baby Deval Devi who was junior to the prince by two years. The Rai was inclined to fall in with the suggestion, but the Sultan changed his mind suddenly,

دریں اثنائے چنان شد شاه را رائے * که بستند ازان رائے کرن جائے
در آنسو نام زد گشتند در دم * الغخان مغظم پنچمیں هم

On the approach of the royal army the Rai stricken with terror hastened towards Deogir, when he received a proposal from Shanker Deva for the hand of his daughter. The bearer of this proposal was Bhim Deva, brother of Shanker. Both these names have been mis-spelt by the poet as Shanker Deo and Bhilam Deo. Finding himself between the devil and the deep sea Karan agreed to send his daughter to Deogir, but she was intercepted by the imperial army on the way.

Such is the version of Amir Khusrau. There arise a few difficulties in believing it literally. The first of them is the tender age of the prince and princess. Unless it be accepted that Khiljis under the pressure of native influence had gradually adopted the practice of child marriage it would be hard to accept the statements of the poet. But very likely, it was not the proposal for actual marriage, but only for betrothal, which ceremony among the upper classes was performed at an early age.

The next important question is : 'Could two children of such a small age fall so madly in love with each other, as has been depicted by the poet ? To this it may be said that though sex impulse could not here developed, certainly even at such tener age children do feel attracted towards each other. Their friendship may later, ripe into love :

بیکجا خورد شان بودے جدا خوّاب * نخوردندے دمي بے یکدگر آب

Nevertheless it will have to be admitted that in the description of this particular phase the poet has allowed himself the fullest freedom, and has let his imagination soar to the heights of feeling and sentiment, as also passion.

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The Sultan being a strict disciplinarian did not like to have any scandal about the heir-apparent

به سلطان میرسید از هر جریده * نسیم آن بهار نو رسیده
که بادش درپے غنچه شگافیست * ولے ابر حیا در پرده با فیست

and he suggested to the Queen the desirability of betrothing Khizr to the daughter of Alp Khan, a suggestion that was accepted. The marriage ceremony was performed in 1311

کشاده گویم ایں تاریخ ابجد * بسال یازده از بعد هفصد
بروز چار شنبه سد و بیت * ز روزه خلق اندر بهتري زیست
قمر در قوس جا در خواست کرده * کمان خدمتي را راست کرده

At this time the prince was about 22 years of age and Deval Devi was about 19 years of age, aud the existence of passionate love between the two cannot altogether be ruled out. Being a Gujrati she must have been extremely handsome, though Khusrau's exaggerated praise cannot be accepted at its face value. Ultimately Khizr Khan was married to the object of his love on the recommendation of the Malikah-i-Jahan :

شد اندر مجلس با نوے آفاق * بروں زد شعلۂ زان دود عشاق
بزاري گفت کاے در پرده شاه * ز نور خود فگنده پردۂ بر ماه
زمهر شه بلندت باد پایه * ز ظل ایزدت بر فرق سایه
کجا شاید که بااین تخت شاهي * بود فرزندت اندر سینه کاهي
نهاني جست فرمانے زدرگاه * که فرماید قرآن زهره با ماه

The ceremony was performed very unostantatiously, only very intimate and near relatives being present on the occasion. And the poet concludes this chapter with prayers :

بماں تا محشر اے روز جواني * که خوش گیریم ذرق زندگانی
بماں اے عمر ناپیندۂ جاوید * که نوش جان کشم از جام امید
دگر من نیستم جاوید بنیاد * خضر خان در زمانه جاودان باد

But so touched was Amir Khusrau by the tragic end of Khizr Khan that he made a later addition to the poem to recount the events relating to the life of the prince. The serious illness of Alauddin ;

تغیر یافت رے اندر مزاجش * تشتند اهل دانش در علاجش

the vow of Khizr Khan :

خصر خاں کو تہالے بود زان باغ * چو لاله داشت زان غم بر جگرداغ
بر سم نذر گفت ارزبه شود شاه * پیاده در زیار تہا کنم راه

the intrigue of Malik Kafur Hazardinari

بفتنه راست کرداند یشه خویش * بحضرت رفت بے اندیشه درپیش
برون داد انچناں راز نہاں را * که باور شد دل شاه جہاں را

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the murder of Alp Khan :

الپ خان را گوزنے ساخت باشیر * زد اول نیش وانگے راند شہیر

his exilement to Amrohah :

جو ازکار الپ خان سینه پرداخت * سبک تدبیر کار خضر خن ساخت
با مروهه نشیں با لشکر خویش * که بر کوه از مائي خنجر خویش

his internment at Gawalior,

چراغ ملک را برد آں شبا نگاه * بحصین گوالیر از منظر شاه

the encouraging company of Deval Rani there,

ز بے سنگي شد چشمش چودرپاش * دولراني دلش دادي که خوش باش

the Death of Alauddin

ز شوال آمده هفتم پیاپے * سنه هفصد سے پنجي برسروے
کزیں دیر میل آں شه آفاق * برون از هفت گنبد بردشش طاق

the blinding of Khizr Khan by the slave Sumbul,

سبک نامهر بانے را روان کرد * که بے مهري کند تا میتواں کرد
شتابد مهر آنسو بتعجیل * که نور دیده شه را کشد میل

and the seizing of Deval Rani by Khusrau (pp. 274-6) have been very eloquently described by the poet in proper sequence.

Now to advert to the last point. A poet who could write about India and things Indian in the following lines can hardly be accused of the devilish desire of traducing Karan, a fallen prince. Moreover he had no grudge against him, as he had against the Moghals.

غلط کردم گر از دانش روي دم * نه لفظ هندیست از پارسی کم
کسے کز گنگ هندستان بود دور * زنیل و دجله لافدست معذور
چو در چین دید بلبل بوستان را * چه داند طوطي هندوستان را
بهشتے فرض کن هندوستان را * کزانجا نسبتے است ایں بوستان را

SOMNAT AS NOTICED BY ARAB GEOGRAPHERS

BY

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The account of Somnat which follows is taken from the books of Arab Geographers dating from the 10th century. It is from the tenth century A. D. that we observe the development of a literary geographical school which was to exert a lasting influence on succeeding generations of writers, Muslim as well as Christian. The conquests of Islam and greater intercourse with foreign countries have enriched the knowledge of Arab and Muslim writers from the 10th century onwards.

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Biruni (970-1039 A. D.) a client of the Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni and a Persian by race was the greatest geographer of his age. His famous description of India is unparallelled. In stating the distances from one city to another he says that marching from Bazana, towards the south-west you come to Somnat on the sea coast (50 parasangs); Kach and Barvi to Somnat (14 parasangs). Somnat to Kanbaya is thirty parasangs. The pirates of Kach and Somnat are called Bawarij, because they commit their robberies on sea sailing in ships called Bira.

After Biruni no geographer makes mention of Somnat till we come to Yaqut (1179-1229 A. D.). Yaqut, in his big geographical dictionary which gives all geographical names in alphabetical order, says that Somnat is the most famous temple in the whole of India for the Hindus. It is analogous to the city of Makka with the Muslims.

Qazwini (1203=1283 A. D.) is the author of a cosmography and geography. He gives a long account about Somnat.

Somnat, a celebrated city in Hind, is situated on the shore of the sea and washed by its waves. Among the wonders of that place was the temple with the idol called Sumnat placed in the middle of it without any prop. It was held in great veneration by the Hindus; whoever beheld it floating in the air was overwhelmed with wonder whether he was a Muslim or an infidel.

The Hindus used to go on a pilgrimage to that temple whenever there was an eclipse of the moon, and assembled there in large numbers, more than a hundred thousand. They believed that souls of departed men meet there after separation from their body, and the idol incorporated the souls with other bodies in accordance with the doctrine of transmigration. The ebb and flow of the tide was considered to be reverent homage paid by the sea to the idol. All kinds of precious articles were presented to the idol by way of offering; the temple also derived permanent income from more than ten thousand villages.

There is a river[1] held sacred among the Hindus at a distance of two hundred parasangs from Somnat, and every day the idol is washed with the water brought from that river. One thousand Brahmans were employed for the temple services, and for attending upon pilgrims; five hundred damsels danced to music, and sang the praises of the deity. All these were maintained by the income from the temple endowments.

The edifice rested upon fifty-six pillars of teak wood, covered with lead. The sacrarium which was dark, was lighted by jewelled chandelier of great value. A gold chain weighing two hundred *manns* was hung near the sacrarium. When a part of the night was finished, this chain was shaken quickly to wake up a fresh batch of Brahmans for service.

When Sultan Yaminu'd-Dawla Mahmud ibn Subuktagin went out to wage war with India, he exerted sternously to capture and destroy Somnat hoping that Hindus would become Muslims. He reached

1. Perhaps the river Ganges is meant by the author.

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Somnat in the middle of Dhu'l-Qada of the year 416 A. H. (December, 1025 A. D.) The Hindus offered desperate resistance. They would go into the temple weeping and wailing and then come out and fight till all were killed. The number of the slain exceeded fifty-thousand.

The Sultan looked upon the idol with amazement and gave orders for plundering of the temple treasures. There were many idols of gold and silver, and vessels set with jewels, which had been sent there as presents by great personages of India. The value of things found in the temple exceeded twenty-thousand dinars.

When the Sultan asked his companions what they had to say about the marvel, how the idol was floating in the air without any support, several asserted that it was suspended by some hidden support. The Sultan directed a man to go and strike down the whole area with a spear. But the man met with no obstacle. One of the companions stated that the canopy was made of lead-stone, and the idol, of iron and the ingenious architect had contrived skillfully that the magnet should not exercise a greater force on any one side.—Hence the idol was hanging up in mid-air. With this view some agreed, while others differed. Then permission was obtained from the Sultan to remove a few stones from the canopy to settle the dispute. When two stones were removed from the summit, the idol swerved in the air; some more stones were taken away and the idol went off further in changed direction until at last it came to the ground.

Dimishqi (verse 1325 A. D.) gives the account that Somnat is a spacious city on the sea-coast. Among its inhabitants there are many learned Hindus and devotees. Its port is full of ships that reach there from Aden.

There is a temple in this city and the celebrated idol is worshipped by Hindus. The idol represents the genitals of man and women; it is made of stone, or of gold, or of iron. It is placed on a throne of gold, anointed with musk, and ornamented with necklaces of various kinds of precious gems and pearls, while gold vases filled with stones of great value are arranged in front of it. The throne itself rests on a dais large enough for ten men. The dais is reached by a set of nine stairs, each one containing an idol. Most of the idols represent kings or illustrious men.

One thousand measures are cooked daily and offered hot to the idol in temple. Young unmarried women play on cymbals, stringed musical inustruments and blow trumpets of brass or of shell or of horn. At the time of offering the food they close the doors lest the vapour going up from the hot food should escape, and they say that this vapour is the food for the idol and for the departed souls which surround the idol. Then the gates are opened and the food is distributed among the ministers in religion of both the sexes, the poor and the infirm.

Abul-Fida (1273-1331 A. D.) assigns Somnat to the second climate. He says that it is a city in the territory of pirates and it has a well-known

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idol. This town was subjugated by Mahmud ibn Subuktagin who broke the idol there as related in history.

Quoting from Qanun he gives the longitude as 97°—10′ and latitude as 22°—15′

It is said in Qanun that Somnat is on the coast in the land of pirates.

Ibn Said[1] says that Somnat is well-known in the mouths of navigators. It is one of the cities of the Jazrat (Gazerat) also known as the country of al-Lar. It is situated on the side of land which projects into the sea, which is dashed upon by ships from Aden, because it is not a bay. One notices a delta whose alluvium descends from the big mountain to the north east of the town.

PARTY STRIFE IN THE BAHMANI EMPIRE

(A Restatement)

BY

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Introductory:—Abul Mazaffar 'Ala-ud-din Bahman Shah, founder of the Bahmani Empire, had divided his kingdom into four provinces termed 'tarafs' and placed them under separate governors designated 'tarafdars'[2]. These provincial governors enjoyed great powers. In their respective dominions they were supreme. "They collected the revenue, raised and commanded the army and made all appointments both civil and military in their provinces."[3] The system worked smoothly as long as it had behind it the momentum of a strong personality—either of the king himself or of an able minister like Mahmud Gavan. But when it became rigid and the 'tarafdars' acquired local prestige, it became difficult even for a strong minister like Mahmud Gavan to cope with its separatist tendencies.

The progress of these centrifugal forces was further accentuated by the conflicting claims of the Deccani and Pardesi Muhammadans and their faction fights at the Bahmani court. In fact the most remarkable feature of Deccan politics during the days of the latter Bahmani kings, was the perpetual strife between these Deccani and Pardesi nobles. The mutual hatred nursed by both parties flashed into flame, and the political strife arising from it assumed serious dimensions in the reign of 'Al-ud-din Ahmad Shah (1436-1458) and remained a source of danger ever after in the history of the Deccan Sultanates. Indeed this insane

1. Abul-Fida has given his information from Ibn Said and Qanun, the most valuable work for astronomy and geography written by Biruni Cd. 1037 A. D.

2. Ferishta I., 532-33.

3. Cambridge History of India, III, 383.

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rivalry was primarily responsible for the disintegration of the Bahmani kingdom.

Deccani-Pardesi Origins :—The question next arises, what was it that divided these parties and led to the clash of their interests ? To go to the root of this problem we have to analyse the composition of the ruling class, the Muhammadan aristocracy. By about the middle of the fifteenth century this class had split itself into rival groups, the Deccanis and the Pardesis or Newcomers.[1] The Deccanis were the domiciled Muhammadans. No doubt they had originally come from outside the Deccan. But a stay in the Deccan extending over generations had changed their manners, ways of living and outlook of life, and had even altered their complexions. Thus, for instance, the Muhammadans of the Naviyat clan in the Konkan[2] had in the process of time become completely Deccanised. They came to the Konkan from Arabia in the latter half of the eighth century and after the lapse of a hundred years began to consider themselves as natives of the Deccan.[3] Also the descendants of the Muslims whom Bahman Shah, the first Bahmani Emperor, entertained in his services had a century later, become natives of the country, and had no longer any extra-territorial interests. Many of them had native blood in their veins, for a number of the Muslim invaders originally coming into the Deccan had married women belonging to the country. This class also contained Hindu converts to Islam. Fathullah 'Imad Shah, the founder of the 'Imadshahi' dynasty of Berar and Ahmad Nizam Shah, who established the Sultanate of Ahmadnagar, were both originally Brahmins.[4] Naturally, therefore, the Deccanis looked upon their native land, as their particular preserve and viewed with suspicion every foreigner entering the Deccan as a future rival and a possible competitor for a position at court and a placed iu the king's favour.

The Newcomers, as their name implied, were not natives of the Deccan; year by year they came into the country from abroad in increasing numbers. The Bahmani kings made it a matter of policy to employ these foreign adventurers freely in their army and a continuous supply of these, mostly solidiers, poured into the country. A number of them came for trade and like traders of a later age, found it to their advantage to remain connected with the politics of the country. The Deccan in those days was the land of adventure and promise to these soldiers of fortune from Persia, Turkey, Central Asia, Arabia, Afghanistan a land where valour was recognised and statesmanship was rewarded.

1. Following Prof. Sherwani, I have used the word 'Newcomers' to signify the foreigners who came into the Deccan from Persia, Arabia, Central Asia and other Islamic countries and, in course of time, found themselves in conflict with the Deccanis. The word 'Pardesi' is used as a synonym for 'Newcomers'.

2. The coastal strip of the Deccan between the Sahyadri range and the sea is known as the Konkan.

3. Maasir-ul-Umra, I, Cf. Kolaba District Gazetteer, 74-75, Thana District Gazetteer, I, 216.

4. Ferishta II, 180, 343.

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Party Strife:—From the very beginning of the Bahmani kingdom the Newcomers wielded considerable influence in the politics of the country. Bahman Shah himself had persuaded many Afghan and Mughal 'amirs'—fresh recruits, in the Tughluq service from abroad—to join his standard.[1] This policy was continued by his successors who, by their patronage, attracted and ensured a continuous supply of foreigners. Mujahid Shah Bahmani (1375-1378), in particular, showed a conspicuous preference for Persian and Turks.[2] It was this policy of preference and exclusion that created in the Deccanis a feeling of grievance and ill usage.

At first these foreigners were few in number and Deccanis did not feel their competition. But with the lapse of time they gained in strength and formed a distinct party. This also checked the process of assimilation. When, as at first, they were few in number, they intermarried with the native Deccanis and were soon merged into the bigger cemmunity. But with the growth of the Pardesi party the foreigners became conscious of a separate entity. This hindered the process of assimilation. Thus came into being two distinct parties—the Deccanis and Newcomers. As a rule the Newcomers were more energetic and enterprising than the native-born Deccanis. They were employed in preference to their less active and hardy rivals, and seldom failed to acquit themselves well. Many rose to the highest offices in the state to the prejudice of the native Deccani who found himself surpassed in the battlefield as well as in the council chamber. This resulted in recriminations and quarrels, the forerunners of the internecine struggle which followed and weakened the power of the Bahmani Empire and ultimately led to its dissolution.

Moreover, the ill-feling between the parties created by opposing interests was complicated by religious differences. A majority of the Newcomers were Shias, while most of the Deccanis were Sunnis.[3] The religious factor brought to the side of the Deccanis one class of foreigners, the Abyssinians who were mostly Sunnis. In competition with the fair, handsome, cultured Pradesis from Persia, Turkey, etc., the dark-skinned, illiterate, unprepossessing Abyssinians were at a great disadvantage and were treated with contempt by the fair Pardesis. The religious factor and the contempt shown towards them by the other foreigners had the effect of throwing the Abyssinians into the arms of the Deccanis. Thus in the feuds that followed between the Deccanis and Newcomers, it will be seen that the former party consisted of the Deccanis and Abyssinians while the latter was composed of Turks, Mughals, Persians and Arabs.

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1. Ferishta I, 528.
2. „ I, 564.
3. Ahmad Shah Vali showed a preference for the Shia creed, donated money to Shia holy places and invited Shia saints to his court. Ferishta I, 632-33. Yusuf 'Adil Khan and Sultan Quli, two of the Pardesi provincial governors, who in the later Bahmani period declared their independence, were Shias, whereas their two Deccani colleagues, Fathullah 'Imad-ul-Mulk and Ahmad Nizam-ul-Mulk, were Sunnis.

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Towards the close of the fourteenth century the Deccanis realised that they were being gradually displaced from power and place by their successful rivals the Nowcomers. But they did not retaliate immediately and patiently waited for an opportunity to gain the upper hand at the Bahmani court. This came during the latter half of the reign of Ahmad Shah Vali (1422-1436) when the king suffered a decline alike in his mental and his bodily powers. By well-calculated flattery, judicious self-praise and subtle insinuation against their rivals, the Deccanis manoeuvred themselves into the Sultan's favour. During 1430-31 the Bahmani army was defeated on three successive occasions by the Gujaratis.[1] Khalaf Hasan Basari, the Pardesi minister who had been honoured with the title of Malik-ut-Tujjar[2] by Ahmad Shah, attributed these reverses to the cowardice of the Deccanis. But the latter seems to have convinced the king of the incompetence of his Pardesi adviser. The result was that the Deccanis were raised to power and the administration of government was entrusted to a member of their faction, one Miyan Mahmud Nizam-ul-Mulk who was invested with the coveted title Malik-ut-Tujjar.[3]

On coming to power, the Deccanis openly manifested their desire to suppress the Newcomers, and about 1447, massacred a large number of them by shameless treachery. In that year an army of Deccanis and Newcomers was sent to Sangameshwar[4] (17°.16'N, 73°.33'E) against the Shirka of Konkan, but suffered an unfortunate defeat with the result that the survivors retreated to the fort of Chakan[5] (18°.45'N-73°.32E). Taking advantage of this, the Deccanis "who from olden times had been deadly enemies of the foreigners"[6], misrepresented this affair to the Sultan 'Ala-ud-din Ahmad Shah. The Sultan "not knowing the perfidy, concurred with the nobles, that the surviving foreigners should be put to death"[7]. The unfortunate Newcomers were lured out of Chakan and slaughtered, victims of their rivals' jealousy.

After the massacre of Chakan, a few Newcomers who, with great difficulty; effected their escape, reported to the king the deception which had been practised on him and gave him the correct version of what had taken place. Enquires were set on foot which exposed the duplicity of the Deccanis and their desire for the extermination of the Newcomers, with the result that they were severely punished and degraded at the Court and the Newcomers regained their ascendancy.[8]

Murder of Mahmud Gavan :—Thus arose on the horizon a cloud which soon darkened the political firmament of the Deccan. The

1. Ferishta I, 631.
2. This title meaning "Chief of the merchants" was highly esteemed by the foreigners, whose first visit to the Deccan was usually in the capacity of merchants.
3. Ferishta I, 631 ; Campridge History of India, III, 404.
4. In Ratnagiri District.
5. In Khed Taluka, Poona district. Twenty miles due north of Poona.
6. Burhan (Indian Antiquary, XXVIII, 239).
7. Burhan (Indian Antiquary, XXVIII, 239-40).
8. Ferishta I, 651.

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massacre of Chakan set the final seal on a hatred that had been steadily brewing for fifty years. Matters now had gone too far ; compromise was now unthinkable ; each party wanted to destroy and uproot the other. In 1481, by a perfidy reminiscent of the massacre of Chakan, the Deccani party contrived the murder of one of the greatest statesmen in the history of India, Khvaja Mahmud Gavan, the Pardesi minister of Muhammad Shah Bahmani III. The false accusation and violent death of this upright minister constitute one of the tragedies of madiaeval India.

The Khvaja, who in the reign of Muhammad Shah III. (1463-1482) had risen to the highest office in the state, was by birth a Persian. He was honoured by the king with the title of Malik-ut-Tujjar and he and his followers were permitted te take precedence at court over Hasan Nizam-ul-Mulk Bahri, [1] the leader of the Deccani party and 'tarafdar' of Telingana. With the welfare of the kingdom at heart and with a strict sense of justice Gavan tried to maintain the balance between the Deccanis and Newcomers by an equal division of offices between the rival parties. But Hasan Nizam-ul-Mulk was jealous of the position of Gavan and was waiting for an opportunity to overthrow the popular minister.

Mahmud Gavan initiated many reforms. He sub-divided each of the four main divisions into two and framed regulations for their government which curtailed the powers of the provincial governors. [2] These excellent reforms were made for administrative efficiency but became extremely unpopular among the Deccanis and caused widespread resentment against their originator. The crafty and unscrupulous Hasan instigated his followers to put an end to the author of these reforms. So a number of Deccanis, although they had owed their high office entirely to Gavan, entered into a conspiracy against their patron and hatched a nefarious plot for his destruction.[3] Yusuf'Adil Khan, the right-hand man of Gavan, having been dispatched on unexpedition into Telingana, the field was left clear for the conspirators. A forged letter with the minister's seal, purporting to invite the 'raja' of Orissa to invade the kingdom, was suddenly unearthed. And Mahmud Gavan, thus falsely accused, was put to death by the order of Muhammad Shah [4] (April 5, 1481).

Dissolution of the Bahmani Empire :—This great crime was the immediate cause of the dissolution of the Bahmani kingdom. The Pardesi 'amirs' refused to stay in the capital and returned to their provinces without the formality of obtaining the king's permission. Even

1. Cf. Ferishta I, 702.
2. Ferishta I, 689-90.
3. "In the midst of these affairs, a clique of jealous and malevolent persons who play with the understanding of every-one, and by deceipt and knavery, under the semblance of friendship, create ill-feeling between father and son, having conceived pure lies and vile inventions which had the appearance of truth reported them to the Sultan." Burhan, 1. c.
4. Ferishta, I, 692-93.

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the respectable members of the Deccani party openly expressed their disapproval of the conspirators and joined the camp of Yusuf 'Adil Khan. Deserted by the 'foreigners' and some of the Deccanis, the king was forced to throw himself into the arms of the conspirators. Hasan Nizam-ul-Mulk was exalted of the dignity of Malik Naib (Deputy to the Empire and all the affairs of the kingdom were placed in his hands.[1] But Muhammad Shah could not forget that he had shed innocent blood; he tried to drown his remorse in wine and died from its effects within a year of his minister, crying in his last agonies that Gavan was tearing out his heart.[2]

Muhammad's son and successor Mahmud being a minor, authority remained in the hands of Malik Naib. On the eve of the coronation ceremony, when all the 'amirs' had gathered in the capital the crafty Deccani formed a plot to assassinate Yusuf 'Adil Khan and to extirpate his followers. But the Newcomers were put on their guard by some of their well-wishers in the opposite camp. For no less than twenty days Bidar was a scene of conflict between the rival factions and when peace was restored, Yusuf 'Adil Khan agreed to retire to Bijapur and Malik Naib was left at the helm of affairs in the Bahmani capital.[3]

The regency of Malik Naib did not last long. He was disliked by some of his followers for his share in the murder of Gavan and his subsequent policy towards the Newcomers made him intensively hated by a section of the Deccanis. The usual intrigues followed and Malik Naib, fleeing for safety, was put to death by the Abyssinian governor of Bidar.[4] Thus the Deccani minister shared the fate of the great Pardesi noble whose death he had so basely contrived.

Once again the swing of the pendulum brought the Pardesis to power. Once again their rivals conspired to destroy the influence which they still possessed, going to the length, this time, of forming a conspiracy to murder the king and to place another prince of the royal family on the throne.[5] They suddenly attacked the royal palace one night in October, 1487, but were repulsed by the valour of the Turki guard. The king assembled his foreign troops and next morning ordered the conspirators to be put to death. The slaughter lasted for three days and the Newcomers inflicted a terrible retribution on the Deccanis for the wrongs they had suffered. After these events Mahmud Shah took no interest in the affairs of state; the reponsibility of government was assumed by Qasim Barid, a Turki 'amir' of the Sunni persuasion. The prestige of the Bahmanis was lost; the provincial governors were unwilling to acknowledge the supremacy of Qasim Barid.[6] The defection of Ahmad Nizam-ul-Mulk, the son of Malik Naib, began the process of disintegration.

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1. Burhan, 1. c. 305.
2. Ferishta I, 700.
3. Ferishta, I, 703-04.
4. Burhan, 1. c. 306; Ferishta, 708-09.
5. Ferishta I, 709.
6. Burhan (I. A., XLIX., 103); cf. Futuhat-i-'Adilshahi, 23 b.

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Two expeditions were sent against him but they were of no avail.[1] He had the full symathy of Yusuf 'Adil Khan who even suggested that he should secede from the Bahmani kingdom. Ahmad acted on this welcome suggestion, and in June, 1490, proclaimed himself as an independent king.[2] His colleagues, Fathullah 'Imad-ul-Mulk of Berar and Yusuf 'Adil Khan of Bijapur soon followed suit, with the result that by the end of that year the Bahmani kingdom had definitely lost its integrity.

Perhaps the founders of the new kingdoms believed that, by the course they had chosen they would close an unhappy chapter and begin a new one. This, however, was not to be, and the history of the next two hundred years showed only the continued struggle between the Deccan Sultanates for the supremacy of the country,—a struggle that ultimately led to their decline and downfall.

EDUCATION IN VIJAYANAGARA EMPIRE

BY

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The rise of Vijayanagara Empire was the result of a tremendous reaction against the Turkish domination of the Deccan and South India during the first quarter of the fourteenth century A. D. The entire Indian peninsula was shaken to its foundations by the repeated invasions of the Sultans of Delhi, whose generals in the heat of the fight transgressed all laws of humanity. The Yadavas, the Kakatiyas, the Pandays, the Kampil-rayas and even the Hoyasalas were uprooted like so many willows by a destructive storm. To the Hindus the effects of these inroads were heart-rending; their royal houses were practically effaced from this earth; their famous temples at Chidambaram, Srirangam, Madura and other places were sacked; their priests and gods were sent into wilderness; they were not allowed to exercise freely their rites and ceremonies; and some of their towns and cities became haunts of jackals and tigers. Muhammad bin Tughlaq's transfer of his capital from Delhi to Devagiri in 1326 A. D. threatened to perpetuate the new order and filled the hearts of the Hindus with utter dismay. Everything, therefore, seemed to be leading up to one inevitable end—the destruction of the ancient culture of South India. At this juncture Vijayanagara empire was born (1336 A. D.) to salvage that culture from the wreckage and to conserve it for the posterity. In pursuit of this goal the Rayas of Vijayanagara acted with unparalleled determination and were guided by the traditional ides of Hindu life and thought. They recovered the political independence of the lands south of the Tungabhadra, reconstructed the temples, revived ancient worship, restored the hoary

1. Ferishta, II, 182.
2. Ferishta, II, 186.

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culture of the Hindus, and above all devoted their entire energies to its preservation against the frequent onslaughts of the Bahmani Sultans from the north.

Their work of reconstruction in educational matters was confined to supplying that atmosphere of peace, protection and sympathy which had been denied to the people for nearly two generations under the stress of the Turkis' wars. They did not directly institute any elaborate schemes for the spread of education among the masses, nor did it occur to them that general education was necessary for all people. Their policy was to allow the principle of Varnashrama-dharma to work out the educational problem of the empire. There is no evidence to show that they ever took the initiative to start schools and colleges or to institute graded system of examinations.

Hence under the circumstances education remained largely a private concern as in the pre-Vijayanagara days. As soon as the land was rid of the foreign foes, the old educational agencies once more took up their work.

The *pyal* school was a feature of the times. Each village or a group of villages had a school of its own held on the varandah of a house or in the porch of a temple. Here elementary education in reading, writing and arithmetic was imparted to young children of the poor and middle classes. The teacher was remunerated in kind or cash by the parents or by some philanthropist. Pietro della Valle who visited India in 1623 A. D. has given an interesting account of one such school in South India.[1]

Next in order came the private schools. Kings and nobles made ample provision for the instruction of their children in religion, philosophy, literature, fine arts and military tactics. Their example was followed by humbler folks who established schools in their own houses; well-to-do parents very often employed a tutor to teach their children, and when other children were admitted to share this instruction, it sometimes grew into a school; learned Brahmans collected round them a small group of students and taught them Vedas and other allied subjects. Agrahara settlements were colonies of Brahmana scholars who are described as being zealous in discharging their six-fold traditional duty. One of the most important of these duties was teaching, and it is therefore almost certain that most of these colonies were centres of higher education. The Brahmanical teaching was not confined to Vedas only. Law, Astrology, Astronomy, Philosophy, Medicine, Polity and Music received their attention. These subjects were taught by speacialists to a picked number of students. Fr. de Nobili in a letter of 1610 A. D. says that there were then in Madura more than ten thousand students who went to different professors versed in Theology and Philosophy.[2]

Temples and Mathas were also so many centres of education. They were scattered all over southern India. Several of these are

1. See Keay's Ancient Indian Education, pp. 151-152.
2. Heras: Aravidu Dynasty, I, p. 525.

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noticed as places of pilgrimage in the Vijayanagara records. The temples at Ahobalam. Srisailam, Kalahasti, Chidambaram, Srirangam, Kanchi, and Tirupati were some of the most famous institutions which catered to the religious as well as the educational needs of the people. So also did the Mathas of Sringeri, Kumbhakonam, Kanchi, Ahobalam, Melkote, Vyasaraya and Golaki etc. The temples indirectly helped the cause of education by allowing its halls to be used by private teachers and by making provision for the chanting of Vedic hymns and *prabandhas* before the images of gods. The Mathas took a direct interest in the popularisation of education by attracting many disciples. Their pontiffs were usually very cultured ecclesiastics who took genuine interest in keeping aglow the torch of learning.

When the Jesuit missionaries arrived, they found the Vijayanagara empire a fertile soil for their activities. Here was complete toleration. According to Duarte Barbosa (1516 A. D.) 'every man may come and go and live according to his own creed, without suffering any annoyance and without enquiry whether he is a Christian, Jew, Moor or Heathen. Great equity and justice is observed to all not only by the rulers, but by the people one to another[1]. No wonder that the Jesuit fathers succeeded in founding schools to teach vernaculars at Madura, St. Thome and Chandragiri. A summary of Christian doctrine was also published by them in Tamil characters in 1577 A. D.[2]

As regards technical education, each class or cummunity improvised a system of its own. Members of each trade or craft handed down their skill from sire to son. The lads had very little choice in the matter, but, were as a matter of course brought up to the same trade as their fathers. Day by day they absorbed patiently the spirit and technique of the particular craft which they were learning. Intensive training in architecture and sculpture must have been received by those unknown master-builders who were responsible for the secular and religious edifices which were once the glory of the imperial city.[3] The king's palace, its furniture and decorations, personal ornaments of aristocratic families, equipment of soldiers, and splendour of festivals evoked admiration of Abdur Razzak, Paes, Nuniz and other foreign travellers which testifies to the mastery acquired by carpenters, goldsmiths and other artificers in excellent workmanship.[4]

Although education in the Vijayanagara empire was largely a private concern, the kings and their governors took care to have a galaxy of poets, philosophers and artists round them. They even encouraged them to compose works in Sanskrit and vernaculars. The empire started its career by publishing Sayanacharya's monumental commentary on the Vedas. Krsnadeva Raya's literary circle headed by

1. Duarte Barbose (Eng. Ed. by Longworth Dames), I, p. 202.
2. Heras, Ibid, p. 530.
3. A. H. Longhurst: Hampi Ruins,; Fergusson: The Indian and the Eastern Archi.
4. R. H. Major: India in the Fifteenth Century, and R. Sewell: A Forgotten Empire, pp. 235 ff.

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Allasani Peddana ushered in the Augustan age of Telugu literature. The Kannada version of the Bharata was also produced in this epoch. Indeed education in the empire received most of its sustenance from the munificient gifts of kings, nobles, and merchants of the day. Learning of all kinds was appreciated and encouraged by them. Lands were given to learned Brahmanas to constitute *agraharas* ; entire villages were bestowed upon temples and Mathas for their maintenance ; individual scholars, poets and artists were invited to royal courts and rewarded richly. Most of the contemporary inscriptions and literary works bear eloquent testimony to such donations. A few examples picked up at random are cited here.

In 1346 A. D. the founders of the empire made a joint gift of land to the pontiff of the Sringeri Matha. In 1380 A. D. a nephew of Harihara II made a grant of an *agrahara* to a Brahmana scholar. In 1514 A. D. Krsnadeva Raya bathed the god Venkatesa in gold with 30,000 gold pieces, and presented ornaments set with pearls, diamonds, rubies and topaz. In 1522 A. D. he made a grant of two villages to the pontiff of the Kanchi Matha. At the time of Vasantotsava every year he made presents to poets. In 1534 A. D. Achyuta Raya granted a few villages to the two famous shrines at Kanchi. Sometimes debates were organised and the winner was awarded highest honours in open court. We have accounts of such debates in the court of Devaraya II, Mallikarjuna Raya, Krsna Deva Raya, and Venkatapati Raya II. The last was well learned and had 'disputations on God, Philosophy and Mathematics with the teachers or philosophers almost every day'.[1] State-employment was another incentive for the cultivation of letters, arts or crafts. The accounts of foreign travellers show how the civil and military machinery of the empire depended upon a constant supply of talent of diverse type. On account of the great demand for their services, a large number of apprentices underwent arduous training to fit themselves for the state patronage.

Judged by its fruits, the system of education prevailing in the empire was not disappointing. Indeed it was a tremendous success from one point of view : although depending on private enterprise and initiative, it served to diffuse knowledge even among women who are generally of retiring nature and bashful temperament. According to Nicolo Conti, the Vijayanagara sovereign had four thousand women who rode on horseback. Nuniz says 'The king has also women who wrestle, and others who are astrologers and soothsayers ; and he has women who write all the accounts of expenses that are incurred inside the gates, and others whose duty it is to write all the affairs of the kingdom and compare their books with those of the writers outside ; he has women also far music, who play instruments and sing. Even the wives of the king are well versed in music.....It is said that he has judges, as well as bailiffs and watchmen who every night guard the palace, and *all these are women.*" Paes writes '(Within the palace) they

1. Heras : Arvidu Dynasty

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say that there are twelve thousand women ; for you must know that there are women who handle sword and shield, and others who wrestle, and others who blow trumpets, and others pies, and others instruments which are different from ours'. About the wealthy citizens, Barbosa records 'They teach their women from childhood to sing, play and dance,' and about the courtesans who accompanied the army he writes 'These are all unmarried, great musicians, dancers and acrobats, and very quick and nimble at their performances.' Paes describes the dancing hall in the palace where the ladies of the royal household learnt dancing.[1] In literature too women made their mark. Ganga Devi, Tirumalamba and Ramabhadramba struck a new note by writing historical poems. Their compositions in Sanskrit have withstood the test of time, and furnish delightful readings. If women could acquire such a variety of knowledge, one need not be surprised to find men of all grades distinguishing themselves in literature and philosophy, fine arts and technical subjects. Their vast literary output in Sanskrit and Telugu (mere description of which will fill a volume), the architectural and sculptural remains at Hampi, the paintings in the shrines of Lepakshi, Kanchi and Tanjore prove that the educational system of Vijayanagara was suited to the genius of the people, and even in the absence of deliberate state initiative, it served to develop and sustain high standards in all branches of learning then in vogue.

SOURCES OF REVENUE UNDER FIROZ SHAH TUGHLUQ

BY

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The leit-motif of Firoz Shah's administration was religious. It was his earnest desire to conduct the government of the realm in accordance with the principle of Shariat. Futuhat-i-Firoz Shah which is the best guide to the working of the mind of Firoz Shah bears ample testimony to his religious zeal.

In the sphere of taxation, Firoz Shah abolished all taxes that were not permitted by the Shariat-Sirat-i-Firoz Shahi.[2] Futuhat-i-Firoz Shahi[3], and Tabqat-i-Akbari[4] give somewhat similar lists of the taxes that were so abolished. A few not mentioned in the above books are given by Afif[5] and Ainul Mahru[6]. The details of taxes that were abolished are not of interest to us here. Two points, however, demand enquiry, firstly as to when the abolition was affected and secondly how far it was effective.

1. loc. cit.
2. Sirat-i-Firoz Shahi, Aligarh copy, p. 124.
3. Futuhat-i-Firoz Shahi, Aligarh Edition p. 6.
4. Tubqat-i-Akbari, of Khwajah Nizamuddin Bakhshi, p. 240.
5. Afif—i-Turikh-Firoz Shahi, pp 74-9 ;
6. (Munshat-i-Mahru of Ainul Mulk Mahru, Aligarh copy, p. 97.

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The date of the completion of Sirat is 712,[1] though an incident of the year 776 is recorded therein on pp. 39-40. So the abolition would have taken place at the latest by 772 (or 776). Afif gives the date of the abolition as 777, after a deep change had come over Firoz and he had got himself shaved. Mahru says that certain taxes were abolished by Mohd. B.Tughluq and the abolition was endorsed by Firoz. So we cannot arrive at any definite conclusion though we may just hazard the conclusion that the abolition may have been 772 and 777. A cryptic reference in Barani[2] suggests that the policy may have been initiated in the early years of the reign. I am personally of the opinion that the taxes were abolished early in the reign to reconcile public opinion and restore confidence among the people.

There is not much to help us to determine how far the abolition was effective. Most of the abolished taxes are urban and it is probable that their abolition would have been effective in provincial capitals. In other terms it would have been a mixed success. All that we get in contemporary literature is a reference to a complaint against the local officials collecting an unauthorised cess[3]

Kharaj :—It occurs in Futuhat p. 6 as خراج آراضي عشور and Dr. I. H. Qureshi has rendered it as the Kharaj from tithe-paying lands. My own reading of the phrase is خراج آراضي و عشور. It has to be kept in mind that Firoz Shah is here enumerating the Shari taxes of which Kharaj and Ushur are distinct units. The matter is set at rest by Sirat p. 124 where the parallel passage runs as :—"Kharaj of land, Jezia, Zakat.—" Ainul mulk also speaks of Kharaj and Ushar as alternatives.*

Now Kharaj is the revenue-demand levied by the state from the peasants directly or through the muqaddams and the rais. Barni, p. 554, uses the word in the general sense of a tax, but the technical sense is the same as explained above. The demand was settled by "the rule of the produce" according to Barni (p. 574). According to Afif. however, as interpreted by Moreland[4] it was settled by the rule of inspection. The phrase (Hukm-i-mushahida) may be taken to mean something different, when it is read with the reference to the context. The whole sentence may be translated as "Khwaja Hisamuddin Junaid toured the territories of the realm for 6 years and settled the demand by personal inspection or observation".

The reverred Khwaja determined the valuation (the entire revenue-demand) at 6¾ crore tanks. Firoz forbade the officials to trouble his

1. Sirat, last but one page.
2. Barni, Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi, p. 554. "The merchant is the master of his merchandise and buys and sells as he likes and does not pay any Kharaj. The merchants earn 100 and 200 tanks daily and do not pay a single tanka as tax".
3. This occurs in a letter of Ainul Mulk p. 60 written in the time of either Mohd. Tughluq or Firoz Shah. In any case it is significant.

* "The Wazifa land in either Kharaj-paying or tithe-paying" Munshat, p. 77.

4. Moreland, Agrarian System of Muslim India, p. 232 Afif, p. 94.

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subjects with extra-demands (muhaddas) and enforcement of demand in case of crop-failure (Nabudha) and the like.[1]

The rate of assessment is nowhere mentioned. We can only conjecture that the rate would have been equitable under a benevolent monarch like Firoz. Dr. I. H. Quresh's contention that the rate was 20% seems to be unconvincing as it is based on the disputed phrase خراج آراضي عشور Probably the rate would not have been so low.

Ushur.—No records exist to show the existence of Ushur or tithe-paying land in India at this period. Mention of Ushur occurs, however, in Futuhat, Afif and Munshat-Mahru.[2] Firoz Shah may have referred to it, like Aurangzeb, [4] simply because it was so important an item of Islamic fiscal system even though it had no practical application in India. Afif's reference to it occurs in a strange context which gives it an entirely different meaning. He says that Firoz Shah ordered a certain indigent person to be given one tanka daily from the "Ushur and Zakat of the City (Delhi)". This would suggest that Ushar was some urban or octroi impost, though the possibility remains that there were tithe-paying land in the vicinity of Delhi. Ainul mulk's reference to it is simply theoritical and leads us nowhere. He simply says "the Wazifa-land is either Kharaj-paying or tithe-paying".

Zakat.—The context in which it is mentioned in Futuhat and Sirat would lead one to believe that it was the Zakat of the Muslim law, *i. e.* $\frac{1}{40}$ of the income which every Muslim has to part with annually. But actually by this time Zakat has already assumed an entirely different import. It had come to mean the import and octroi duties and it is always in this sense that this term is used in contemporary and later literature.

Ainul-mulk and Afif's [4] reference to Zakat are very clear. In a letter to Jalaludin (Sadri-Jahan of Firoz Shah's reign) he says that out of regard for him he had not levied Zakat on the horses which were brought for him.

Afif says that goods of merchants were brought to the Sarai adl and Zakat was levied there on them. At another place (p. 449) Afif speaks of the Zakat of the City which obviously means the octroi duties of Delhi.

Jezia-i-Hunud.—By Jezia here is obviously meant the tax taken from non-Muslims or Zimmis.[5] The authorities of Firoz reign, however,

1. Sirat, p. 124. Barani, 574, Muhaddas means "taxes over and above the stipulated taxes".

2. Futuhat, p. 6. Afif, 449. Munshat-i-Mahru, p. 77.

3. Moreland, p. 139-40, "We are given detailed rules.....which were almost irrevant in India.....the firman stresses the distinction between tithe-land and tribute-land, bnt I have failed so far to find a single case of tithe-land existing in India."

4. Munshat, p. 73, Afif, p. 375.

5. Firoz Shah also speaks of Jezia as Zar-i-Zimma *i. e.* money levied from Zimmis. Futuhat, p. 11.

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differ as to the mode of its collection. But the differences are adjustable. Afif, p. 383, speaks of it as poll-tax and says that there were three grades of Jezia in Delhi—40, 20 and 10 tankas per head. It is, however, just possible that Jezia was levied as a poll-tax only in Delhi or Urban areas. For Barani (p. 574) speaks of Jezia (as well as Kharaj) being levied according to "the rule of of the produce" thus giving it the character of a tax on produce and not per capital. This is partially corroborated by Ainul-mulk who in a letter of Firoz's reign speaks of Jezia and the agricultural revenue of a village being assigned to a soldier who had accompanied Firoz on the Lakhauti campaign.

It can therefore be inferred with considerable probability that Jezia was levied as a poll-tax in the urban areas and on produce (hukm-i-hasil) in the rural areas. I need not narrate here the story[1] of Firoz having imposed Jezia on the religious classes, "the key to the chamber of infidelity", for it is well-known.

Tarakat—Tarakat means the property left by a person without any heir and without any will to determine its distribution. Such property was attached by the state. But as Aghnides remarks, it is "a source of negligible importance".[2]

The case of the riches left by Imadul-mulk Bashir may be noted here, although it does not come under this heading for he left a son. This Imadul-mulk had amassed a huge wealth, by means, which, from Afif's and Mahru's[3] references, do not appear to be praiseworthy. He left thirteen crores of hard cash after him. Firoz took 9 crores out of this to himself, saying "what is Bashir's in mine". The argument, however, had no legal force because Bashir had got himself manumitted when "he grew old and infirmity set in his bones" (Afif, 444).

Khams i-ghanaim :—It is the fifth of the spoils. "The Shariat requires that $\frac{1}{5}$ should be appropriated by the state and $\frac{4}{5}$ distributed amongst the warriors; in this matter the injunction had been completely reversed"[4]. Firoz restored the Shari proportion. It may be pointed out that very few wars were waged in the long reign of Firoz. Of these few the two expeditions to Lakhnauti ended in compromise. The Thata campaign brought tremendous loss and suffering. The Jajnagar hunting expidition would not have brought much booty as Firoz lost his way on return march. So the change of proportion would not have mattered much for the Divan, though it may have in some measure augmented the soldiers' propensity for loot.

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1. Afif p. 382-4.
2. Aghnides-Mohommmadan theories of Fiance p. 422.
3. Afif p. 441, 445, Mahru, p. 96-7, attributes the ruin of Multan's properity Imadut-mulk.
4. Futuhat, p. 6.
   The reversion of proportion took place probably in Alauddin's time. The step, however, was not totally unjustified. See Futuhat-i-Shahi, Translation and notes, p. 33.

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Khams-i-Maadin—It is the state's share's of the mines. The word Khams (one-fifth) is probably attached to Maadin as well as spoils, for according to the Hanafites the mines are to be treated as spoils and the state's share of both is one-fifth. The other schools of theology treat the state's share as a kind of a Zakat and accordingly put it at one-fortieth[18]. But these schools had never a large following in India.

Mines, however, find mention only in Futuhat, Sirat does not include it in the list of legal taxes. Sirat, on the other hand, has "Luqtat" which is not mentioned by Futuhat. Luqtat may be a plural of luqta which means any thing that is picked up from the street. Such things if unclaimed were, it appears, given over te state-treasury. In any case it would not have been an important source of income. Luqtat is not mentioned by Aghnides.

The above are the taxes which are permitted by the Shariat and which according to Firoz's claims in Futuhat, were the only sources of state's income. *Present*, which were a considerable source of income in previous reigns, lost that character. For the value of presents brought or sent annually by the Governors was deducted from the demand of the revenue ministry against them[2],

Haq-i-Shirb or "Water-perquisite" Technically this need not be discussed here, for the income under this head did not occur to the state-coffers but was given over to the Privy Purse of Firoz. But it is an allied topic and a few words may be said about it.

When the question was put before the assembly of Ulema and Mashaikh regarding haqq-i-Shirb, they said "The man who takes pains and makes effort (to dig canals) is entitled to 10%"[3] There is no reference as to what this 10% constituted. Dr. I. H. Qureshi's conjecture, p. 225-7, that the 10% was levied on the gross produce and the remainder distributed between the state and the peasant is the only sound interpretation. It need be added that even if the 10% was levied on the gross produce, the state and the peasant would yet be not losers. Rather both would be getting a share, even though small, out of the additional produce due to irriga-tion. A simple calculation would confirm this.

A disputed point in the fiscal system of Firoz is Mahsul-i-Muamlati.[4] Moreland treats it as a tax and says that he did not find any parallel passage to indicate its meaning. Mr. I. H. Qureshi also says that the phrase is unique in Barni's writing. But he interprets it otherwise. He breaks up the phrase, interprets Muamlat as transaction and translate the sentences "In the matter of revenue they were content to adopt an assessment, so that the peasant....." I support the interpretation of Dr. Qureshi, adding only this much that Muamlat occurs quite

1. Aghnides—p. 413-4.
8. Afif, 268-9.
3. Afif, 130.
4. Barnni, p. 574.
   Moreland has translated it as "And a reduction was made in the Mahsul-i-Muamlati....."

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frequently in Afif and Barni.[1] A comparision of the various contexts would give its meaning as demand, Kharaj, Its dictionary meaning also is Kharaj, tax.

The question whether the revenue from these limited number of sources was sufficient for the running of administration is an interesting one. But it does not come under the purview of this article.

JALALUDDIN MANGHARNI AND THE FIRST MONGOL INVASION OF INDIA

BY

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By the year 1220 the vast Khwarizni Empire stretching from the Jaxartes to the Caspian Sea and from Gazni to Iraq had been swallowed up by the Mongols under Changiz Khan. The perfidious murder of the Mongol Trades Mission at Utrar in 1218 by the Khwarizni governor let loose force a that was to envelop the whole civilised world of the East in an unrelenting War of Vengeance and destruction. The whole of Asia came to grief because of shortsightedness, pride and cupidity of the Khwarizni Shah. His vast empire was literally rolled up in two years. The great emperor Alauddin Md. Khwarizni Shah chased from every town, died a lonely fugitive in an island on the Caspian Sea while the finest cities of Trans-oxiana and Khorasan—the magnificent centre of learning and culture—were pillaged, depopulated and burnt to ashes.

Changiz was not satisfied merely with the occupation of the Khawarizni provinces. He must hunt out every male member of Alauddin's family. Jalaluddin Mangbarni, the eldest son and heir-apparent of Alauddin was allowed no rest in Khorasan. From Urganj to Nessa, from Nessa to Neshapur. from Neshapur *via* Bust to Gazni, he was pursued by the Mongols Gazni was his appanage and he hoped to be able to make a stand here. He gained some success over the Mongol detachment operating in Siestan and his army was swelled by the adherance of the Afghans, Qarlughs, Ighraks and Khalgis. At Barwan he obtained a brilliant victory—the only victory gained by the Khwariznis over the Mongols. But the success did not bring good result for him. It turned the head of the supporters and the military collaboration among the different races composing his army came to an end. The news of Burwan brought Changiz himself against him and the gallant prince had to make a hasty withdrawal from Gazni to the

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1. Afif, pp. 442, 472, 432, 579.
   Barni pp. 574, 579, 432, 427, 430.

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south-east. He was overtaken on the banks of the Indus as he was arranging to cross the river. In the battle that followed, inspite of Jalaluddin's heroic stand which evoked warm tributes from redoubtable Mougal, his small force was over-powered. In order to save their honour, he drowned his women in the Indus and himself leapt with his horse into the river and crossed over to India[1].

The exact spot where this first wave of Mongol conquest crossed the Indus into India is, unfortunately, a matter of speculation[2]. It is certain, however, that the spot lay not very far from the north of the Salt range[3], through which, according to most of our early authors, Jalaluddin made his way into the Sind Sagur Doab. Changiz Khan, fortunately for Iltutmish, did not consider it necessary to cross the river, but engaged himself in reducing the Ighraki reft of the Khaljis, former allies of Jalaluddin, who inhabited the northern region of the Kabul river[4], while his sons, Inli and Chaghatai, and Uktal were sent to reduce Khorasan, Keman and Gazni respectively[5]. He himself remained on the banks of the Indus for three months, probably near Peshawar, before he returned home[6]. It is said that he contemplated marching back to his home through India by way of "Lakhnauti and Kamrud" through the "Qara-Chal" (Himalaya) Mountains[7]. He is also said to have sent envoys to Iltutmish with a view to ask for his permission to march through his territories. The permission not having been obtained, he was forced to return by the way he had come and in the winter of 1222 he marched back to Kabul and thence to Kamian, across the Hindus Kush, to the Oxus. The chronicle does not give any detail of this reported request of Changiz to Delhi, which would have thrown considerable light on the frontier and its defence at the time.

Changiz Khan spared India, but Jalaluddin entered it and began the series of foreign invasions from the Trans-Indus regions which not only upset the gradual process of extension up to the geographical frontier of the Indus, but also had far-reaching consequences on other regions of the kingdom. Soon after his arrival he collected the remnant of his forces who had succeeded in crossing the river, obtained

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1. For details of this famous battle see Juwaini II, 140-143; En-Naisawi 83 84; also Howorth—Mongols I, p. 90. The date of the battle was Nov. 24th, 1221/8th Shanwal 618 A. D.

2. See Raverty's Notes p. 292-93 on the point; also Barthold-Turkestan, p. 445-6; see also Raverty's Notes on Afghanistan, pp. 338 and 448.

3. Tab. Nas.-Raverty. p. 291-2, states that Jalaluddin, when he was flying from Gazni, was heading towards "Burshor," which may refer to Peshawar, but it is doubtful.

4. Tab. Nas., p. 355; See Raverty's Notes on the Ighrakis and their habitat, p. 1043 Note 1.

5. Juwaini I, p. 108; Howorth—Mongols I, p. 90.

6. Juwaini I, p. 110, says he started back from Furshawar (Peshawar); Tab. Nas. p. 375.

7. Tab. Nas. pp. 355-375; Juwaini I, p. 109.

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arms by a night attack on a party of Hindu robbers nearby, and then defeated a force of five thousand Hindu troops, probably sent by the chief of the Salt range[1] The news of this success reached Changiz Khan, who sent a general from Gazni in his pursuit. On the latter's crossing the Indus, Jalaluddin turned towards Lahore with a view to seek refuge in the court of Iltutmish.[2]

It appears that Changiz Khan sent his forces in pursuit of Jalaluddin on two different occasions. The first was in the year 618/1221 A. D., when Jalaluddin turned towards Delhi. The Mongol forces did not proceed far into the Punjab, but returned after plundering the vicinity of the Salt range called Malikpur"[3] Jalaluddin advanced three stages towards Delhi, and possibly from the administrative frontier sent his envoy Ainul Mulk to Iltutmish, asking for refuge. How the latter perfidiously killed the envoy and evaded the request by saying that the climate of the country was not suitable for the Sultan, is well known.[4] Jalaluddin, therefore, turned towards his former

1. The Hindu forces are said to have come from the hills of "Balala and Makala"—the last being, according to Raverty—Trans. Tab. Nas., p. 537 Note—identical with Makhialh, the local name of the Salt range; see also Juwaini II, p. 143-4; Cf. En-nassawi, p. 86, who gives the name of the Hindu chief of the Jud Hills as Chatar Sal (Trans. Trench, p. 142) who himself advanced with a great force and fell upon Jalaluddin when he was, on this information, planning to re-cross the Indus in order to avoid the more "cruel Hindus". The chief is said to have died in the fight. Cf. Alfi or 142, F. 559b.; and Ferishta II, p. 315, for a slightly different account.

2. Juwaini II, p. 144.

3. Malikpur, according to Raverty—Trans. Tab. Nas. p. 537 note, was the name of the town in the Rawalpindi Dist. Cf. Raverty—Trans. Tab. Nas. p. 536 note, who describes the siege of Multan on this occasion and contradicts his own previous statement, p. 293 note—that the Mongol leader Surtai retired after "plundering the neighbourhood of Malikpur," Howarth—Mongols I, p. 90; and also Barthold-Turkestan, p. 446 make the same mistake, but none of them consider the sequence of events following Jalaluddin's crossing the Indus up to his final exist. If the Mongols reached so far as Multan in 618/1221 A. D., it is strange that they failed to find the fugitive who was not very far from the Salt range—the inhabitants of which had reason to betray his hiding place. All the authorities agree that Jalaluddin when he left India, did so to elude another Mongol army, sent in his pursuit. This was in 621/1224 A. D., and if we accept the view that Multan was invested in 618/1221, we do not know anything about the proceedings of this second Mongol army. The definite date of the investment of Uch supplied by Minhaj-i-Siraj—Tab. Nas. p. 113—as well as the date for Jalaluddin's departure for India—En-Nassavi p. 94; Juwaini II, p. 147—supports our suggestion that the first invasion by the Mongols in 318/1221 A. D. did not come far into the Punjab, and that the second commanded by Turtai—as we shall presently see—happened three years later and reached as far as Multan, and it was on the news of the approach of this army that Jalaluddin left India. Juwaini is not consistent in his account of the Mongol forces sent by Changiz—Eg. see I, pp. 108, 110, 112, and II, p. 144.

4. See Juwaini II, p. 145, for details: Cf. Tab. Nas. p. 171, which states that Iltutmish led an army against Jalaluddin, when the latter had reached as far as Lahore but contradicts itself at another place—Trans. p. 293; Minnhaj evidently tries to conceal the facts and gives an evasive account. See Raverty's Note—Trans. Tab. Nas. p. 294, 609, note 3.

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refuge in the Makhilah hills[1]. and sent his general Tajuddin Khalji with the forces he had gathered round him, to plunder the territories of the Khokar chief. The expedition was successful, and not only did the Khokar chief named Sankin submit and give his daughter in marriage to the Sultan, but also sent his son with an army to assist him[2].

This alliance strengthened his position and he now turned to establishing himself more securely in the western provinces of the Delhi kingdom at the expense of Qubacha whose authority, as mentioned before, reached as far north as the Miduwali district.[3] This proximity of Qubacha to the Khokar chief, whose position must have been endangered by the process of assimilation of the 'unregulated tract' by the Muslim State, now gave Jalaluddin and his ally an excuse for commencing hostilities which are said to have been of long standing. There were other reasons also, it is said that Qubacha had killed a former Wazir of Jalaluddin who had taken refuge at his court; a young son of Amin Malik, the father-in-law of Jalaluddin, was brutally killed by some subjects of Qubacha at the town of Kalur (Kallurkot)[4]. Jalaluddin now, with help of the troops sent by his Khokar ally, laid siege to Kallurkot, captured it, and destroyed another fortress nearby.[5] Qubachan prepared for battle, but before he could take the offensive, Jalaluddin's general Uzbak Pai, with seven thousand horses, fell at night upon his camp at Uch, and put his army to flight.[6] Qubacha fled to Multan, and when Jalaluddin arrived at Uch, and demanded money and the return of his wife, the daughther of Amin Malik, who had taken refuge at Qubacha's court after the battle on the Indus, the latter promptly complied.[7] Jalaluddin's stay in the Punjab, however, was coming to an end, and when he turned towards the Salt range for the summer, the news of the approach of another Mongol army compelled him to turn soutwards.[8] Passing by Multan, he demanded money from

1. Cf. Alfi Or 142, F. 560a, which states that Jalaluddin then reached Lahore.

2. Juwaini II, p. 145. See also Ind. Ant. 1907, p. 3, for the traditional account of this marriage current among the Khokars. En-Nessawi makes no mention either of this alliance with the Khokar chief nor of Jalaluddin's embassy to Iltutemish.

3. His northernmost outpost was at Nandanh (written Dabdahh possibly a misreading for), in the heart of the Salt range, hold by Qamaruddin Kirmani, who after Jalaluddin's victory against Rana Chatra of the Salt range, promptly submitted. —En-Nessawi, p. 86.

4. Ibid p. 88.

5. Idem. The name of the fortress is doubtful ; it is written

6. Juwaini II, p. 146; En-Nessawi, p. 88 states that Iltutmish held Qubacha on this occasion with troops, but this is improbable in view of the former's hostile policy towards him.

7. Juwani II, p. 147; En-Nessawi, p. 90-91 state that Jalalundin, after Qubacha's defeat, went to Nuhaoor (Lahore possibly), held by a rebellious son of Qubacha, who submitted and offered money.

8. Juwaini Idem. On his way towards the Salt range he captured a fortress named Busraor, which Cunningham—Reports XIV, p. 46-7, identifies with the present Pusarur, 20 miles south-east of Sialkot; but the present town is not situated on the way from Uch to the Salt range as is mentioned. Ferishta II, p. 315 add that an army from Delhi was also reported to be coming against him.

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Qubacha, but the latter refused and prepared for battle. He could hardly afford to risk a battle now that the Mongols were on his trail, and passed on to Uch, where a similar reception was accorded to him. Setting fire to the city, he departed towards Sehwan, whose governer Fakhruddin Selari, was defeated and delivered the city to him. He confirmed the latter in his position, and after a month's stay, left for Debal, whose Sumra ruler named Chatisar, fiel dfrom his capital on his approach.[1] An expedition was sent to Anhilwara, under Khas Khan, who returned with camels and other booty.[2] He could not, however, stay long in the territory: the Mongols were again on his pursuit, and he was cut off from his Khokhar ally by the hostile attitude of Qubacha. News reached him that his brother Ghiyasuddin had made himself unpopular at Iraq and that the army and the people wanted him as their ruler.[3] He called a council of his followers, and although his generals like Usbak Pai advised him to stay in India and try to organise an alliance against the Mongols with the help of the ruler of India, "the temptation to rule his paternal kingdom seized[4] him". He appointed Uzbak Pai over his conquests in India and Hasan Qarlugh over those portions of his appanage of Ghazni which had escaped the Mongol devastation, and left Lower Sindh by way of Mekran in 621/1224.[5]

ISAMI'S FUTUH-US-SALATIN

BY

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(Summary)

In the course of the first chapter comprising 288 verses Isami describes the attributes of God and his own belief in His great powers. He provides instances to illustate the mystery of the universe and avows that it is impossible for a human being to comprehend God and His doings It is impossible for example, for a man to probe into the mystery of death, and he is unable to understand the cause of evil and the oppressions exercised with impunity by the strong over the weak.

Isami urges that one must not lose faith in God amidst the mysteries and paradoxes in which our earthly life abounds. In fact one should have a strong faith in the Almighty God since everything that

1. Juwaini II, p. 147; En-Nessawi, though substantially in agreement with the other writers, gives an entirely different sequence of events, and presents a picture in which his hero, set against so many odds, appsars all the more brilliant; pp. 90-91.

2. Juwaini II, p. 148.

3. Ibid II, p. 149.

4. En-Nessewi, 92.

5. Juwaini II, p. 49; En Nessawi, p. 92; Ferishta II, p. 315, gives the date wrongly as 620/1223.

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takes place in this world is in consistency with the Divine Scheme of things even though it were apparently adverse and undesirable.

Isami dedicates the next few verses to the Prophet singing his praises and paying tribute to his four Caliphs—Abu Bakar, Umar, Usman and Ali, and then the poet describes himself as a Sufi and claims Sultan Ala-ud-din Hasan, the first king and founder of the Bahmani kingdom, also as a Sufi. He tells us that the said Sultan had received inspiration directly from the preceding saints and particularly from Shaikh Zain-ud-din. The most important point to be noted in this connection is that Isami portrays Sultan Muhammad bin Tuglaq as a tyrant and as an enemy of Islam. He admires Sultan Ala-ud-din Bahmani for his courageously raising the standard of rebellion against the said tyrant; and he congratulates him for his successfully establishing the Bahmani kingdom in the south—and achievement which "saved Islam from destruction."

Isami proceeds to describe how he obtained the royal patronage securing permission from Sultan Ala-ud-din Bahmani Shah to compose the Shahnama on the lines of the Shahnama of Firdausi. He assures his readers that he has had no axe of his own to grind in undertaking this: "I swear by the name of God" says he "that my object in undertaking to write this epic is not like Firdausi to aspire to the governorship of Raiy or even to a subsistence allowance. I do not put forth any demands. To this I call God to witness, and I swear by the truthfulness of the Holy Prophet."

Next Isami speaks plaintively about his age and the people about him. He calls them garrulous, uncultured and unenlightened who would pull down highly qualified men. Evidently Isami had some bitter experience of the people about him who had left no stone unturned to injure him and damage his reputation. As a result Isami became a cynic and felt disgusted with society; and he resolved at last to leave India for good on completing the Shahnama. "As soon as the Shahnama is completed" says he, "I shall set my mind on performing the pilgrimage in the course of which I long to die."

Isami then moralizes and says that one can enjoy contentment and peace of mind only when one is truly devoted to God. Discontent is rife in this world because the great majority of people do not appreciate the divine gifts which they freely enjoy. Meanwhile the poet speaks his mind; and detaching himself from society he proposes to led the life of a dervesh—a life which, he believes, would place him in a doubly advantageous position. In the first instance it would enable him to abotain from all craving for this world and its riches, and in the second instance it would enable him to travel widely about. He would also be then indifferent to the jays and sorrows of this world and would be able ultimately to retire to a life of seclusion in the course of which he would meditate on the mysteries of the universe.

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THE MEETING OF FATHER AND SON (BUGHRA KHAN AND KAIQUBAD)

BY

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On receiving the intelligence of Kaiqubad's succession to the throne of Delhi, his father Bughra Khan assumed the title of Sultan Nasiruddin, and caused his name to be read in the Khutba and to be inscribed on the coinage at Lakhnawti. And when he heard of his son's devotion to pleasure and of Nazimuddin's designs for the acquisition of royalty, he repeatedly sent a number of letters full of paternal advice to Kaiqubad and hinted at the danger of his deceitful enemy.[1] Muizzuddin paid no heed to his father's letters and counsels which deeply aggrieved Sultan Nasiruddin. Barni and Khusro are at variance about Bughra Khan's designs. According to the Qiran-us-Saidain, Nasiruddin marched from Lakhnawti to conquer Delhi.[2] When Kaiqubad heard that his father had reached Bihar, he also collected his army, placed it under the charge of two hundred Amirs and the Barbak, and marched eastwards. Malik Chajju with several thousand horses from Karnal and Khan-i-Iwaz from Audh joined the imperial army on the banks of the river Saruyu (Gogra).[3] Barni, however, asserts that Kaiqubad took the initiative and started with a large army to see his father. Khusro's work is contemporary and official and has to adopt the view-point of the king and his ministers. Barni's account on the other hand, is later, and has, therefore, no one to please but himself.

Having reached so near to his son, Bughra Khan gave up all pretention of conquering Delhi, and simply asked for peace and meeting. Nasiruddin sent his chamberlain to deliver a message to his son, but when his boat reached the middle of the river,[4] Kaiqubad hit an arrow at it, and the messenger was obliged to return to his master.[5] Thereupon, Nasiruddin conveyed another message. "My son: banish the idea of revolt from your mind."[6] Kaiqubad was irritated and replied "Do not be proud of your ancestry, for none inherits kingdom unless he fights for

1. Zia Barni—Tarik-i-Firoz Shahi p. 139 and Firishta p. 85.

2. Ibid p. 141 states that Kaiqubad first of all marched with an army to see his father, and when Nasiruddin heard of his arival, he, too, started with a large army from Lakhnawti. The facts are otherwise stated by the contemporary authority Qiran-us-Saidain p. 100 onwards, Ibn Batuta Elliot Vol. III pp. 596, 597, Lub-ut Twarikh p. 24, Tabaqat-i- Akbari p. 107 and Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi p. 54.

3. Qiran-us-Saidain, p. 101.

4. Qiran-us-Saidain p. 112.

5. V. Ibid pp. 113-114.

6. Ibid p. 116.

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it." I can better claim the throne by virtue of three descents—Iltutmish, Nasiruddin and Balban."[1] Sultan Nasiruddin felt grieved at the words and advised his son not to appeal to arms.

At length, Nasiruddin wrote an affectionate letter in his own hand. "My son ; I have a great longing to see you. My patience is giving way and I cannot bear separation any more. It will interfere neither with your royal pretentions nor your round of pleasures, if you will permit your loving father whose eyes have been afflicted like Jacob's, to have a sight of your handsome face. Though paradise be a fine place, there is no joy seeing one's beloved."[2] The request of interview was granted by Kaiqubad. The 'King of the East' sent his youngest son Kaikaus with a present of jewels and elephants while the latter sent his own son, Kaiomars, to his father's presence[3].

Kaiqubad was deeply touched ; he gave up all warlike intentions, and wished to go all alone [4] to meet his father. But Nizamuddin prevented him, and prevailed on him to stay with royal pomp and dignity. The Sultan accepted the Malik's advice and directed the army to be ready and equipped. However, it was arranged that in order to preserve the dignity of the king of Delhi, Bughra Khan would cross the river Saryu, and attend his court by kissing the hand of the Sultan. Bughra Khan, accordingly, crossed[5] the river and proceeded towards Kaiqubad's camp. At the door of royal pavilion he alighted and performed the ceremony of kissing the ground three times. When he approached nearer, Kaiqubad found the situation unbearable : he descended from the throne and fell at his father's feet. They embraced each other and shed tears : the eyes of the audience were also full of tears at the touching sight. Each invited the other to ascend the throne,[6] ahd for a long time neither complied. At length Bughra Khan took his son's hand, and after seating him on the throne stood before him with folded hands. The father said, "My own desire is now fulfilled—that I have seated my son on the throne during my life-time. [7] My father has instructed me to remain loyal and faithful to the Sultan of Delhi, I will therefore, fulfil all the requirements of etiquette."[8] Kaiqubad shortly after descended from the throne and approached his father. The officers of the state scattered jewels upon them, and at length the astrologers fixed up an auspicious hour for interview.[9] Bughra Khan rose, and crossed the river to his own

1. Ibid p. 118
2. Zia Barni, Tarkh-i-Firoz Shahi p. 140
   Qiran-us-Saidain p. 128. گرچه فردوس مقام خوش است هیچ به از نعمت دیدار ه ت
3. Ibid pp. 131 to 142.
4. Zia Barni p. 141 has | بهر فدا صورت خویشم نمائے -روئے مگر واں و تیرس از خد

which means 'all alone' and not with haste as in Elliot Vol. 3 p. 597.

5. Ibn Batuta says, 5 "Each of them entered a boat and met in the middle of the river—Elliot Vol. III, p. 697, which is not reliable.
6. Qiran-us-Saidain p. 149
7. Ibid p. 150.
8. Zia Barni, Tarkikh-i-Firoz Shahi p. 142.
9. Qiranus Saidain, p. 151

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camp. Both parties began sending costly presents to each other,[1] and it was settled that they would meet again the next evening[2].

A large number of festivities occurred : Bughra Khan presented a jewelled crown, a throne covered with gold plate and an elephant to his son[3]. Kaiqubad put on the crown, and both of them sat upon the throne. Nasiruddin then returned to his camp as usual; and the next morning Kaiqubad despatched the white canopy and the black hat[4] of Sultan Ghiasuddin Bulban as a present to his father[5].

In the evening Bughra Khan again embraked on a boat to interview his son. During the converation that followed, Sultan Nasiruddin referred to his own education and training, which he received under the patronage of his father. And as the time of departure approached, Kaiqubad requested his father to advise him on matters of good government and administration. "My sole object in coming over all the distance," said Nasiruddin, "has precisely been the same."[6] However, the day of departure approached; early that morning Bughra Khan held a private assembly and summoned Maliks Nizamuddin and Qawamuddin to listen to his counsels.

MUSLIM KINGSHIP IN MEDIAEVAL INDIA, ITS AETIOLOGY AND APPLICATION.

BY

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In agreement with the injunction laid down in the Muslim jurisprudence that finds reiteration in the work of Imam Usuf that the Imam in order to legalise his authority should receive the sanction of the Caliph, the Muslim rulers of India, such as, Mu'izzuddin Muhammad Sam and Shamsuddin Altamish secured license from the Caliph and acquired honour by sending petitions and presents to his court. In 744, H. Abul Muzahid Muhammad Shah, the Tughluq Sultan of Delhi, sent from his court Haji Rajab Barq'i in embassy to the court of the Caliph in Egypt. Before the arrival of the Indian ambassador to his court, Almustakfi billah Abul Rabi Sulaiman, the Abbaside Caliph of Egypt, sent Haji Sarsari, Saidi Ziyad, Mubashshir Khalifati and Muhammad Sufi as plenipotentiaries to the court of Delhi with a farman warranting the sovereign rights of the Tughluq Sultan, a sword and a robe of honour. The said embassy reached the Indian court in 745 H, and in

1. Ibid p. 153.
2. Ibid pf 157.
3. Qiranus Saidain pp. 189-190.
4. The head-dress of the period under review was Kulah, which means hat. Formerly, it had a brim. which seems to have disappeared with conversion to Islam.
5. Qiranus Saidain pp. 193-195.
6. Zia Barni—Tarikh-i-Firuz Shah p. 146.

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its wake followed another from Egypt led by Haji Khalf. When the Indian ambassador Haji Burqai reached Egypt, Abul Rabi Sulaiman had passed away and Abul Abbas Ahmad, the new ruler and successor of Rabi Sulaiman, sent in 754 H. Sheikh Shahabuddin Ahmad as an emissary to Delhi with an ornamented royal mandate conferring the title of Saiful Khelafat W Qasim-i-Amirul Muminin and the rights of sovereignty on the Indian ruler. Some ten years later, in 764 H, the Caliph Muhammad bin Abu Baqr, sent Qazi Bahauddin and Khwajah Kafur Khalifati as his agents to the court of Firuz Shah Tughluq with a patent conferring upon the Delhi Sultan political rights over the countries of Hind, Ceylon, Java, Bengal, Tilang, Deogir, the lands near the seas, Malwa, Gujrat, Delhi, the mountains of Qarajal, Sind, the countries near Afganistan, the mountains from Kashmir to Kabul, the frontiers of Turkey and Mawar-ul Nahr. Amongst other things the royal ukase stated that any opposition to the Delhi ruler was tantamount to the act of rebellion against the Caliph, and obedience paid to the former was equivalent to paying homage to the latter, to the Prophet and to God. In 766 H the Caliph sent another farman with presents such as embroidered sword, and ornamented cloths to Firuz Tughluq through Nisaruddin and Sarfuddin Rafa'i. "My predecessors", the imperial sanad ran, "had never issued any diploma acknowledging rulership to any king other than those of Delhi. I hereby confer upon you the right of sovereign power. Any allegiance shown to you would be regarded as submission to my court, disobedience shown to you would be nothing short of defiance to my orders. As a mark of sincerest feelings embassy shall be sent to Delhi from my court every year, but they must be treated by you with due respect. Further, you should send to my court an account of your activities relating to endowments, construction of dams, canals, inns, houses of learning, chaples, ramparts, palaces, safeguarding the frontiers and palaces, and the like". In the month of Jamadiul Akhir, 771 H there came from Egypt another embassy consisting of Mahmud Sams, Qazi Najmuddin and Khwaja Kafur Khalifati to Delhi with a special robe of honour, a sword, an original Waqfnamah, (deed of gift) and some copies of the latter for distribution in different parts of the country to make it known to the public that an unique and unprecedented honour had been conferred on the Delhi ruler.

In mentioning subjecte that develop wisdom and knowledge, the author of Sirat-i-Firuz Shahi, a fifteenth century work of great value related to the reign of Firuz Shah Tughluq, refers to Politics. In the opinion of the writer, knowledge in state-craft means an understanding that helps in keeping the tribes in agreement with their position, in becoming conversant with every events, in selecting officials and dismissing them, in recruiting the army, in erecting noble edificies in the country for striking awe in the minds of powerful enemies, punishing the disobedient and rewarding the obedient, making towns habitable, constructing bridges and frontier walls, paying attention to the solution of the country's problems, promulgating orders and prohibitions for the good of administration, giving comfort to the distressed, instituting

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diligent enquiries about the oppressed and the hermits, removing the wants of the faqirs and beggars, establishing safety of the roads, looking to the comforts of the travellers, maintaining the injunctions of the Sharah, destroying disagreeable customs, superstitions and tyrannical acts patronizing the learned, directing the people to good actions and uprooting tyranny.

The author of Sirat-i-Firuzshahi provides among other things a long catalogue of wordly advice given by the Thugluq Sultan Firuz to his nobles and officials relating to the line of action that one must pursue in private or political life. Though the ideal preached by the Sultan is meant alike for the rulers, governors, officials, high or low, and even citizens of all descriptions it is particularly related to duties of the King. We give below some of the recommendatory sayings of the Sultan. Every person must perform Amar-m-aruf or self-evident duties and shun *nahi munkar* or unlawful actions. He who abides by the *ada-i-faraiz*, the divine precepts, enjoys happiness and those who do not, reap the evil consequences. The Ada-i-Faraiz are of two kinds, *viz.*, *abadat-i-badani* and *faraiz-i-mali* meaning duties performed through the body (such as, performing Nemaj and Haj, observing Roza etc.) and those through wealth (such as, payment of Zakat) respectively.

All should try to secure knowledge and learning for themselves and should not neglect to educate their fellow Muslims. The knowledge that is acquired must not be forgotten but brushed up by constant discussion. Learning should be imparted to the deserving only.

If one feels doing anything he must bring it in action, and direct his services to the cause of God. There should not be any touch of personal vanity in one's actions. Expeditions against enemies must not be undertaken for self-applause or acquisition of wealth. One must be particular about keeping his promise, and he must not advertise merits that he does not possess. Example is better than precept. For pleasing people one must not by his speech and action cause displeasure to God.

The soldiery need be provided with requisite good and provisions and be treated with care and sincerety, so that, they engage themselves with heart and soul in duties entrusted to them. Rewards to the soldiery brings profitable return.

Covenants made with the nobles, landlords, farmers and generals should be strictly observed.

One should not be lazy and inactive, there is a fear of his actions being imitated by his underlings.

Failures should be met with a good grace, for, they are due to personal drawbacks.

The innocent should never be punished. It is always better to make delay in carrying out capital punishment, for, truth may prevail in the long run.

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It is always better to neglect the eulogies of interested parties lest one becomes proud and forgets his own failings. One should always bear in mind his own shortcomings and try to reform own self. He should secure the advice of the intelligent and the wise.

Do not displease your subordinates nor be fault-finding. Suppress anger and remember the sayings of the Quran, "God befriends him who controls his anger and pardons the guilty".

For securing success in one's own affairs, procrastination should be avoided, experienced men appointed on imortant errands and the lazy and indolent underlings turned out of office. The soldiery should not be put to hard and assiduous labour. In wars soldiers mut be placed in battle-order in consultation with old and experienced officials ; enemy-ambush should be avoided and soldiers should be encamped at a distance of one day's march from the enemy camp.

It now seems unnecessary to add to the catalogue of the words of advice given by the Sultan, by his further sayings which are more or less similar in character to those quoted above. In fact, the sayings point to an ideal, that every ruler, governor or official, high or low, should aspire after and that a successful administrator is he who is diligent, vigilant intelligent, unpresumptuous, truthful, generous, compassionate, tolerant, and last though not the least, a man of action and not of words.

SHAIKH SIRAJ JUNAIDI AND HIS CONTIBUTIONS TO THE MEDIEVAL HISTORY OF THE DECCAN.

BY

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Shaik Mohammad Kuknuddin who is popularly known as Shaik Siraj Junaidi was a great Sufi who came to the Deccan in the early part of the fourteenth century. He was not only a religious teacher, but was also a statesman, a political theorist and a social reformer. He did not live the retired life of a recluse, but, on the contrary, took active part in the contemporary political life. He was one of the architects of the Bahmani Kingdom.

It is strange that Burhan-i-Maathir, the most reliable authority on the Medieval Deccan and Futuhus-Salateen, a contemporary record, are entirely silent about the life and work of the Shaik whose name is so closely associated with the political life of the Deccan during the thirteenth century. It is equally strange that Ferishta omitted the life of the Shaik in the appendix of his history which is exclusively devoted to the biograhies of the notable Sufis of the North and South. He makes, however, some fragmentary references to the Shaik in the course of his history dealing with the Bahmani period, but they are entirely

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unsatisfactory for the study of the Shaik and his contributions. It is also curious that even the biographical works which exclusively deal with the lives of the Sufi Saints, as Seerul-Aulia سیرالاولیا and Mishkwatun-Nabuwat مشکواۃالنبوۃ are entirely silent on the life of the Shaik, although he was the most distinguished member of the holy order. But the Tazkeratul-Mulook تذکرۃالملوک Rafiuddin Shirazi is more helpful; and similarly two later historians, Abdul Jabbar Khan Asafi and Basheeruddin Ahmad who have written valuable works Mahboobul-Watan محبوب الوطن and Waqiat-i-Bijapur واقعات مملکت بیجاپور These latter works have been written in Urdu in 1894 and 1915 A. D. respectively.

According to these authorities the name of the Shaik was Shaik Mohammad Ruknuddin, whereas his father was Shaik Mohammad Sirajudnin, but he is popularly known as Shaik Siraj after his father. This fact is also corroborated by a Persian couplet written on his mausoleum at Gulberga in which he is mentioned as Ibn-i-Siraj, the son of Siraj. It is not possible to trace the full genealogy of the Shaik except that he was descended from the great Junaid of Baghdad, the celebrated saint who flourished in the third century of Hijra.

Shaikh Siraj was born in 670 A. H.—1217 A. D. at Peshawar where his father had arrived from Baghdad. Owing to the early death of his father, his education was supervised by of his uncle and mother.[1]

When he attained majority the Shaikh proceeded to Devagiri in in quest of spiritual guidance in 707 A. H.—1307 A. D., a year after Malik Kafoor's first invasion which was directed against Devagiri.[2] The reason why he proceeded to Devagiri—a far-flung place which still sounded strange to the Northerners—seems to be that the place was then gaining much importance as a new political and cultural centre and was becoming a rendezvous for adventurous people. The military campaigns which were launched by the Khilji rulers, opened a new avenue for the religious and secular adventurers of the North. A number of warriors and religious teachers were already in the field and had come down and settled at Devagiri and Elichpur long before the Delhi armies were mobilised under Malik Kafoor for the subgugation of the country. Hazrat Burhanuddin Ghreeb and Hazrat Syed Khundmeer Allauddin were the two notable Sufis who are said to have made their abode at Devagiri and were engaged in their religious teaching. The latter was a great Sufi who is widely known and respected in the Deccan for his esteemable social service which he rendered in his life time. He died in 734 A. H.—1333 A. D. and was burried at Deavagiri.[3] Shaikh Siraj joined the religious fold of this saint and completed his spiritual course.

The Shaikh after completing his religious course with Hazrat Khund Meer, returned to Delhi for further training. It is probable that the Shaik stayed at Devagiri for nearly fifteen years, because he, as the authorities say, came to Devagiri in 707 A. H.—1307 A. D. and left the

1. Waqaat by Basheeruddin Ahmad Vol. III, p. 524.
2. Waqaat by Basheeruddin Ahmad Vo. III, p. 524.
3. Waqaat by Basheeruddin Ahmad Vol. III, p. 524.

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place in 723 A. H.—1323 A. D.[1] At Delhi the Shaik was received respectfully and was recognised as a highly educated and a religious personality. The king himself was well-impressed by him and approached him for his spiritual blessings and encouragement. As the Warangal expedition was on foot, the Shaik was asked to accompany the expedition so that his company might ensure the desired success to the Mohammadan arms. The Shaik followed the Delhi army commanded by prince Juna Khan and returned victorious to the great joy of the king and the kingdom. It was a happy turn of affairs and the holy presence of the Shaik roused a lively interest in all classes of society. But the king and his courtiers entertained some misgivings about the Shaikh lest he should form a rival power against the state. Realising the unfriendly signs, the Shaikh left the court and proceeded to Devagiri, so that he might render any social service to the place and the people. It appears that the Shaikh stayed for sometime at Devagiri and proceeded further South until he made his point to reside at Kurchi[2] a village on the Krishna, probably because the region was very backward and was in sore need of religious and social reform. His emigration took place probably in 1324 A. D. a year after Warangal was conquered and annexed to Delhi. The Shaikh lived in the Krishna region and devoted himself entirely to the social and religious uplift of the place, but he, at the same time, kept himself closely in touch with and took active part in the political movement which was at work on the Deccan Plateau. He lived here till the Bahmani kingdom was established and later shifted to Gulbarga on the request of Allauddin Bahman Shah.

His name is so closely associated with the political activities of the Deccan in the greater part of the thirteenth century that it cannot easily be ignored. He was at least a moral and a spiritual inspirer, if not a practical politician, in the colossal work of state-forming, He inspired his colleagues and offe ed his moral support for the great plan which was then being carried out. The Shaik occupies the same position on the Deccan Plateau as the Pandit Vidayaranya on the other side of the Tungabhadra. As the Shaik had his prominent share in the establishment of the Bahmani kingdom, the Pandit had his role in that of Vijaynagar. It was a curious co-incidence that the two kingdoms, Bahmani and Vijyanagar, came into existence almost in the same decade—one on the North and the other on the South of the Tungabhadra—and both of them owed their existence to the moral gui dance of the religious heads of the time, Shaik Siraj and Pandit Vidyaranya. The two kingdoms which were planned at the spur of the moment were unprecedented in the history of India in the sense that they were planned and developed so quickly as it was not possible in the ordinary course and, therefore, they were in need of as much moral support as the material help.

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1. Waquat by Basheeruddin Ahmad Vol. III, p. 525.

2. Waquat by Bashiruddin Ahmed Vol. III. P. 525. It is also spelt as "Kunhi" and according to Rafiuddin Shirazi it was included in the district of Mirajs, Tazkiratul-Mulook, leaf 7.

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It was the Shaik who encouraged the political leaders, justified their cause, and contributed his political thoughts as an ethical basis for the movement.

He took a very prominent part in the assembly which was held to enthrone Allauddin Bahman Shah.

The Shaik appeared in his priestly robe, and figured very prominently in the body. He acted as the master of the ceremony. It was late in the morning that the proceeding of the meeting commenced. The Shaik seated Bahman Shah on the dais, tied the royal sword to his waist and kept aloft the black umbrella in commemoration of the Abbasid tradition.[1] And according to Rafiuddin Shirazi the Shaik presented his own turban and shirt which the king put on very respectfully on the occasion.[2] It was the formal proclamation of Bahman Shah's accesion to which the audience responded wholeheartedly. After this the Shaik addressed the gathering as loudly as it was audible to the whole gathering. The first part of his address was the expression of his spiritual blessing and warm wishes for the prosperity of the kingdom, and the second part contained his valuable pieces of advice to the king to strive after righteousness and avoid evils, and to be liberal, munificent and just in his dealings with the subjects.[3]

The Shaikh lived a long life of 111 years and died in 781 A. H.= 1379 A. D. according to the chronogram written on his shrine.[4] He died in the early reign of Mohamed Shah II whom Ferishta mistakenly calls Mahmood Shah. So long as the Shaik lived he commanded wide respect and exercised great influence on the character of the people and the morale of the society. The Bahmani kings from Allauddin Bahman Shah to Mohammad Shah II were invariably devoted to the Shaik as his spiritual disciples and approached him for his counsels and blessings in all their undertakings. Ferishta speaks of Ainuddin of Bijapur and Shaik Siraj Junaidi as two prominent religious heads who were contemporary of Allauddin Bahman Shah.[5] But according to Rafiuddin Shirazi Allauddin and his mother Ashraf Jehan were inseparably attached to Shaik Siraj and followed him wherever the Shaik moved on his religious and social mission. They remained in the company of the Shaik at Kurchi for a long time. Ashraf Jehan was so much attracted by the Shaik that she had later on become his disciple and had settled at Kurchi to be in close contact with the Shaik and to benefit from spiritual practices. She died and was burried at Kurchi. And if Rafiuddin is to be relied upon, Alauddin himself behaved like a staunch disciple

1. Mahboobul Waton by Abdul Jabbar Khan page, 70.
2. Tazkeratul Mulook by Rafiuddin Shirazi, Asafia library copy leaf 9.
3. There are the few expressions which Abdul Jabbar Khan has noted out of the Shaik's full address, which gives only a clue to his political thought. Had the full address been reproduced, it would have thrown ample light on the political theory which the Shaik expounded.
4. Waquat by Basheeruddin Ahmed, Vol. III, p. 524.
5. Farishta, Lucknow edition, page 281.

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at all times, and to quote the exact words of the historian, Allauddin was firm and persistent in his devotion to the Shaik and exhorted his children to follow him in this respect.[1]

در طریقه مریدی شیخ ثابت قوم و راسخ دم مي بود و اولاد خود را دریں باب مبالغها فرمود

The exhortation was implicitly followed by the successors of Bahman Shah. The four kings who succeeded Bahman Shah I never failed to pay their homage to Shaik. It had become customary that the kings respectfully put on the shirt and turban which were presented by the Shaik on the occasion of royal accession.[2] Even the hot-headed Mujahid Shah did not hesitate to accept the holy investiture at his accession, though he contracted some unfriendly relation with the Shaik in his later days.

Mohamed Shah I was also very persistent in his devotion to the Shaik and never moved on any of his military expeditions before he approached the Shaik and received his blessings. Ferishta records the expedition of Mohamed Shah I which was led in 763 A. H.—1361 A. D. against the Raja of Velampatam. The expedition as usual was started after receiving the good wishes of the Shaik. And when the king returned victorious from the battle a part of the booty was sent to the Shaik for distribution among the deserving persons especially priests and scholars[3]. And again in 767 A. H.—1365 A. D. a grim war raged between the Bahmanai kingdom and that of Vijayanagar wherein Mohamad Shah I succeeded owing to the Shaik's blessing. And when the king returned from the battle-field, he straightaway proceeded to the residence of the Shaikh with all the dust of the journey on his body to pay his devotional thanks.[4] Mohamad Shah II also held the Shaikh in high esteem and according to Ferishta, he was very respectful in his attitude towards him. The king paid his personal visit to the Shaikh while he was on his death bed. And when the Shaikh passed away, the king attended his 'third day' ceremony to pay his last respects to the memory of the deceased.

1. Tazkiratul Mulook by Rafiuddin, leaf 8.
2. Tazkiratul Mulook, leaf 9.
3. Farishta—286—289.
4. Farishta, page 292.

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"WHO FOUGHT AT GADRAGHATT"

BY

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Summary.

Muhommedan Historians in general following Ufi, while describing the attack on Gujarat by Muhammad Ghori in 1178 A. D. (574 A. H.) speak of his fight with Bhima II, the Chaulukya sovereign, whereas in this paper, an attempt has been made to show that the fight actually took place with Mularaja II.

It has also been shown that the fight took place at Kasaprada, modern Kayadra *alias* Gadraghatt of Prabandha Chintamani at the foot of Mount Abu, whereas Muslim Historians are silent over this question.

Sanskrit Literary works and Epigraphic Sources have been availed of in order to tackle this question.

Section IV.

MODERN INDIA 1764—1919.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

BY

Dr. K. K. Datta Patna College, Patna.

Dear Friends and Colleagues, Ladies and Gentlemen,

Mr first pleasant duty is to thank you all most cordially for the honour you heve done me by asking me to preside over the Modern Indian History Congress. I am expressing feelings of gratefulness from my heart of hearts for the privilege I have been thus favoured with to be in the midst of galaxy of eminent scholars and votaries of learning. Fully conscious of the inadequacy of my academic and other equipments, required for the position in which you have placed me today out of your genuine love and good wishes for a humble student of history like myself, I feel greatly embarrassed. I rely on your (sympathetic) co-operation and kind indulgence for the discharge of my duties here.

Whatever others with their visions dazzled by the glamour of intense materialism, might say against the utility of humanistic lore to solve the multitudinous problems of present-day humanity, particularly

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to provide means for a lofty standard of fashioned livelihood, every rational thinker will admit that a nation's history has its own role to play in moulding its destiny today or tomorrow. With unflinching convition in the profound significance of historical studies in modern society, Lord Acton justly observed : "the knowledge of the past, the record of truths revealed by experience, is pre-eminently practical, is an instrument of action, and a power that goes to the making of the future". A fairly balanced study of the bright as well as the dark chapters in the past history of a nation will beyond doubt serve as the surest beacon light for its advance and progress through unnumbered generations. Recollections of the past glories of a country cannot but inspire its people with hopes and enthusiasm in periods of acute national depression, and the careers of its great men will supply them with instructive examples facilitating their redemption from age-long national insolvency, "Through the proper study of history we can join the wisdom of Solomon to the counsel of Socrates by trying to get understanding and learning to know ourselves".

Further, the pitfalls of the past, by opening the eyes of the present generation to the manifold evils, follies and vices which doomed their country to degradation in the past will impart them weighty lessons required for the training of their minds and building up of their character as essential requisites for the development of sound and honest citizenship.

Efficient and healthy citizenship cannot grow without proper evaluation of the activities of the great men of the past in various spheres of life and due appreciation of their feelings and ideals.

"Show me what angels feel : till then,
I cling, a mere weak man, to men".

True historical research, that is a reasoned study of the deeds and thoughts of the past, is not certainly the 'luxury' of a scholar, but it is of the safest and most valuable means of inspiration, training, emancipation and advance.

Opinions differ regarding the value of history as a sound basis for 'effective moral instruction'. But there cannot be any succesful challenge to the definition of history as 'philosophy teaching by examples'. A dispassionate study of History will undoubtedly point some great truths which have shaped and reshaped nations' destinies age after age and will prove the ultimate triumph of right over wrong, of justice over injustice, This is required to humanize our thoughts and rationalize our outlook in an atmosphere surcharged with venoms of sordidness and brutality. "History is", as Dr. Pollard holds, "the most humane of the humaner stuies". The truth of History *must be* unfolded, with a perfectly anbiased mind, to remove those petty jealousies, squabbles, and discords that drive away men from the paths of peace and righteousness, and never was there a greater need of it than today when humanity has been most bitterly afflicted by the many-sided issues of an unprecedented cataclysm. This is how an historian will discharge a noble task.

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Further, a comprehensive and critical study of the different conditions of life prevailing in our country during the last three centuries, and also in the immediate past, both of which may well be regarded as covering practically the major portion of the Modern Period, has become a matter of the utmost importance for us today as we are living in a stirring epoch when History is moving "with the flickering quickness of a cinematograph film", and we are consequently faced every day with problems of adjustment to varying conditions. To make these adjustments balanced, wholesome and useful, the traditions of the past must be taken into account in a fair degree, so that our energies are not frittered away in the pursuit of artificial plans or irresponsible policies.

There is extensive literature on our subject. From the early days of Indo-British administration, bands of writers like Orme, Watts, Scrafton, Bolts, Verelst, Shore, Prinsep, Wilks, Sleeman, Elphinstone, Martin and some others bequeathed to posterity a substantial store of historical information regarding our country. The stock was further enriched by the admirable histories, written by Mill, Thornton, Auber, Nolan, Marshman, Broome, Kaye, Beveridge, Malleson, and a few more, whose accounts are mostly lucid, faithful and impartial. Among those who have in modern times written British Indian History as a whole, or selected portions of it, the names of Sir G. W. Forrest, Sir John Strachey, Sir James Stephen, Sir Alfred Lyall, Mr. Ramsay Muir, Mr. P. E. Roberts and Mr. H. H. Dodwell deserve special mention. While a book like Mr. Robert's 'India Under Wellesley' is an example of critical scholarship, some other modern works, as I feel in my own humble way, could not be written on strict impartial lines for this reason or that.

Due notes of warning have been sometimes sounded against the pernicious practices of distorting historical truths under various unacademic considerations, or getting history 'made to order' from imperialistic, pseudo-national, parochial or communal points of view. Let us hope that good sense will soon dawn in the minds of interested persons, and the searchlight of sound historical knowledge will dispel the mists of ignorance, prejudice or passion. There is indeed ample reason for optimism in this respect because a renaissant spirit is now fostering in our land proper historical research on sound and national lines.

So far as Modern Indian History is concerned, the march of the leaders of sound historical thought in our country, namely, the late Mr. R. C. Dutt, whose genius unfolded itself in manifold petals, the late Mr. V. K. Rajwada, the late Rao Bahadur Parsinis, Sir Jadunath Sarkar, Sir Shaafat Ahmad Khan, Dr. S. N. Sen, Dewan Bahadur Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, Rao Bahadur C. S. Srinivasachari is being reinforced by a number of conscientious workers with fresh zeal and industry. The well documented researches of Dr. N. K. Sinha and Dr. Hari Ram Gupta have considerably added to our knowledge about the Sikhs, and the former has also written a brilliant volume on Haidar Ali, a very important personality indeed in the 18th century history of India. In the last session of this Congress, Mr. Qasim Ali Sajjan Lal read an

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interesting paper on Haidar Ali's appeal to the English in 1764. As regards Mysore, we have also the valuable researches of the veteran investigator Rao Bahadur Hayavadana Rao, and another learned scholar, Dr. K. N. V. Shastri, has steadfastly applied himself to its study and to that of some other allied subjects. Besides Rao Bahadur G. S. Sardesai's sympathetic survey of some aspects of Maratha history during the 17th and 18th centuries, we have to our benefit a highly useful volume of Dr. H. N. Sinha on the first three Peshwas, Professor A. C. Banerjee's learned monograph on the conspicuous Maratha statesman Madhhv Rao I, and Dr. P. C. Gupta's critical studies on the Peshwa Baji Rao II, but for a thorough knowledge of whose character, policies and movements one cannot have a proper idea of the final collapse of Maratha imperialism. Dr. Nandalal Chatterjee has given us a detailed account of Mir Qasim, whose regime was a highly signicant one in the history of the 18th century Bengal and also a scholarly review of the two years of the Dual Government. Prof. S. H. Askari's illuminating papers on Rajah Ramnarain, Naib Nazim of Bihar during a critical period, are based on some unpublished Persian letters discovered by us at Patna. Dr. A. P. Das Gupta has made a critical study of the relation of the Supreme Council with the Madras Government from 1774 to 1784 and also contributed some original papers on other topics. The valuable works of Dr. A. L. Srivastava on the history of Oudh during the 18th century contain plenty of new information. Recently Dr. P. Basu has written an excellent volume on Oudh and the E. I. Co. 1723—1801 and Prof. A. F. M. Khalilur Rahaman has written an interesting paper on the diplomacy of Shuja-ud-daulah. We have got from Dr. A. G. Pawar some inspiring papers on various topics. Some of our learned colleagues, Dr. Yusuf Husain Khan, Dr. M. A. Chagtai, Dr. A. Halim, Mr. M. S. Jaffar and Prof. Sardar Ganda Singh have recently given out the results of their critical studies on Persian documents.

It is highly gratifyiug to note the interest that some Indian ladies are taking in historical research. In the course of the last three years we have got interesting papers on 'The Historical Importance of the Abbe-Dubois Alexander Read' by Miss M. Sharadamma, on 'Dost Muhammad Khan in India' by Miss Janki Chopra, on 'Press Attack on Lord Ellenborough's Policy towards Sindh' by Miss Bapai Butliwala, and on 'Popular Agitation against Outram's Dismissal' by Miss Hilla D. Dhunjeebhoy. We hope that their noble example would soon be emulated by other kindred writers.

We are indeed profoundly grateful to some modern European scholars for their valuable contributions to the history of this period, made during their stay in India or after they had left it. Several years back, Prof. A. Martineau, Rev. W. K. Firminger, Sir Evan Cotton, Mr. R. B. Ramsbotham, Mr. H. G. Rawlison, and some others actively interested themselves in writing some really useful books and articles. From time to time Col. H. Bullock and Major H. Hobbs have contributed some interesting and informative papers. Rev. Father H. Heras has ably pointed out the importance of Jesuit Letters and Accounts, Cavaliero

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Panduranga Pissurlencar and Mons. Alfred Lehuraux are rendering great service to Indian scholars by drawing their attention to the value of Portuguese and French records respectively.

When I briefly review the progress of our studies relating to Modern India up till now, I feel, with all my deference and sense of gratitude for my Gurus and colleagues, that much more has got to be done to be able to reap a rich harvest of fruitful studies. I cannot help recalling Lord Tennyson's words:

"Yet experience is an arch wherethro'
Gleams that untravell'd world, whose margin fades
For ever and for ever when I move".

Even in the sphere of the Political History of Modern India, there are a large number of personalities whose careers, and also a series of events whose origin, growth and effects have got to be studied on the basis of original documents. This will serve to open our eyes to the fallacy of some irrational conclusions drawn on preconceived notions and also to bring to light many unknown or ignored but important episodes. The movements of the respective European trading Companies in India during the first half of the 18th century leading to their inevitable penetration into the field of Indian politics await comprehensive study. The real causes of the hostility between Sirajuddaulah and the English East India Company, and of the veering relations between the latter and Mir Jafar, are to be ascertained through the means of critical investigations. In his memorial submitted by Mr. J. Z. Holwell to the Select Committee in Calcutta on the arrival of Mr. Vansittart to succeed him, he accused Mir Jafar of being engaged "in a secret negotiation with the Dutch (about October or November, 1758) for transporting troops from Batavia into these provinces, that with their united force a stop might be put to the power of the English" (Vansittart's Narrative, Vol. I. p. 50). But the Select Committee in Calcutta observed in its letter to the Court of Directors, dated the 22nd October, 1759 (copy recently obtained by me from the Imperial Records Department): "We think it necessary to inform you the Dutch are attempting to disturb the tranquillity of this Province by introducing into this country a considerable body of Europeans and Buggesses unknown to the Subah (Subahdar = Mir Jafar), this ill-judged step has greatly exasperated him against them and we have reason to believe that matters will shortly be accommodated by those forces being obliged to leave the River" (Hugli). Which of the two statements is correct?

What I have read to prepare my thesis on Shah Alam II and the English adds to my conviction that historical monographs on the careers of rulers and politicians like Murshid Quli Jafar Khan, Shuja-ud-din Muhammad Khan, Raja Nanda Kumar, Raja Shitab Ray, Ray Durlabh Ram, Raja Rajballabh and some others, when impartially and accurately written, will unravel many of the intricacies of contemporary politics in Northern India, as such studies on personalities like Chanda Saheb, Muhammad Ali and Nizam Ali will throw much light on the political developments in Southern India. Our learned historian Dr. R. C.

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Mazumdar will, as I understand, soon bring out a volume on Raja Rajballabh. Anglo-Benares relation from the time of Ali Gohur's first invasion of Bihar in 1759 till the close of Warren Hasting's administration requires fair elucidation. Even after the publication of Dr. Mehta's valuable book on 'Lord Hastings and the Indian States', British policy towards different Indian States from 1798 to 1858 has to be reviewed in detail, in order to be able to follow correctly the stages in the growth of British paramountcy in India.

Proper investigations into the relations of the British East India Company with the kingdoms on the North-Western, Northern and Eastern frontiers of India during the formative period of the British Empire in this country may be profitably undertaken. Considerable gap in our knowledge in this respect has been filled up by the recent publication of Dr. S. N. Sen's 'Prachin Bangal and Patna Sankalan', a highly useful selection of Bengali letters preserved under the custody of the Imperial Records Department, and Prof. A. C. Banerjee's book entitled 'The Eastern Frontier of British India'. Prof. Banerjee surveys British policy towards Assam and Burma between 1786 and 1826 on the basis of published and unpublished materials in English, Bengali, Assamese and Burmese languages by greatly supplementing the brief narratives of some previous writers on the subject like Sir Edward Gait, Sir Arthur Phayre and Mr. G. E. Harvey. The North-West Frontier and Afghan policies of the British East India Company's government in India from the days of Ahmad Shah Abdali's raids into India till the outbreak of the first Anglo-Afghan War, and British relations with Nepal from the time of Mir Qasim's *subahdarship* till 1816-18 await detailed investigation.

Various phases of the rapid rise of the British Empire in India between 1819 and 1859 and genesis as well as nature of the Indian Mutiny of 1857-59 remain to be illumined. Recently Dr. S. N. Sen has given us the benefit of his learned studies on certain important historical documents of this period, and some well-written and informative papers have been contributed by scholars like Dr. T. G. P. Spear Dr. I. H. Qureshi, Mr. O. P. Bhatnagar, Mr. N. C. Sinha, and a few others.

Successive stages in the development of the Indo-British administrative system for about a century before 1858 demand more exhaustive and impartial studies than what we have so far got. For this, the testimony of the famous contemporaries Shore, Munro, Malcolm, Metcalfe, Elphinstone, Rickards, Sleeman, Colebrooke and Kaye may be utilized, with due care and scrutiny, along with the evidence supplied by various other published documents of the period. Some works such as Rev. W. K. Firmingers 'Introduction to his edition of the Fifth Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons', Mr. F. D. Ascoll's 'Early Revenue History of Bengal and the Fifth Report', Mr. R. B. Ramsbotham's 'Studies in the Land Revenue History of Bengal, 1769-1787', Mr. Moncton Jones' 'Warren Hastings in Bengal' and A. Aspinall's 'Cornwallis in Bengal' no doubt contain useful

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information regarding the different features of the administrative machinery that was built up as a concomittant of the rising British political anthority in India. Prof. D. N. Banerjee's works on 'Early Land Revenue System in Bengal and Bihar, 1765-72' and 'Early Administrative System of the East India Company in Bengal, 1765-74' are of much value. In his monograph entitled 'The Supreme Court in Conflict' Dr. I. Banerjee has very ably discused certain aspects of the relations between the Supreme Council and the Supreme Court.

Yet much remains to be done for the acquisition of detailed and accurate knowledge of the beginnings and gradual construction of the British-Indian administrative edifice. Sound study of the superstructures raised on it, and of the constitutional changes in the post-Mutiny period, has already received the attention of several scholars, and the learned contributions of Major K. M. Pannikar, Prof. Tripurari Chakravarty, Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad, Dr. Bool Chand and Dr. N. C. Roy deserve special mention in this connection. But the various forces, indigenous as well as foreign, working behind the administrative and constitutional changes in Modern India deserve more careful scrutiny and correct interpretation by means of sober studies.

Over and above all, one supremely important task awaiting conscientious dedication of ourselves is the preparation of a true history of the people of India during the last three centuries. Genius, judgment and technique of master artists must be applied to the outcome of scienctific investigations of zealous and well-trained scholars to draw an accurate picture of the varied aspects of life of the teeming millions of India during such eventful periods. Rosy pictures of an imperial city or a provincial metropolis, drawn by the pen of panegyrists, and casual observations of uncritical foreign travellers cannot certainly be very safe and reliable guides for studying past life. We must try, by the application of proper methods of historical research, to ascertain as perfectly as possible the material conditions and economic resources of the tillers of the soil, the workers on the looms and the ordinary day-labourers and also the extent of our country's mercantile and financial transations, so that knowledge of the past proves to be of real help to the living generation for the formulation of sound plans of economic reconstruction. Even the significant and sensational political revolutions in our country since the middle of the 18th century cannot be properly understood unless they are studied with reference to the inter-related economic factors of the respective periods.

The value of this branch of study was well realised by the great pioneer, the late Mr. R. C. Dutt. But up till now only a few important works on the economic history of India have come out. These are 'Commercial Relations between India and England' and 'Industrial Decline in India' by the late Dr. Balkrishna, 'Economic Annals of Bengal' by Dr. J. C. Sinha, 'Commercial Relations between England and India' by Prof. C. J. Hamilton, 'Indian Finance in the days of

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the Company' by Dr. P. N. Banerjee and 'Early European Banking in India' by Dr. H. Sinha. A friend and pupil of mine, Prof. Hari Ranjan Ghosal, has almost completed the writing of a thesis on the Economic Condition of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa between 1793 and 1833.

Conditions of India's society, education, literature and culture since the beginning of her close contact with the West and the story of her socio-economic reforms have not also been adequately studied by her scholars. But the rapid march of historical forces has made it incumbent on them not to relegate such a study to the background. As a matter of fact, under the inspiration of a general renaissance, India has, for more than a hundred years now, felt a new spiritual urge towards truth, justice and reason, her society is being purged of the degrading evils of medieval times, and her thought has been enlivened and enriched. An historian's unbiased study of the various factors that have brought into existence the New India of the present century is needed to prevent an unhesitating and blind submission to some newly sprung disintegrating forces in our society and vicious tendencies in our education and culture, and to teach the reformers of today not to ignore the fundamentals of past civilisation. Justice Mahadev Govinda Ranade, one of the prophets of modern Indian renaissance, gave a timely warning to some blind imitators when he said: "The true reformer has not to write on a clean slate. His work is more often to complete the half-written sentence".

One fascinating subject of study is 'the Greater India' of modern times, that is, the history of Indians going abroad during the 18th, 19th and 20th centuries. A band of investigators, possessed of critical vision, should look into the records relating to their political status, social life, economic condition, standard of culture and religious activities. There would be no paucity of such records in the different centres of their distribution outside Asia, in the regions of the Far East and also in India. A comparative study of the lot of Indians within and the Indian traders, settlers, or missionaries (e. g., some members of the Ramkrishna Mission) abroad would prove to be a source of instruction.

The importance of specialised studies, based on the minutest details, can hardly be over-estimated. But it is at the same time necessary for one to be on his guard against narrow specialisation, blind to the major issues of human history in different ages and climes. Proper interpretation of the political, economic, social, religious and cultural changes in India during the centuries under review demands adequate references to the facts of contemporary history in several other countries of the world. The international rivalries of the 18th century had undoubtedly tremendous repercussions on the course of contemporary Indian history. The War of Austrian Succession, the Seven Years' War, the War of American Independence, and the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars had their echoes in India. The political feelings and ideas of great statesmen and philosophers like Edmund Burke, Bentham,

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Mill and some others, and the convictions of prominent party leaders like Palmerston and the Earl of Beaconsfield, had their share in the transformation of Modern India. Mercantilism, the Industrial Revolution, and the wars of the West, profoundly influenced the economic conditions of India in the respective periods. The reverse process, that is, the influence of Indian economic conditions on world economics, has also got to be carefully examined. The effects of Western education and culture on our civilisation have been indeed very striking. At the same time, the reaction of Modern India's political, social and religious ideas, literature, philosophic thoughts and scientific studies on world culture and civilisation must be properly understood. The great thinkers and scholars of Modern India, Rommohan, Syed Ahmad, Vivekananda, Rabindranath, Iqbal, Bose, Ray, Saha, Raman, Seal and Radhakrishnan, have exerted enormous influence on human minds outside the limits of our country. The history of this influence should be duly recorded. In this connection, I most respectfully reiterate a valuable suggestion, made by one of our veteran historians, Dr. R. C. Mamuzdar, in the course of his Presidential Address at the Calcutta session of this Congress to the effect that, if history is "to help the progress of each country as well as human civilisation as a whole, it must cast off its insularity and must take in its all-embracing view the affairs of the world unlimited by considerations of either time or space."

Materials for our study of the numerous phases and problems of modern Indian history are indeed profuse. My illustrious predecessors duly pointed out the value, for our purpose, of the heaps of documents preserved in the India Office, the British Museum, Public Records Office, London, in the archives at Lisbon, Goa, the Hague, and Paris, and in the private collections of those gentlemen in Europe, whose ancestors played important parts in the history of India. The various selections from many of those records, prepared from time to time by such qualified writers as J. E. Colebrooke, J. H. Harrington, Lt.-Col. J. Gurwood, Montgomery Martin, Charles Ross, J. Long, J. T. Wheeler, Sir G. W. Forrest, Mr. C. R. Wilson, Mr. S. C. Hill, Sir William Foster, Prof. H. H. Dodwell, Mr. H. Fuslier and some others are certainly of great help to researchers. It may be said that all this has touched the fringe of the stupendous collections. But one can reasonably hope that the example of what has been done will serve as a means of inspiration to others and that the growing sense of the importance of historical research will stimulate further work on this line to remove to a great extent the weighty handicaps under which the Indian scholars in general have got to work.

In our country also there is abundance of manuscript documents of great importance from the standpoint of historical research, stored in the Imperial Record Department, New Delhi, the Record Offices of some of the Provinces and States and in the libraries of some learned institutions. In addition to what was already being done by the Imperial Records Department to facilitate historical studies, under the

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guidance and inspiration of the eminent historian, Dr. S. N. Sen, it is now working most marvellously, with the noble spirit of an academy, to further the cause of true researches into the different aspects of the history of modern India by offering genuine facilities to scholars, by teaching the methods of archive preservation on a scientific basis and by bringing out as quickly as possible, critical, learned and useful works on historical records. The well-thought-out Five Year Publication Programme of the Indian Historical Commission will in no distant future place at the disposal of the students of modern Indian history editions of some important historical documents. Some of the publications of the provincial governments in the Punjab, Bombay, Madras and Bengal are highly useful for research purposes, and we exhort them as well as other provincial governments earnestly to render greater help to bonafide researchers.

We have examples in our country of successful private enterprise in the collection of historical documents. It is well known to us how the devoted labours of some Maratha scholars like Rajwade, Parsinis, Khare, Kelkar. Sane, Apte, Kale, Sardesai have resulted in the discovery of huge collections of valuable documents in Marathi. Their gradual study proves to be substantially helpful in the writing of detailed histories on Maharastra, where the tradition of historical research is being well maintained by Sardesai, Kibe, Potdar, Patwardhan, Joshi and Deshpande. The Bharat Itihasa Sansodhaka Mandal of Poona is a storehouse of precious Marathi documents. The Oriental Public Library at Patna, rich in its collections of Persian and Arabic manuscripts, is a standing monument of selfless public spirit of one single individual, Khan Bahadur Khudabaksh, justly described by Sir J. N. Sarkar as the 'Indian Bodley'. The Vangiya Sahitya Parishad in Calcutta renders useful services to the cause of research by occasionally publishing old Bengali and Sanskrit works of historical importance. We are thankful to the Department of Historical and Antiquarian Studies, Government of Assam, for its gift of valuable editions of Assamese *Buranjis*. Mahamahopadhya Bisheshwar Nath Rieu has been indefatigably engaged in discovering and studying some informative documents relating principally to the Rajputs.

While we hope that all these streams will continue to fertilize our resources, we have still on ourselves a very important and reponsible charge. This is to rescue from the ravages of climate and time, and to bring to light the vast mass of manuscript records in different languages lying concealed in private abodes in all parts of our country, very often on the verge of destruction. It is our imperative duty to unearth these raw materials to accelerate the march of the Science of history. The representatives of old official and aristocratic families will have to be persuaded to offer their personal collections for use in connection with historical research, and suitable step will have to be taken for their preservation under Government or University supervision or in some learned institutions if their removal for a sacred cause is permitted by their owners.

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The work of the Indian Historical Records Commission in discovering, collecting, cataloguing and editing records of historical importance to make them available to students of history is of inestimable value. Let us hope that all lovers of history will extend wholehearted cooperation for the successful operation of the new plan of the Regional Survey of Records formulated by the reconstituted Commission. I urge that the post-graduate students of our universities should be interested in the matter of searching out, and bringing to the notice of their institutions, records that may be lurking in their respective localities, and the universities and colleges should encourage them in this work in all possible ways. There may be even a practical paper for higher students of history to test their acquaintance with historical records belonging to their areas. Their efforts might bear fruit in the building up in each institution of museum-laboratories badly needed for proper teaching of the Science of History.

Difficulties and impediments in our path are, of course, numerous. Let us hope that they will not long stand insurmountable before the strong will and conscientious devotion of honest historians. When our cause is just, we can well recall the inspiring words of our poet :—

"All my thorns will be crowned
with the glory of a flower :
All my sorrows will glow
and blush into a rose."

NAWAB UMDATU'L UMARA OF THE CARNATIC (1795-1801) AND THE ENGLISH.

BY

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The relations of the Wallajahi Nawabs of the Carnatic with the British power occupy a special place in the history of the establishment of the British Dominion in India and of the evolution of British policy towards Indian States in the earlier stages. The Carnatic formed, in a more valuable sense than has been usually recognised, the effective starting point and base of expansion of the British dominion and served as an effective buffer between it and the Sultans of Mysore and as a counterpoise and balancing factor in the maintenance of a political equilibrium between the different powers of South India and the Deccan in the latter half of the 18th century. The career of Nawab Muhammad Ali Wallajah has been in the prominent attention of historians, though partisan pamphleteering did much to cloud the real issues between him and the Company. The short-lived rule of his son and successor, Nawab Umdatu'l Umara, was signgficant of the futile struggle of an expiring principality whose

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earlier usefulness became hidden and forgotten, and which, though protected for a time by the vacillating non-interference of Sir John Shore, became almost the first target for the play of the aggressive annexationist attitude of Wellesley. The decrepit condition of the Nawabi became a fitting stage on which the great Pro-Consul could play with all the vigour of his developing ambition of annexation and his justification of it on a variety of grounds, imperial, diplomatic, administrative and personal.

The following picture of the Nawab is an attempt to evaluate his views as to the effect of the British connection with his government and state and to reveal his ever-growing fear of an early extinction of the Carnatic State; and stress is laid on the Nawab's maintenance of his rights as secured by treaties and his clinging to them with a vague, but despairing, hope that they might be observed in his favour and lead to his State's survival.

The new Nawab who ascended the *masnad*, on his father's death in October 1795, had indeed enjoyed with the Madras Government a good opinion for his character and for his appreciation of the British connection. As early as 1775, in a letter that the Madras Council wrote to the Company[1] when there was a fear that the Nawab might try to alter the succession in favour of his second son, Amir-ul-Umara, whom he had entrusted with much power, we read the following account of Umdatu'l Umara :

" His eldest son, Umdut Ul Umrah, is a young Lord of Capacity, and the adversities he has suffered have had the good effect of rendering him moderate and affable. He is learned, and the favourite of the people. He has the justest sense of the connection between the Carnatic and the Company, and that the Lord of this country ought, in a certain degree, to depend upon the British nation for the support and protection of the Company.

" It is a principle in the Moorish religion that the father is master of the family and has the disposal of his estate ; and on this plan it appears to us that the Nawab has been seduced to entertain notions of altering the succession, in favour of his second and favourite son Amiru'l Umara. Permit us to point out to our reasons for thinking that in the present case he has no such right.

" The phirmaund of the Mogul in 1765 obtained by Lord Clive and accompanied by titles which the Nabob still uses was in 1766 proclaimed, at his desire, in the presence of the Governor and Council of this place, of the principal inhabitants and of all his sardars. By such acceptance he acknowledged the right of the Mogul to make the grant that expressly fixes the succession after his death in Umdut Ul Umrah, his eldest son, and their heirs for ever....."

The Directors had replied to this letter that they should secure a *just and lineal* succession to the childern of the Nawab, according to the

1. Despatch from St. George, dated 4th July 1775.

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"phirmaund from the Emperor Shaw Allum and the treaty of 1768 between the Company, the Subah of the Deccan and the Nabob."

Muhammad Karim, the author of the Sawanihat-I-Mumtaz,[1a] which gives a detailed account of the rule of this Nawab, tells us that on the second day after his Coronation the son of the Governor (Lord Hobart) again came for a conference to discuss matters of *qists* and the desirability of the Nawab making over certain taluks to the Company instead; thereupon the Nawab became grave and gloomy on account of this demand.

Lord Hobart displayed an undesirable haste in beginning negotiations with the new Nawab for a revision of the financial arrangements made in 1792. Sir John Shore, the Governor-General, had authorised Lord Hobart to propose to the Nawab, on his accession, the assignment of the entire revenues of his kingdom to the Company. Hobart apprehended the influence of European usurers on the Nawab's resolution; and he began, immediately after the latter's installation, negotiations, without the consent of the Governor-General, for surrender of the district of Tinnevelly. Hobart was taxed by Shore with having addressed the Nawab "in terms at once offensive to his deceased father and menacing to himself; by pressing upon him unreasonably the immediate payment of a debt due to the Company and other claims real or disputable.. by threatening compulsory measures."[2] The Nawab asserted his adherence to the strict fulfilment of his treaty rights. He declared: "By the grace of Allah I succeeded to the throne of my father. It is not even a week since my coronation day, and I am bothered by unnecessary anxiety. Allah, exalted be He, is the Protector and the King of kings,"[2a] Hobart however, pressed his demand both unreasonably and unseasonably as he conceived that he waa fully justified by the more than probable inability of the Nawab to fulfil his engagements to the Company. In the short space of eight days the negotiations of Hobart broke down unsuccessfully and the Nawab contrived, for the first and last time, to hold his ground.

Hobart appealed to Sir John Shore who acquiesced in his proposition though it fell far short of his own and strove to induce the Nawab to assent to it. But he condemned the Madras Governor's conduct during his transaction, though he appreciated the motives and the zeal which had prompted it. Shore wrote that Hobart's conduct was calculated to incense rather than conciliate the Nawab. He added that Hobart's demand was "repugnant to the Treaty of 1792, by which the Nabob's rights were guaranteed—as, in respect to some of the demands pressed on the Nabob, unjustifiable—and as, in fact, involving a breach of faith." Though he expressed a doubt "whether the negotiations could have been

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1a Part I, trans. by Dr. S. M. H. Nainar—Sources of the History of the Nawabs of the Carnatic III (1940).

2. Memoirs of the Life and Correspondence of Lord Teignmouth, by his son, Lord Teignmouth (1843)—Vol. I, p. 354.

2a Hobart had neglected to fire the customary salute of guns from the ramparts of Fort St. George on the occasion of the coronation, nor was he or his proxy present at the ceremony.

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possibly so managed as to secure the Nabob's consent," he maintained that the magnitude of an advantage could not warrant the prosecution of it by improper means. Lord Hobart vigorously justified the course he had pursued, on the grounds above noticed; he also tried further justification of his stand by making an appeal to the Court of Directors. But the Governor-General was firm in his opinion. He wrote to Dundas, the President of the Board of Control on January 12, 1796, that "the conduct of Lord Hobart towards the new Nawab in my opinion is most unjustifiable, violent, and indefensible upon every principle." He condemned Hobart for having incurred "the obloquy of a breach of public faith, without the satisfaction of succeeding in his objects." He disapproved the principle adopted by Hobart, that of forcing the Nawab into an acquiescence by indirect means of coercion, as "such a principle, if it were to become a motive of action, would soon suggest to the Country Powers, that convenience was the measure of good faith." Shore further added that he did not care to write to Hobart his own views, privately, as he was precluded "by the intemperance of language displayed by him."

He added the following words: "The character of the Nabob, as represented to me by those who have studied it personally is a compound of good nature, vanity, weakness, and obstinacy. He is accessible by flattery; and although he wants exertion, he is not deficient in abilities, when compelled to the use of them, nor discernment. The conduct which I should have recommended to Lord Hobart, if he had asked my private opinion, and which was suggested in our public instructions, was, persuasion and conciliation. Attention from a man of His Lordship's rank and situation would have flattered his vanity; a liberal acknowledgement of rights established by treaty would have disarmed suspicion and address might have conciliated or seduced his acquiscence, beyond the power of retraction. His Lordship might have reflected, that the weakest and most timid will resist compulsion, and that the language of intimidation should never be used without the power to enforce it.... I know the wishes of the Company in this business, and I feel all the importance of establishing their authority effectively in the Carnatic; but the inflexibility is now so aggravated, that I have no hopes of success with him; and I freely confess to you my embarrassment, in deciding between him and his Lordship.[3]

Dundas was greatly worried over the mutually recriminatory letters that he received from the Governor-General and the Governor of Madras. As has been well characterised by a recent author, "Shore and Hobart differed radically in character and policy. Shore had little initiative, few personal opinions; he was cautious and sauve. Hobart was wilful, dictatorial and a man who held strong convictions. Almost inevitably they quarrelled, and Hobart, who was impatiently awaiting his eventual succession to the Governor-Generalship, quickly worked himself into a frenzy."[4]

3. Ibid, pp. 359-60.

4. G. H. Philips: The East India Company, 1784-1834, pp.92-93.

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The letters of Hobart passed the bounds of decency and showed an evidently unbalanced mind. Shore had applied to be relieved of his office and Dundas had made up his mind firmly that Hobart should not have it and was in every way unfit to be Governor-General. Dundas requested Cornwallis who in view of the critical situation of the Bengal Army agreed to accept the Governor-Generalship. Meanwhile the Board of Control began a thorough investigation of the recent policy of the Madras Government; Dundas, acting partly on the advice of Lord Mornington, later Marquess Wellesley, one of the Assistant Commissioners of the Board, resolved to recall Hobart from Madras. Cornwallis was indeed sworn in as Governor-General, but as his departure was doubtful the Premier, William Pitt offered Mornington the Governorship of Madras with the reversion of the Governor-Generalship. And the latter agreed to go to Madras only if Cornwallis should be Governor-General; and Pitt promised that if Cornwallis did not proceed to India, Mornington should be appointed Governor-General. This was in July 1799, when Cornwallis had decided not to go to India for all practical purposes and Mornington was asked to take up the place, while the Governorship was first offered to Earl Bathurst and on his refusal to Lord Clive, son of the hero of Plassey. The political consequences of Hobart's quarrel with Shore over the Carnatic Nawabi had indeed very extensive repercussions. It may also be here noted that the opposition in the Court of Directors and in the Court of Proprietors, attempted to reopen the old vexed question of the payment of the Arcot creditors.

The Nawab was meanwhile striving hard to get a letter of confirmation from King George III and sent several supplications to the the English court to that effect.

With reference to the comparatively close correspondence maintained between the British court and the Nawab's durbar, Lord Mornington (later the Marquess Wellesley), of had to write to Mr. Dundas, President of the Board of Control, on the 5th of March, 1800 thus :—"His Highness is surrounded by European advisers of the most dangerous and profligate character, whose interests are deeply involved in the perpetuation of the abuses of his Government, and who (amongst other means of perverting his Councils) labour to inspire him with the notion of a distinction of interests and powers between the Royal Government and that constituted by Act of Parliament for the administration of the British Empire in India. In all his conversations and correspondence, he studiously

5. As early as 1768 the king had been persuaded by the then Premier through the efforts of John Macpherson to send a letter to Nawab Walajah countersigned by Chathamand assuring the Nawab of protection and assistance. An autograph letter to the Nawab from His Majesty, dated the 19th March 1771, conveyed some presents and tokens of royal esteem. The Nawab got a much-prized reply to his request in the royal holograph dated 7th April 1772. Lindsay and Harland were sent by the British Government as Royal plenipotentiaries at the court of the Nawab in those days, But these created more trouble for the Nawab than a favourable atmosphere with the Madras Government.

(See The Empire in India by Major E. Bell (1930)— Edited by C. S. Srinivasachari pp. 53-56 and footnotes.)

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distinguishes His Majesty's Government from that of the Court of Directors ; uniformly treating the latter with disrespect and even with ridicule and contempt. In my last conversation with His Highness he plainly declared to me that he considered His Majesty to be his father, friend, ally, and protector, but that the Court of Directors desired to 'obtain his country any how'."[6]

Dundas was busy with these questions till the autumn of 1797. With regard to the Carnatic question, the Court of Directors issued a Despatch to Madras on the 18th of October, 1797 informing that they had requested Mornington to make a short stay at Fort St. George and to endeavour to prevail on the Nawab to agree to a modification of the treaty of 1792. Though Hobart had been recalled mainly because of the harsh methods, which he suggested for the attainment of the modification, the Directors expressed in this Despatch their wish that the endeavours of Hobart had proved successful. They added they were, however, anxious to maintain their credit with the country powers and would not authorise the new Governor-General "to exert other powers than those of persuasion to induce the Nabob to form a new arrangement.[7] Lord Mornington landed at Madras on the 26th April, 1798 and was received by General Harris and accommodated in one of the houses of the Nawab. On the very day of his landing he proceeded to open negotiations with the Nawab and had a personal interview with him two days later, when he presented him with two letters, respectively from His Majesty King George III and His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. But the negotiations were in vain. The Nawab would not consent to any alteration of the treaty of 1792. Pearce would attribute this obstinacy on the part of the Nawab to his not being sufficiently appreciative of the new position and responsibilities of the British power. ("The leaven of the old French settlement of Pondicherry, on the sea-coast of his dominions, was still at work in the Carnatic ; and the Nabob had yet been taught effectually to fear a Government that he had been humbled by Hyder Ali and threatened with destruction at the gates of the capital of the Presidency, by his powerful neighbour and confidential correspondent, Tippoo Sultaun.")[8]

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6. The Despatches, Minutes and Correspondence of the Marquess Wellesley K. G. Edited by Montgomery Martin, Vol. II, pp. 240-41.

7 On this Mill caustically remarks : "It is sufficiently remarkable to hear Ministers and Directors conjunctly declaring, that "the principle of an exact observance of treaties" still remained to 'be honourably established', at the time of Lord Cornwallis's administration. It was the desire of credit with the country powers, that now constituted the motive to its observance. But if the Company when weak disregard such credit with the country powers, they had much less reason now to dread any inconvenience from the want of it. Besides, the question is, whether the country powers ever gave them, or gave anybody, credit for a faith, or which, they can so little form a conception, as that of regarding a treaty any longer than it is agreeable to his interest to go so." (History of British India, Vol. IV, p. 302).

8. R. R. Pearce : Memoirs and Correspondence of the Mrquess Wellesley, (1846) Vol. I, p. 165.

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The Governor-General wrote to Lord Clive soon after the arrival of the latter at Madras towards the end of August 1798 that he had employed all due delicacy and avoided any improper pressure but to no purpose. He thus explained his management of the matter : "I was equally unsuccessful in my endeavours to prevail upon His Highness to make provision for the liquidation of any part of his debt to the Company. I am persuaded that it will ever be wholly impracticable to induce His Highness the Nabob (by means of conciliation) to surrender the management of any part of his country into the hands of the Company ; and I am satisfied that any other means would be as foreign to your Lordship's disposition as they are to mine. My fixed rule, during my continuance at Madras, was to treat the Nabob with the respect due to his rank, with the kindness to the ancient friendship between his family and the Company, and with the delicacy demanded by his dependant situation. At the same time, I avoided all familiarity with him; and I animadverted very fully upon the defects of his administration and upon the extreme impropriety of his late conduct with relation to the interests of the Company."[9]

Writing previously to the Court of Directors shortly after his arrival at Calcutta, under date 4th July 1798, the Governor-General declared that his negotiations with the Nawab were fruitless and he found "His Highness so completely indisposed to that arrangement as to preclude all hopes of obtaining his consent to it at present."

We learn from the Sawanihat-I-Mumtaz[10] that the Nawab was helped by a Eurasian, Mr. Barrette in the proper payment in time of the *kists* due to the Company and consequently was honoured with a Jaghir and with the management of the entire affairs of the Nawabi. Barrett was given the title 'Colonel Barrett Bahadur' and was honoured with a mansab. He was assisted by Rai Reddi Rao and Rai Ananda Rao as Peshkars and by Rai Khub Chand, the Mir Munshi; and we learn from that book that the Nawab did not consent any one except Col. Barrett on matters of administration. The Nawab regarded that if he paid the kist money by the appointed dates he could plead that there was no reason for the English to interfere with the provisions of the old treaty. It was difficult for him to get any advance from the bankers who demanded fresh securities. His Diwan Mubariz Jang could not manage the payment. Thus the Nawab felt : "I am very much agitated and worried about this, for I shall appear a breaker of promise in the eyes of the government, and misunderstanding will arise between the Company and myself. Certainly this should not be. Many matters in which I have interest, are on the *tapis* of the English king and the Company., and non-payment of the *qist* will be to the prejudice of my rights."[11]

9. Ibid p. 166.

10. Cf Muhammad Karim—Sources of the History of the Nawwabs of the Carnatic III—First Part, translated into English by Dr. S. M. H. Nainar, 1940. It is a history of the years 1794-1801 with a summary of later events (see C. A. Storey Persian Literature. A Bio-Bibliographical survey. Section II—Fascicuens III —p. 780.

11. Ibid, p. 75.

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In 1799, when the Governor-General was again at Madras to supervise the operations of the Mysore War, he proposed in a letter of the 24th April that the Nawab should cede to the Company, in undivided sovereignty, those territories which were already mortgaged for the payment of his subsidy, in which case he would be exempted from the operation of the clause, which subjected him to the assumption of the country. The Governor-General further offered to the Nawab to make over to him in liquidation of his debt to the Company certain sums which were hitherto in dispute between them to the amount of over 230 thousand pagodas.

The Nawab, in his reply to the above demand of the Governor-General, dated 13th May, wrote that the reason for this suggestion had lapsed, because Seringapatam had been taken and the war with Tipu was at an end. He would take his stand upon the treaty of 1792, which was so just that no change in it could be made without the loss of some mutual advantage. The Nawab further declared that he was prepared to make any sacrifice, rather than consent to any alteration of the treaty even in a letter. Out of respect and love for his honoured father by whom the treaty was framed to which he had pledged a sacred regard he could not allow any alteration. Finally he pleaded that the treaty had a trial of more than seven years and had been found satisfactory in every particular and he for his own part, had fulfilled every condition stipulated in it. He added that this satisfactory fulfilment of a treaty was "unprecendented in any country or age."

Meanwhile the Directors, in a Despatch dated London, 5th June, 1799, wrote that as the Nawab was in the practice of raising money annually by assignments of the revenues of those districts which constituted the security for the payment of the Company's subsidy and as this practice was "unquestionably contrary to the letters and subversive of the spirit of the treaty", measures should be immediately taken for getting possession of the whole or any part of the assigned districts, so that the Company might not lose the only security for any failure of the Nawab to discharge his subsidy. The Nawab had distinctly stated in his letter to the Governor-General of the 13th May denying this allegation. "I do most unequivocally assure your Lordship, on the word and faith of a sovereign, that no one foot of the districts set apart by the treaty of 1792 have been or are, in any manner, or way, directly or indirectly, assigned by me, or with my knowledge, to any individual whatsoever ; and, having made this solemn and unreserved declaration, I would hope, that I need not urge more."

The Directors' order for the assumption of the assigned districts was repeated to the Governor-General in their Despatch of the 18th June, 1799; and they also authorised that in the event of a war with Tipu, the dominions of the Nawab and of the Rajah of Tanjore which would naturally come under the Company's management should not be relinquished without special orders from them. The Governor-General had reported to them that as the Mysore campaign was very short

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and as the assumption of Tanjore and the Carnatic in that crisis would have produced not added resources, but only a partial failure of even the normal revenues, he had deemed it inexpedient to assume the management of those dominions then. The Madras Government wrote to the Directors in April 1800, that "no security sufficiently extensive and efficient, for the British interest in the Carnatic can be derived from the treaty of 1792; and no divided power, however modified, can possibly avert the utter ruin of that devoted country". Thus Calcutta, Madras and London were busy preparing for an early and total confiscation of the Nawab's dominions. Wellesley, in his despatch to Dundas of 5th March, 1800, advised that on the death of the Nawab, a treaty as extensive as that with Tanjore might be easily obtained from his successor "if after that event it should be thought advisable to admit any nominal sovereign of the Carnatic, excepting the Company."

General Harris had an interview with Nawab Umdatu'l-Umarah after he reached Madras from his victorious campaign of Seringapatam and paid a courtesy visit to the Nawab, who congratulated him on the victory. But Muhammad Karim reveals to us the real mind of the Nawab in his narrative. "The Nawwab presented General Harris with *pandan*, *itrdan*, *gulab-pash* and bade him farewell. Then the Nawwab spoke as follows to Bahram Jang Bahadur with a tear-stained face: 'It is a pity, a thousand pities, that a powerful Muslim ruler, a source of strength and power to the followers of the religion of Muhammad (peace be on him) has departed from this impermanent world to the everlasting abode. Verily we are for Allah and to Allah we return'. The ten hun-kurk I gave you in the presence of General Harris for the purpose of purchasing and distributing sugar, was to show ostensibly my joy. But my real intention was that the amount shoul be distributed to *faqirs* and *miskins* in the name of that Sultan Shahid for the benefit of his soul."[12]

The Nawab had also an interview with Mir Alam Bahadur, the Minister of Nizam Ali Khan, who was present when Seringapatam was taken by the English. The Nawab was anxious that the etiquette observed in the Carnatic durbar should be punctiliously observed and the details of procedure of his reception etc., should in no way lean to the ceremonies prevalent in the Asaf Jahi durbar. He declared that his government was the equal of any other government in India, "for we are distinguished from others by the mansab, *i.e.*, Wizarat-i-Subadar of the Subah of the Carnatic." [13]

The Nawab was, on the whole, an amiable but weak-minded man. He was a good scholar and devoted to books; he composed a *diwan* or anthology of poems in the usual conventional style. He was very much under the influence of his sister, Budhi Begam, known

12. Sawanihat-i-Mumtaz by Muhammad Karim, Translated by Dr. S. M. H. Nainar, pp. 134-35.

13. Ibid p. 136.

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as Nawwab Sultanu'n-Niza Begam and seems to have promised her, at least made her believe that he would nominate her son, Raisul-Umara Bahadur, as his successor on the musnud. But as Dr. S. M. H. Nainar says[11] the matter is doubtful and will, in all probability. never be cleared up. Towards the end of his rule when the Nawab had nominated his son, Taju'l-Umara Bahadur, as his successor, his sister grew hostile to him and showed her anger in very many small matters, which are narrated at length by Muhammad Karim. The lady tried hard by her intrigues to prevent the recognition of Taju'l-Umara Bahadur as the heir. The Nawab knew that his own throne was tottering before the British determination to confiscate the dominions ; he had narrowly escaped an attempt of assassination, and he thus described the situation regarding the succession to the throne. "I intend my son for the throne ; Sayfu'l-Mulk intends that the throne is for him ; my senior sister has in mind that her son is meant for the throne after me ; and the frangs are waiting for their opportunity. But it shall be as the supreme Ruler wills." Sayfu'l-Mulk, otherwise known as Muhammad Anwar, was the third son of Nawab Muhammad Ali Walajah.

Soon afterwards he got ill of a boil and had to undergo several operations for cure. In spite of good treatment he grew worse and when the illness took a serious turn the Nawab invited Col. Barrett, whom he had appointed, at the beginning of his rule, to the office of Diwan and in whom he reposed great confidence, and several of his chief nobles and at their suggestion wrote with his own hand a 'wassiyat-namah' (last will or testament) in favour of Taju'l-Umara, as his successor. The will was witnessed by Salar Jang Bahadur and Taqi Ali Khan and sealed with the 'Muhr-I-Khasa' *i. e.*. private signat or ring. It was then entrusted to Taju'l-Umara in the presence of Colonel Barrett and others. The Nawab's brother Sayfu'l-Mulk and his sister got annoyed at this will and Taju'l-Umara was put under special guard. The Nawab's sister was reported to have collected a body of 100 armed men in the house of her son, who himself had entertained some hope of succession. Sayfu'l-Mulk was more cautious and according to Muhammad Karim, he seems to have advised her not to complain of her brother's action in thus nominating a successor. The Nawab fearing some tumult in the palace on the part of the mal-contents ordered Barrett to bring in a body of British troops into the palace and issued careful instructions to his own troops not to quarrel with the former. He instructed Taju'l-Umara to have always in his company his cousin, Azimu'd-Daula, son of Amiru'l-Umara who was suspected by him of aiming at the succession in supersession of the claims of the former. At this juncture the British Government brought a further charge against the Nawab, implicating him in the treason of the so-called Seringapatam Correspondence.

On April 7, 1800, the Governor-General forwarded to Madras certain letters and papers relating to a correspondence of Nawab Muhammad Ali and Umdatu'l Umara with Tipu Sultan, which were found among the papers at Seringapatam. The Governor-General asked Lord

14. Ibid page viii of the Introduction.

Clive to conduct an inquiry into the circumstances of which the papers appeared to afford indication as to the exhibition of treachery on the part of the two Nawabs towards the English. Mill has remarked that the Governor-Genral himself had prejudged the issue of the inquiry and suggested to Lord Clive to prejudge in a similar manner, that "the evidence resulting from the whole of these documents has not only confirmed, in the most unquestionable manner, my suspicions of the existence of a secret correspondence between the personages already named, but satisfied my judgement, that its object, on the part of the Nabobs Wallajah and Umdutu'l Umrah, and especially of the latter, was of the most hostile tendency to the British interests." He asked Lord Clive to proceed immediately to make arrangements preparatory to the actual assumption of the Nawab's administration, "which now appears to have become inevitable", though his wish was to delay the actual assumption till the inquiry should be complete. The Governor-General was frank enough to add, "while those orders lately conveyed by the Hon'ble Court of Directors relative to the Company's connection with the Nabob, were under my consideration, a combination of fortunate circumstances revealed this correspondence".

The papers thus sent as the basis of inquiry consisted of certain letters between Tipu Sultan and his two vakils, Ghulam Ali Khan and Ali Reza Khan, who accompained in 1792 the two hostage sons of the Mysore ruler to Madras, a letter from a subsequent vakil of Tipu at Madras, and another held to have been written by Nawab Umdatu'l Umara under a fictitious name. In these letters there was not much to prove, which itself is proof that they had not been 'fabricated for the purpose of proving.' Tipu's vakils were required to communicate among other matters secret intelligence including an account of the defence works of Fort St. George ahd they were furnished with cipher for carrying on the correspondence. The vakils gave in their letters a description of the deportment of the Nawabs towards the hostage princes. The Nawab Muhammad Ali had been according to the evidence of one of the letters very intimate with Tipu Sultan. Mill says of these letters that nothing could be extracted from them "but declarations of friendly sentiments in a hyperbolical style." In the letter above quoted there was a fabricated remark of Col. Doveton, which tends to weaken the validity of all their reports. The Persian Translator to Government, Mr. N. B. Edmonstone himself says that "if the evidence upon the Nawab's conduct rested solely upon these letters of the Mysore Vakils, the proofs might be considered extremely defective and problematical."

A Commission composed of Messrs. Webbe and Close was constituted by the Governor-General to investigate into this affair. (Reza Ali, one of the two vakils of Tipu, who was then residing at Vellore, was examined first. Of him the Commissioners say that "we discovered an earnest disposition to develop the truth." They accused Ghulam Ali, the second vakil, who was residing at Seringapatam of efforts of concealment. Both testified that the expressions of good will made by the Nawab Walajah or his son, in their hearing, were never understood

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by them as being other than complimentary. Ali Reza said they were much exaggerated as it was customary with the vakils to "heighten the expressions of the guard which fell from Lord Cornwallis or the Nabob Wallajah for the purpose of gratifying the Sultan.") The secret intelligence which the Nawab is said to have conveyed through the vakils was for the preservation of peace between Tipu and the English which was greatly desired by the latter at the time and Wallajah advised Tipu, after having learnt that Pondicherry was about to be attacked by the English the Nawab advised the Sultan to withdraw his vakil from Pondicherry and to stop his correspondence with the French. The vakil's Report contain only these words regarding these two matters: "What, in the judgment of this well-wisher, now appears expedient is this, in a short time his Lordship will go to Europe; the Princes, please God, will soon return, and the kists are in a course of payment; after his Lordship's departure the liquidation of the kists and other points, whatever may be His Highness's (Tippoo's) pleasure, will be right and proper; at present it is better to be silent upon everything, because at this time his Highness' honour would at all events be called in question.

"Although a friendly connexion has long subsisted with the French on the part of the Ahmedy Sircar, yet, considering the circumstances of the times, it is not advisable (that is to maintain an epistolary correspondence with the French) should there be any point of urgency to communicate, there is no objection to do it verbally."[15]

The Report of the Commissioners was drawn up and signed at Seringapatam on the 18th of May, 1800. It was not till over a year

15. The lack of civil expressions and regard in reference to the English found in the Correspondence of the vakils was probably due to their knowing that such a display of lack of courtesy would be agreeable to their master. The designation of "the affair you know" which frequently occurs and of which the English people conjectured so many deep laid plans on the part of the two Mussalman leaders was after all learnt to refer to the subject of a proposed marriage alliance between the Carnatic and the Mysore families. The Nawab's secret meetings with the vakils prior to their departure, his offer to establish a cipher for the purpose of private communication which was not utilised by Tipu, the futher letters from the later envoys Muhammad Ghiyas and Muhammad Ghaus in the years 1795-97 do not reveal anything more than mere exchange of compliments. There are 21 letters published in the appendix to the declaration of the Governor in Council of Fort St. George, dated 31st July, 1801. The examination of witnesses in Vellore and Seringapatam by Messrs. Webbe and Close in the month of May 1800 was ordered to be printed by Parliament on the 21st of June among the Carnatic papers. The Commissioners did not record the evidence of Munshi Habibullah and Diwan Purniah as their testimony did not establish any fact of consequence. Mill is emphatic that the evidence of letters and of the subsequent examination of the vakils did not and could not afford any proof of any criminal correspondence of the Nawab with Tipu and he significantly adds "but the total inability of the English to produce further evidence, with all the records of the Mysore government in their hands, all the living agents of it within their absolute power, is proof of the contrary. since it is not creditable that a criminal correspondence should have existed, and not have left more traces of itself."

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after that date during which the Governor-General was occupied by other matters, particularly the subsidiary treaty with the Nizam of October, 1800, that he wrote a long despatch to Lord Clive with an enclosure to the Nawab. In the Despatch he said that the negotiations with the Nizam rendered it politic for the postponement of the Carnatic question for the time. But the delay enabled him to receive the opinions of the Board of Control and the Court of Directors on the subject of the Seringapatam Correspondence. He learnt with pleasure that these opinions accorded entirely with his own and with those of Lord Clive. He wrote that he confidently inferred from the evidence of the Correspondence and of the examination, "the existence of a criminal correspondence between the Nabob and Tipu"; and he had consequently resolved on the dethronement of the Nawab and the transfer of his sovereignty to the Company. He had desired Webbe to go to Calcutta and convey to him all the personal knowledge that he had on the subject,, and with that additional knowledge he had carefully revised the examination of the evidence. But he would still make an attempt to persuade the Nawab to acquiesce in the proposed arrangement by the form of a treaty ; and he asked Lord Clive to let the Nawab know all the proofs of his correspondence with Tipu Sultan in the English possession, and at the same time offer him the inducement of a generous provision of a sum of three lakhs of pagodas annually for his personal expenses. The Governor-General was convinced of "the criminal purpose, and of the actual endeavours of the late and present Nabob of Arcot to establish an union of interests with the late Tippo Sultan, incompatible with the existing engagements between the Nabob of the Carnatic and the Company, and tending to subvert the British power in the peninsula of India." He was specific in the direction to Clive that if the Nawab should refuse the offer, the Company was to take over the civil and military government of the Carnatic and exercise its full rights and power. If the Nawab should appeal to the Court of Directors against this proposal, because the Secret Committee had already assented to the proposal for the extinction of the sovereignty, the Nawab's claim should not be admitted and he should not have the right of a formal investigation of his conduct. Thus the Governor-General decided, *exparte* upon the basis of evidence furnished by the English themselves, and examined only by themselves and for themselves and upon which they could put any construction they pleased, without admitting the accused to offer a single article of counter evidence or to sift the evidence brought to condemn him.

Thus the stage was set ready for the act of confiscation of the Nawab's dominions. When the Nawab's health began to fail the Governor-General minuted, as early as in March, 1800, that no obligation of the treaty of 1792 bound the Company to place or support on the musnud any individual of the family, if any should be nominated by the reigning Nawab whose pretensions to the succession might be actually disputed of might appear questionable. Thus he pre-judged the legitimacy of the claims of Ali Husain, the son of the Nawab and even his very birth. A phase of disingenuity now becomes almost aggressive

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in the policy of the Governor-General. He wrote to Lord Clive that if the 'supposed' son of the Nawab could be made a better instrument for the accomplishment of the British purposes than the son of Amiru'l-Umara, brother of the Nawab, then the Madras Government might place him on the vacant throne, previously requiring and obtaining his consent to a new treaty vesting the civil and military administrations of the Carnatic entirely in the hands of the Company. The Governor Lord Clive was prepared to carry out this instruction which was definitely issued by Wellesley in his final orders dated 28th May, 1801 a few weeks before the Nawab's demise. Wellesley's Imperialism was based on, among other factors, a preparedness to override treaty obligations on grounds of the safety of British interests. This is most clear from the case of the musnud of the Carnatic which was reduced to a titular honour within a fortnight after the demise of the Nawab.

GLIMPSES OF EVENTS THAT LED TO THE FALL OF THE MARATHA EMPIRE.

BY

Rao Bahadur Sardar M. V. Kibe, M. A., Indore.

Mr. (afterwards Sir Charles) Melet, the British Ambassadar at Poona, in his despatch, dated the 20th December, 1793, to the Governor-General wrote "In my opinion the great political interests of the Hindusthan are now divided between the British and the Maratha Empire". During the next twenty-five years, the latter collapsed as a house built from a pack of playing cards. This can be regarded as the eighth Political wonder of the World by not only those who look at the surface, but even by those who were so near and so scrutinising as this talented intriguing and diplomatic representative of so clever a Nation, as British.

The cause appears to be the system of administration that was prevalent then. Within a decade from the death of the pious queen Devi Shri Ahalayabai, about the time Sir Charles Melet wrote, all the leading statesmen died one after the other,—Mahadaji Scindhia, Tukojirao Holkar and above all Nana Fadnis, and were succeeded by Bajirao the last, Doulatrao Scindhia, disputes of succession in the house of Holkar and last but not least a mean favourite like Trimbakji Dengla. Moreover each unit of the Maratha Empire, or confederacy, as it became during the first quarter of the 19th century, was centred round one person who was venerated by the ignorant and oppressed subjects of these states. There was little or no secular education even among the statesmen. When the Central figure disappeared, either at the Centre of the Empire or the confederated units, chaos prevailed. The personal loyalty was the only attachment to the ruling head. Devotion to dynasties is a powerful factor in the making of a nation, but the common subject must also understand the implications of a nation.

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The following facts culled from a correspondence that took place between December, 1803 and February, 1804 throw a glaring light on some of the main causes that led to the downfall and disappearance of the once powerful Maratha Empire. All the letters are dated from the camps of Dawlatrao Scindhia near about Burhanpur.

Daulatrao, at this time sent two envoys, he would not trust one apparently, to General Arthur Wellesley. He had asked for a particular person to be sent. But two others, Yeshwantrao Ghorpade and Narahari were sent. They reached General Wellesley and presented him with clothes of honour, as well as the customary jewellery. They were instructed to eke out news about the affairs of Bhosla, and General Wellesley, who were at war with each other. Wellesley's agent came back with them. A diplomatic reply was sent. The writer of the letter, who sent the above news to the principal, adds that the Maharaja has asked cavalry and infantry to look for themselves. The Pindharees had plundered the camp of the British who advanced forward. There was nothing to eat in the camp of the Maharaja. The Ministers were hard put to even raise rupees two lacks. He reports a battle between the English and the Marathas. General Wellesley lost 4000 men but won the battle. Owing to disloyalty in the camp, the Marathas lost guns, otherwise not a single man of the English would have survived. He also reports the trouble caused by Holkar (Yeshwantrao). He, in another letter, reports that rains failed, which caused loss to both the harvests. Scarcity has become acute. In a third letter he reports that grains had become so dear as to sell at four seers a rupee. Holkar had looted the territory of Scindhia. There were no statesmen left with Scindhia. Bhonsla, keeping the English engaged in friendly negotiations was looting the territory of the Nizam. Before General Wellesley had defeated Bhonsla, he was negotiating with Scindhia on one stain, but since then his policy changed. He told Scindhia that he had no concern with the affairs in Northern India. He was in command only in the South. Scindhia's forces had joined the Bhonsla but the former had no guns with them and so suffered much. One of the heroes was Gopalrao Bhau, but although he was wounded he was put under arrest for money. The writer describes in detail the battle for the capture of Narnalla fort, in which the English suffered much. Bhonsla came to terms. Scindhia also wished to conclude peace with the English. But had neither money nor proper advisers. Nothing is fixed. People are dieing of starvation. No grain will be available till rains fell next year and harvest is reaped. Scindhia was vascilating. In a next letter he says that Holkar had caused destruction in Scindhia's territory. No body cares for another. That there was nothing left in the disappearance of the State. But the Maharaja has no conciousness of it. The army has become turbulent. There was no able person to stem the tide.

These statements are only typical. Such correspondence abounds with a narration like this. The letters referred to are unpublished. In the correspondence of those times everybody looked to providence. None could see clearly the future. The Maratha powers were loosing everywhere. The English defeated them one after the other. None of

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these powers then left, Holkar, Scindhia and Bhonsla could make up their mind in time and so failed to assist each other and allowed themselves to be subdued individually. The central power at Poona, for similar reason, had lost its control and was made innocuous by having had to submit to the British.

HYDER'S LAST BATTLE.

BY

Dr. M. H. Krishna, Mysore.

It is well-known that in the course of the Second Mysore War, the two great Generals Hyder and Sir Eyre Coote met each other in a series of battles between the Madras Coast and Vellore. In the last of these battles that were fought near Arni on 2nd June 1782, it has been generally claimed that Coote was victorious over Hyder. A detailed study of the operations near Arni shows that the victory vested with Hyder and not with Coote. Coote was forced to raise the siege of Arni, abandon the position he had taken up and retreat for many miles, portions of his army being cut off by Hyder. As a consequence, Coote retreated to Wandiwash and finally returned to the vicinity of Madras. (Wilke Vol. II. Page 21.) Many of these details and the victory of Hyder are confirmed and supplemented by the information supplied by the Kannada Hyder Nama, a valuable authority on Hyder's life. (Mysore Archæological Report 1930, Pages 98-99). This work gives a description of the people and states that supported by Tippu, Lally and the Poleyagars, Hyder attacked Coote's forces, threw them into confusion and forced them to retreat. Then he followed them, killed many men and captured nearly two thousand soldiers.

The consequence was that the British authorities in Madras sued for peace sending two Ambassadors and proposing to cede to Hyder, Karnatakagada, Satagada and other districts yielding ten lakhs a year and to pay a compensation of three crores of rupees. Hyder was evidently in a position to ask for more. He demanded the cession of Trichinopoly to Mysore, the right to retain Vellore and other places taken by himself during the war and the expenses incurred by Mysore at the siege on Trichinopoly in 1748 were to be refunded with interest up-to-date; otherwise the war was to continue. The negotiations were protracted. Hyder appeared to have been prevented from following up his victory by the revolt of the Moplahs and the Nayars in Malabar. Very soon Hyder developed carbuncle which led to his death a few months later.

Thus we find that Hyder's last battle was a victory gained at Arni over Sir Eyre Coote though he was unable to take full advantage of it before death came to him.

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MORAL LAWS UNDER TIPU SULTAN.

BY

K. N. V. SASTRI, M.A., Ph.D. (LOND.), F.R.HIST. S.,

Drunkenness, Prostitution and Irrevernce were the most common vices. It appears from the available evidence that Tipu Sultan was the sole exception among the Muhammadan rulers of his time and among the noblemen of his own country to have had a real abhorrence to these social evils.

He probibited liquor trade everywhere at the cost of a good income. His soldiers who had the comfort of drinking during campaigns at the vendor's stall were prevented from doing so.

He was indifferent to women even though his seraglio contained many beautiful ladies. The case of Coorg women who fell into his hands is a good illustration of this statement. But his indifference did not arise from any temperamental dullness. He had to set a proper example and was therefore very careful. His attitude towards Ali Raza Beebi of Tellicherry goes to prove that he would not hesitate to punish the faithless even among well-placed women. He created a special military corps, Usud-Illahis, with a desire to make such ill-advised persons physically strong. It is said that there was a touch of romance however in the whole business. But this did not out-weigh his higher intention, which was prescribed by the holy Koran.

No respect was to be shown to persons born to slave-women and prostitues. They were not to be taught to read or write. Teachers were forbidden to instruct them ; if any did, his tongue would be cut out. Further, persons of the above description might marry only amongst themselves. They would not be allowed to marry and step again into respectable families. This law was urgent, because immorality and prostitution were rife in the country. It seems to have originated largely from the dancing girls and Dasis devoted to gods and goddesses in the temples of the country, and affected the character of the administration. It was well-known that Government officials vied with another in depravity and neglected their legitimate duties. Tipu naturally passed not only the laws against prostitution but issued the following instructions to the governors of provinces and amildars :—" If any person, whether before or after marriage, shall keep a prostitute or a female-slave, you shall, after ascertaining the fact, take the slave for the Government, and, if any person objects to it, he will be punishable ".

To the people of Malabar specially, he proclaimed :—" From the period of conquest until this day, during twenty-four years, you have been a turbulent and refractory people, and in the wars waged during your rainy season, you have caused number of our warriors to taste the draught of martyrdom. Be it so. What is past is past. Hereafter you must proceed in an opposite manner, dwell quietly and pay your dues like good subjects ; and since it is the practice with you for one woman to associate

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with ten men, and you leave your mothers and sisters unconstrained in their obscene practices, and are thence all born in adultery and are more shameless in your connections than the beasts of the field : I hereby require you to forsake these sinful practices and to be like the rest of mankind ; and if you are disobedient to these commands, I have made repeated vows to honour the whole of you with Islam and to march all the chief persons to the seat of Government."

To his officers he wrote, " In the whole of the territories of the Balaghat (*i.e.*, in the country below the ghats) most of the Hindu women go about with their breasts and heads uncovered. This is animal-like. No one of these women should hereafter go out without a fuller robe and a veil."

He made prayers compulsory and himself spent days and nights in reading or listening to the Qoran. Festivals were regularly observed.

Here are two interesting orders :—(1) " A scrap of paper is not to be trodden upon." It was to be buried in the earth. (2) " Heretofore all persons have been accustomed to wash their hands with flour of vetches etc. and to rub their bodies with it when bathing ;....in place of flour of vetches, it is ordered that they shall use flour made of Nagar-Mootha..... " Shall we say that this is an influence of Hindu customs upon those of the Muhammedans ?

HOW THE DIRECTORS CENSURED THE CALCUTTA COUNCIL 1770-1772.

BY

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While reading the letters sent by the Court of Directors to the Council at Fort William in the pre-Warren Hastings period, one is struck by the frequency of censures, admonitions and remonstrances administered by the employers to their servants in Bengal, and particularly by the strong tone of their remarks. In the later period also, the Directors did not fail to review critically the acts of their Governors and officers and very often to pass strictures on their policy and conduct ; but the character of these comments is remarkably different from those of the earlier days. Expressions of strong ' indignation ', ' concern ', ' dissatisfaction' or ' astonishment ' or charges of " notorious negligence or great unfaithfulness ', or not acting ' discreetly or warrantably ' or of ' remissness' ' lack of attention ', ' breach of duty ' etc. rarely occur in later days to mark the displeasure of the Directors. The appointment of Governors-General from the rank of public men and aristocracy on England or the growing absorption in political and administrative affairs and the consequent dimming of the commercial instinct and importance of profit by trade, may have been responsible for this change. In the period before 1774, however, the Governors of Bengal, except Lord Clive, had neither

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any glamour of birth nor public esteem, for they had risen from the low position of factors or writers. And the Company was still essentially a trading concern whose Directors devoted more attention to the bales of Garha and other cloth or to the discount on bills of exchange or increase in the cost of bricks than to the course of political developments in Northren India or in the Maratha Dominions. The possession of Bengal was valuable in their eyes only because it opened the prospect of higher dividends as the supply of their 'investment' could be possible without their being made to send bullion from England. At a time when commerce was the main emphasis, when profit was the sole criterion, it is not surprising that the Directors scrutinised every detail of their servants' acts and accounts, and where their pocket was touched, strong censure was the consequence. Sufficient justification was, nevertheless, provided for their indignation by the unseemly conduct of their servants, high or low, here who, immediately after the Diwani, were not infrequently guilty of gross corruption, speculation and oppression. The Englishman in Bengal at the ime had lost all sense of duty and shame. In the transitional period soon after the assumption of political power, there fore, the vigilance of the Directors was absolutely necessary and their indignation just when remissness in duty was so manifest . This may account for the frequency and high tone of their censures in their letters. A few instances of their indignation are here given from the letters of the years 1770 to 1772 as examples of the penetrating scrutiny by the Directors and the character of the Company's servants in Bengal.

The Company's correspondence dealt with the political situation in India besides matters of trade and commerce. The letters sent by the Council in Bengal to London reviewed the changes in the shifting politics of Northern India and narrated the moves of the Marathas, Jats, Sikhs, Pathans and Rohillas or described the moods of the Mughal Emperor and his Vazir, the ruler of Oudh. But the Directors seldom gave much space to this aspect in their periodical letters. Their attention was chiefly directed to shipping intelligence, to the quantity and character of their investments, to appointments and promotions of writers, merchants and officers of the army, to bills of exchange, payments of commissions and allowances to their servants, to contracts and accounts of expenditure, or for sometime to the reorganisation of their Government and revenue administration. In these matters whenever the action taken by the Governor and Council merited their disapprobation strong censure followed and that too when a tendency to extravagance or negligence in expenditure was detected. The Directors had perhaps very little faith in the integrity of their servants. They suspected them of corruption and partisanship. They were not however wrong in their estimate for a number of cases cropped up even during this period which do not reflect credit on the character of many officers here. There was, moreover, very often neglect of the most positive orders of the Directors. All these called for a close scrutiny which resulted oftener in approbation and rewards and occasionally in censure and penalties.

One case in which deserved yet mild rebuke was administered was the 'repeated loss of cannon' in Bengal by their bursting on the occasion of

proving them. The Directors had sent definite instructions about the quantity of charge for every kind of cannon, but the persons responsible for the work had not studied them, hence the heavy loss. The Directors held the Superintendent and his Deputy in the military stores " answerable to the Company not only for the value of the guns, but the consequence which may happen to our service." They were now more confirmed in their " opinion, that the grossest inattention has been more general in all those whose duty it was to have been better acquainted with our orders ", a rebuke directed against the Council itself as it had shown in one of its proceedings utter ignorance of the instructions issued by the Directors.

Another matter which was frequently mentioned by the Directors was the negligence in drawing up of ' indents ' for the supply of goods from England, as well as the ' inattention ' in the packing of goods, " different qualities and species in the same bale, as also rotten or damaged in the middle of the piece." These drew reprimands from them. So also did they view with severe displeasure the inattention of the Council in despatching certain papers and accounts demanded by them or in not sending their accounts up-to-date. They had asked for Restitution Accounts on the loss of Calcutta in 1756, but till 1770 no action was taken upion their orders. This naturally enraged them and brought forth the comment that " we are so little satisfied with your excuse for this omission that should we be longer disappointed in this respect we shall be constrained to attribute your delay to some other reason than that of the voluminous state of these accounts ". Similarly the non-compliance of their order for sending " Subordinate Books ", accounts of factories, merited a mild censure when they wrote ' your not sending us a complete series of them, must be considered as a wilful neglect of our repeated orders, and this is now aggravated by your total silence on this head.... But as it is extremely irksome to us to animadvert on the conduct of our servants with any severity we shall apprise you that we expect our former orders in this respect to be fully complied with." In 1771 only Patna Books for a few years were sent. That occasioned a fresh remonstrance with the remark " should you omit to do so (send all the Books) by the returning ships of the ensuing season, we shall consider it as an act of wilful disobedience on your part ; since the authority you have over our servants in their several stations makes you responsible to us for any such omission. And as we are weary of continual reprehension on the same subject, we hope you will not by any further delay, constrain us to testify our displeasure in such a manner as is due to a manifest disregard of our positive and repeated commands."

On another occasion they reprimanded the Council on their extravagance in spending " large sums " in plate and other sumptuary articles of your dead stock." They condemned all unnecessary expenses. At the same time they called for explanation in the purchase of a house from Mr. Kiernander for a hospital, a transaction costing Rs. 98,900 ; and did " positively forbid at the peril of answering for the same in your private capacities, making any such unreasonable purchases in future without our orders first had and obtained,."

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A very serious affair was that of the construction of barracks at Berhampur which called for comments from the Directors. The neglect in this case was astounding, for a work which was originally supposed to cover about three lakhs could not be estimated to be completed ultimately in less than 22 lakhs of rupees. The Directors had " reason to be dissatisfied with the conduct of those of our servants whose negligence or dishonesty " had been responsible for the Berhampur muddle. They blamed the audit officer who did not exercise the vigilance needed. For the Council they wrote " we can by no means persuade ourselves that it was altogether blameless in you to suffer so long the abuses to be continued before effectional enquiry was made....." The accounts were passed by the Committee of Accounts of the Council, whose negligence merited the moderate comment, " we cannot but deem them to have been guilty of notorious negligence or great unfaithfulness." In conclusion the Dircectors admonished the Council thus, " We hope your future watchfulness and frugality, in finishing the said works, will compensate, as far as may be, for that remissness (for such we must term it) which has suffered past enormities to grow to such incredible extent and remain so long undetected.

Regular fraud seems to have been practised on the Company in respect of the supply of material for public works and of fulfilling the contracts. In one case the contractors failed to furnish the full quantity of bricks contracted for, but the Council had remitted the penalty on which the Directors wrote " we cannot suppose you acted discreetly or warrantably." The Directors suspected their officers of corruption in this case ; and when later ' great difference ' appeared in the amount of the several proposals tendered they could not withhold their alarm at the growing corruption and indignantly remarked " we see with concern to what attacks the Company's property is exposed from the insatiable thurst of gain which some would not scruple to gratify. Our security however, rests on your judgment and integrity which we hope and trust to find answerable to the confidence we repose in your administration of our affairs " . The Directors on another occasion gave positive orders for inviting tenders for the supply of provisions etc., for the army, and for that matter, for the supply of all articles necessary.

Similarly the Directors viewed with extreme dismay the mismanagement of " contract for bullocks " " employed with the troops ", and appear to have suspected the honesty of some of their servants. This subject had " long claimed our attention " and they remarked, " Abuses in those matters are grown to such an enormous height, that we determine no longer to suffer any imposition whatever to prevail therein." They characterised the report of the Bengal Council as " a vague and very partial representation of the case ". They were greatly chagrined to find that out of the 690 bullocks purchased by " the express orders of the President and Council, only 92 were on a survey found fit for service and therefore dismissed." The keeping of unserviceable bullocks, their sale at low price and indulgence shown to the contractor, all provoked a strong censure. They wrote, " These contradictions greatly alarm us, and we declare ourselves astonished to find so little uniformity in your

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advices. It should seem you presume on our affording a very superficial attention to your records or decency must have prevented you from suffering them to contain such glaring absurdities." Later on they remarked: "Certainly you must conceive very lightly of us, should we suffer such proceedings by our servants to be passed over with impunity". And they issued positive and definite orders for the mode of supply of draught cattle and contract for feeding them and required monthly reports on the subject to be entered in the Council's consultations.

When famine raged in Bengal and harrowing accounts of its ravages were reported to the Directors, they were sincerely shocked to learn of the misconduct of European officers which multiplied suffering. They remarked, "We are filled with the greatest indignation, on finding a charge exhibited against any persons whatever (but specially natives of England), for monopolizing grain, and thereby aggravating the woes, and no doubt, increasing the numbers of wretched mortals." When they learnt of the accusation against the "Gomashtas of England Gentlemen not barely for monopolizing grain, but for compelling the poor Ryotts to sell even the seed requisite for the next harvest," they were shocked and naturally offended at the absence of any enquiry into such conduct or even any reference to it in the Proceedings of the Bengal Council. They wrote, "You will judge from hence how great must have been our surprise, on observing, that upon a general charge of this nature having been made, and not one name specified....you never entered into any enquiry at all about the matter and what seems equally strange and absurd, you in general terms tell the Resident at the Durbar he may depend on your concurrence in every measure that may tend to relieve the distress of the poor in this time of death and yet reject the only particular remedy pointed out., and recommended by him for that purpose." They apprehended that such monopolising Europeans must be "no other than persons of some rank in our service". Hence they desired an impartial examination of the above charge and ordered immediate dismissal of those found guilty.

Moreover when the Directors ordered the dismissal of Mohammad Raza Khan and the appointment of a proper person in his stead as the guardian of the Nawab of Bengal, they exhorted their President and Council thus: "We hope and trust that you will show yourselves worthy of the confidence we have placed in you, by being actuated therein by no other motives than those of the public good, and the safety and interest of the Company." This comment reflected little credit on the rulers of Bengal and vividly points to the prevailing corruption of the men in authority.

The bitterest comment was however, occasioned by the Bengal Council's drawing Bills on the Directors at a rate of exchange higher than the one sanctioned by the latter. The masters were in great rage and wrote: "The surprise and indigmnation we felt.....are increased to such a degree on finding to what extent you have presumed to violate those orders, that we want words to express our resentment at the conduct of such of our servants as have manifested a total disregard to the credit and interest of the Company when the convenience and benefit of individuals were in competition with it." And to avoid future repetition

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of their recalcitrance they announced their intention "to make our servants accountable to us for all the ill effects which may result from their disobedience in a point of so important a nature." In the same connection in a case where the Council had agreed to pay a penalty rather than redeem a Bill of Exchange, the Directors took so serious a view of the matter that they actually ordered the dismissal of the President and some members of the Council ,in the words "in order to convince our servants that such a shameful disregard to our orders, and to the interests of the Company, shall not be permitted with impunity we do hereby direct etc." Other expressions used were "so unwarrantable is this conduct in our eyes and so worthy of our indignation" or "notorious breach of duty." The punishment accorded was dismissal from service, recompense for loss suffered and attachment of property of those who might have left service of the Company to enforce payment. This was the treatment meted out to the Governor and senior members of the Council. It is difficult to find a parallel of such heavy penalty for a trivial matter in the whole course of later Anglo-Indian administration.

Illustrations of the Directors' resolve "to stamp notorious breach of duty" and their condemnation of the acts of their servants could be multiplied. The above examples, however, clearly demonstrate their readiness, as they stated, in not failing "to show that just resentment on those who may offend", and this they considered "necessary yet one of most unpleasing parts of our duty as Directors."

Two conclusions inevitably follow. Firstly that corruption was most rife in the ranks of the Company's servants from the highest to the lowest. Private gain was the determining standard of their conduct. Favouritism and partiality to individuals were most marked. Thus where everyone was a 'gold-digger', Company's interests could not be safe, for the greed of their servants did not seek merely Indian victims but very often sought easy gratification from the Company's profits. It was, therefore, natural that scrutiny into their conduct should be close and constant. Secondly, the Directors exercised rigorous expost facto control on their finances, even to the extent of sometimes requiring previous sanction for some varieties of expenditure, a practice which developed into law in later days. The controlling authority of the Directors in this early period had scarcely grown out of the nibbling supervision customary of a business firm.

THE COMMISSIONERS AT BITHUR (1811-51).

BY

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In 1818 the Maratha War came to an end. The Peshwa Baji Rao II was taken to Bithur where he lived as a pensioner of the British Government. A Commisioner was appointed, who was entrusted with the care of the ex-Peshwa and his adherents. During the period of thirty-two years Baji Rao lived at Bithur, there were four permanent

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officers holding this post. They were John Low, E. J. Johnson, William Cooke and James Manson. When the Commissioner went on leave or there was delay in appointing a new one, it was the practice to requisition the services of an officer from Cawnpore or sometimes the Magistrate of Cawnpore carried on the Commissioner's duties in addition to his own. Low who accompanied the ex-Peshwa to Bithur was appointed the first Commissioner. He worked till January 1822 and then went on leave for reasons of health. Captain Blacker officiated for about one year, and from the beginning of 1823 Captain Johnson succeeded him as the acting Commissioner. Low returned in September 1825, but was almost immediately transferred to Jaipur. Johnson continued as the acting Commissioner till 15th January 1826 when he delivered over the charge to Grote the Magistrate of Cawnpore.[1] Johnson again took charge on 3rd May and on the 20th June was appointed to the situation of the Commissioner. On 1st November 1828 Johnson took leave for about a month.[2] It was considered unnecessary that the Magistrate of Cawnpore should be appointed formally as the acting Commissioner for such a short period, but was requested "to afford his advice and assistance", if required by the ex-Peshwa during the Commissioner's absence.[3] Johnson does not seem to have returned to Bithur, and on 15th January 1829 Bacon the Magistrate also went on leave leaving the management of the Commissioner's office to Oldfield, the Judge of Cawnpore.[4] These temporary arrangements did not prove very successful. These Peshwa's Diwan Ramchandra Pant pressed the Government for the nomination of a successor to Johnson and Oldfield also wrote to the Political department on 31st January that he was "quite unable to attend in person" at Bithur, and that the duties of the Commissioner could not be conducted properly unless the Commissioner resided "at the spot".[5] Bacon's return put an end to Oldfield's difficulties. In June 1829 Bacon was transferred from Cawnpore, and on 3rd June the charge of the Commissioner was taken up by his successor Irwin.[6] On 16th January 1830 William Percy Cooke was appointed as Commissioner but he died in July next year.[7] Thompson the Magistrate of Cawnpore took over the charge for a few days. From 6th August 1831 Major Faithful officiated as the Commissioner till the appointment of Menson in November 1831. Menson was the fourth and the last Commissioner. He continued till Baji Rao's death in 1851, when the office was abolished.[8]

The Commissioner maintained a modest establisnment. In the earlier days there was an assistant Commissioner. John Low's brother, William Low, acted as his assistant till 1820. He was then succeeded by

1. Pol. Pro. 7 April 1826 (45) Imperial Record Department.
2. Pol. Pro. 26 May 1826 (58) and 7 July 1826 (40).
3. Pol. Pro. 3 Oct. 1828 (16)
4. Pol. Pro. 26 Dec. 1828 (35) (36)
5. Pol. Pro. 25 Sep. 1829 (48)
6. Pol. Pro. 1 May 1829 (53) & Pol. Pro. 19 June 1829 (79)
7. Pol. Pro. 29 January 1830 (41) Pol. Pro. 19 July 1830 (III)
8. Pol. Pro. 2 September 1831 (123) Pol. Pro. 18 November 1831 (85)

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Captain Blacker. When Low was transferred, the post of the assistant Commissioner seems to have been abolished. The Commissioner's staff consisted of an English writer, a treasurer, a Pandit and a Munshi for Persian correspondence. It is interesting to note that the English writer's post in 1829 was held by a Bengali named Nabakishen Mitra.[9] He was one of those English speaking Bengalis who in those days followed the progress of the Company's arms in Northern India. Nabakishan's career however would not read very edifying. Taking advantage of Irwin's inexperience, he embezzeled one thousand rupees from the Commissioner's office and fled. He was subsequently arrested and sentenced to seven years' imprisonment by the Commissioner of Circuit.[10] Four other writers are mentioned in the record of the Commissioners. Their names and their scale of pay suggest that they were Eurasians. In 1824 the post was occupied by Dacosta.[11] During Cooke's period of service one Mosely was appointed as the writer. But on account of some malpractices he was forced to resign.[12] The Commissioner did not seem to have any luck with his writers. MacCarty who was probably the next choice also proved unfortunate. He was implicated in an intrigue for establishing clandestine intercourse with Baji Rao's agent and consequently was dismissed from service.[13] Martindell who was the English writer at the time of Baji Rao's death was highly spoken of by the Commissioner. He had worked there for more than eight years, and when the Commissioner's office was abolished, he was given a job in the Magistrate's office at Cawnpore.[14]

In the earlier days there was a medical officer attached to the Commissioner's office. But in 1828 he was removed[15] probably for economic reasons and there was no proper medical establishment at Bithur. In October 1828, the Governor-General decided as a temporary measure, that the Civil Surgeon at Cawnpore should "afford medical assistance" to the Commissioner and his establishment as far as might be "practicable consisting with his other duties." He was granted an allowance of one hundred rupees a month.[16]

It seems that a practice had grown up of regarding the Civil Surgeon as the medical officer "of Maharajah Bajee Rao's Camp" also.[17] But the Governor-General disliked this practice, and the Commissioner war informed that the Government did not "profess to furnish medical assistance, gratuitously, to the Maharajah and his followers, and that if desirous of obtaining the advice and attendance of a medical officer they must make their own arrangements".[18] In 1830 an application

9. Pol. Pro. 3 Dec. 1832 (114)
10. Pol. Pro. 19 Feb. 1830 (53) & Pol. Cons. 3 Dec. 1832 (115)
11. Pol. Pro. 7 May 1824 (36)
12. Pol. Pro. 23 May 1836 (159)
13. Pol. Pro. 4 April 1838 (82)
14. For. Cons 3 Oct. 1851 (?) (9) and Pol. Cons. 3 Oct. 1851 (8).
15. Pol. Pro. 18 July 1828 (44).
16. Pol. Pro. 17 Oct. 1828 (42).
17. Pol. Pro. 5 March 1830 (84).
18. Pol. Pro. 5 March 1830 (85).

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was made to the Governor-General for the "entertainment of a native doctor for the guard and establishment attached to the Commissioner.[19] A 'native doctor' was appointed but in 1837 he got himself implicated in a plot to poison the Commissioner and Baji Rao's Dewan Ram Chandra.[20]

The Commissioner's means of protection were two Rissalas of irregular horse and a party of sepoys. The duties of the mounted escort consisted chiefly in escorting the treasure required for payment to Baji Rao every month, and in "furnishing several small guards about the camp". In 1823, after some discussion, the Government decided that "it would not be expedient to make any reduction of the strength of that party."[21] But next year the Government changed its mind and one of the Rissalas was ordered to return to its headquarter.[22] Five years later, the remaining Rissala of irregular Horse was withdrawn.[23] As this step had been taken probably solely on financial grounds no arrangement was made "to replace them with any other troops", but the Commissioner was directed to inform the Government should any difficulty arise out of it.[24] The withdrawal of the horse proved very inconvenient, and the Commissioner was compelled to request "the favour of a few sowers from Bajee Rao" for attending on him on ceremonial occasions and for bringing the dawk from Cawnpore.[25] In February 1830 Cooke prayed for a "small party of horse" to be posted at Bithur in addition to the company of infantry.[26]. The same request was repeated by Major Faithful next year when he applied for a party of thirty irregular horse.[27] In 1833 Major Manson made the prayer and considered that "a party of 25/30 irregular horse would at all times" be useful at Bithur.[28] Apart from the inconvenience, it was pointed out by the Commissioners that Bajee Rao might impute a "personal disrespect involved in the removal of the horse for a period of upwards of ten years;"[29] and that in the case of any disturbance he had "not a single horseman on whose fidelity he could depend",[30] The Governor-General however saw no reason to provide a mounted escort at Bithur. He considered that Baji Rao's own troops should be deemed sufficient for his own protection and that it lay in the Commissioner's power to "recommend His Highness to employ persons" whom he could trust.[31]

19. Pol. Pro. 16 April 1830 (115).
20. Pol. Pro. 4 April 1838 (82).
21. Pol. Pro. 4 July 1823 (45).
22. Pol. Pro. 7 May 1824 (35).
23. Pol. Pro. 24 July 1829 (36).
24. Pol. Pro. 24 July 1829 (37).
25. Pol. Pro. 5 March 1830 (64).
26. Ibid
27. Pol. Pro. 9 Dec. 1831 (41).
28. Pol. Pro. 21 Nov. 1833 (103).
29. Pol Pro. 9 Dec. 1831 (40).
30. Pol. Pro. 21 Nov. 1833 (103).
31. Pol. Pro. 21 Nov. 1833 (104)

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The Commissioner's establishment did not cost the Government much. But during Lord Bentinck's financial reforms, drastic cuts were made and the salary of the staff reduced. The Commissioner's salary and military pay were clipped off and a saving was made to the amount of Rs. 689-4 as. every month.[32] When Manson succeeded Cooke in 1831 he was receiving only one thousand rupees as his monthly salary.[33] On being asked if the office of the treasurer might be abolished or if any reduction in the establishment might be made, Johnson who was then the Commissioner replied that he could not "reduce it to any considerable extent without compromising in some degree its efficiency" and prayed that he might be allowed to retain the post of the treasurer. The Commissioner explained that he was almost hourly "receiving written communications not only from the Maharajah, but from his adherents," and the treasurer and Pandit was the only person who could "read, write and speak the Mahratta language.[34] An arrangement was finally arrived at. The joint office of the treasurer and Maratha Pandit with the monthly salary of Rs. 200 was abolished, but the same person was retained as the Maratha Pandit on a salary of one hundred rupees a month. The Governor General felt that there was "no sufficient occasion for the services of a Persian Munshi at Rupees forty per mensem", and consequently the post was ordered to be abolished.[35] Ten rupees were deducted from the pay of the Jamadar of the harkara and six harkaras with a pay of six rupees each were struck off.[36] In all a monthly saving of eight hundred and thirty-five rupees and four annas was effected. In 1843 further retrenchments were projected. But the Commissioner replied that it did not appear to him "feasible to effect any further reduction", after the revision it underwent during Lord Bentinck's administration.[37] So no further reduction appears to have been made. On the other hand the post of the Munshi probably abolished in 1828 was revived during Manson's term of office. At the time of Baji Rao's death there was one Munshi Ashik Ali attached to the Commissioner's office who used to draw a salary of forty rupees a month.[38]

It was the Commissioner's chief duty to keep watch over the ex-Peshwa, but he also was expected to look after the numerous Marathas at Bithur with as little interference as possible. The First Commissioner appointed at Bithur was a very happy choice. Low had a way, and he managed to soothe the feelings of Baji Rao and successfully tided over the most difficult period of Baji Rao's life in retirement. It probably took a long time to be reconciled to his change of fortune, but Low's sympathy and tact helped a great deal. A man with less imagination would have found a more difficult and stubborn Peshwa to deal

32. Pol. Pro. 19 April 1843 (163)
33. Pol. Pro. 26 May 1849 (52)
34. Pol. Pro. 27 June 1828 (96) (97) and Pol. Pro 1 August 1828 (43)
35. Pol. Pro. 1 August 1828 (44)
36. Pol. Pro. 19 April 1843 (163)
37. Ibid.
38. Pol. Pro. 3 October 1851. (8)

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with. In spite of conflicting interests a bond of friendship grew up between the two. A few years after Low had left Bithur he saw Baji Rao again. "He even shed tears" Low wrote about this meeting to his mother and "when taking leave.....he prayed the Supreme Being to make me a Bramin in the next change in this world", so that he should "in due time be absorbed in the Deity".[39] One reads with amusement how Baji Rao's show of affection sometimes caused a great deal of embarassment to the Commissioners. According to the regulations of the Government all presents offered to the Commissioners were not to be retained by them but passed to the credit of the Company. Baji Rao insisted in 1825, that he would present a Khilat worth four or five thousand rupees to "Captain Low as a private friend" which he was "to keep as his own property". Low was then about to proceed to Jaipur. As a way out of the difficulty he suggessed that the acting Commissioner should defer "announcing the refusal of the Government", until he should be permanently appointed at Jaipur.[40] When Dewan Ramchandra also was "extremely desirous" that Low should accept a token of friendship from him, Low "settled" it by exchanging his gold watch for that of the Dewan.[41] Similar attempt was made to present a Khilat to Major Blacker.[42] It was Cooke who was prevailed upon to keep some presents from Ramchandra pending the reply of the Government, and was rebuked by the Governor-General for his conduct.[43] As a token of friendship of the British Government a practice had grown up of making small presents to Baji Rao's servants on the occasion of the principal festivals of the year. A memorandum of the year 1872 gives the following table.

Tilsankranti	...	..	...	Rs. 75
Vasant Panchami	...	...	..	Rs. 50
Holi	..	..	..	Rs. 90
Dusehra	..	..	..	Rs. 95
Diwali	..	...	..	Rs. 80
Christmas	..	..	..	Rs. 175

In all five hundred and sixty rupees were spent annually.[44] During Lord Bentinck's administration these expenses were considered unnecessary, and the Commissioner was informed that there was "no sufficient reason for continuing" this practice.[45]

Did Baji Rao ever give up all hopes of restoration ? It is difficult to answer. But in the course of his stay at Bithur his fetters appeared less irksome to him and he became less dangerous to the British. During Baji Rao's stay at Bithur many attempts to free the ex-Peshwa or transmit messages from Bithur to the South are reported. In the earlier period they were made by the people of Maharashtra, but later

39. Low U. fifty years with John Company. p. 1.
40. Foreign Miscellaneous letter dated 29 October, 1825 pages 5-14.
41. Ibid.
42. Ibid.
43. Pol. Pro. March 1830. Pol. Pro. April 1830 (55).
44. Pol. Cons. 12 Oct. 1827 (43).
45. Pol. Cons. 12 Oct. 1827 (44).

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on one notices a change. People other than the Marathas also tried their hands in intrigues. It was not easy for the Commissioner to find out what their real objects were. Many of them were designing and dishonest persons and traded on the credulousness of Baji Rao's mind. To the end of his life Baji Rao cherished a strong desire to see Maharashtra once again; and on one occasion expressed a hope that he might be taken back to Poona and allowed to stay on the same condition as the Emperor in Delhi.

The truth is that Baji Rao had lived too long. One wonders how Malcolm would have felt when he was arguing with the Governor-General for a liberal pension on the Peshwa, had he known that he would survive another thirty three years. Baji Rao complained on several occasions that the British Government's ardour towards him had cooled down. But even the former Peshwa would lose his glamour some day. He was a prize captive in 1818, but in 1850 he was a man of little importance. The Commissioners found him at times somewhat difficult. Baji Rao had no scruple in asking for little favours, but on occasions when he probably felt that his importance was being diminished insisted on being treated as still the Chief of the Marathas. He put the Government into embarrassment by offering to send Khilat to his friends and relations from Bithur. When Lord Bentinck wrote to him in 1831, he wanted to be addressed as the Pant Pradhan.[46] He was anxious to meet Lord Auckland during his tour in upper provinces, but on such terms as if he was "still seated on the *guddee* at Poona". The Government did not see their way to grant his requests, and the Dewan was informed that "such a proposal was quite out of the question".[47] It is a significant fact that after Low and Blacker other Commissioners were no longer brilliant men. The Government perhaps took little trouble in selecting an officer for the post. The ex-Peshwa as well as the Commissioners were losing importance. The Commissioners after Blacker failed to leave any impression in their days, and are completely forgotten by posterity.

ANOTHER LETTER OF MAHARAJA ABHAYASINGH ABOUT THE MURDER OF PILAJI GAEKWAR

BY

MAHAMAHOPADHYAYA PT. BISHESHWAR NATH REU, Jodhpur.

In a paper, named "A letter of Mararaja Abhayasingh of Marwar" read at the XIV meeting of the Historical Records Commission, held at Lahore, in 1937 A. D., I reproduced a letter, dated 26th April, 1732 A.D., in which the said Maharaja had mentioned the murder of Pilaji Rao Gaekwar by treachery. But as the reasons for adopting such tactics were not mentioned in that letter, I reproduce here another letter of the

46. Pol. Pro. 29 April, 1831 (52).
47. Pol. Pro. 4 April, 1838 (82).

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same Maharaja, dated 26th March 1732 A, D., which clarifies his motives in taking such a step.

Before doing so, if a brief narrative of the circumstances, which led Maharaja Abhayasingh of Jodhpur to commit this act, is given here, I think it will not be out of place.

In June, 1730 A. D., when Emperor Muhammad Shah became displeased with Sarbuland Khan, the rebel Governor of Gujrat, he appointed Maharaja Abhayasingh in his place and gave him 15 lacs rupees, 40 guns, 200 maunds of gun-powder and 100 maunds of lead to dispossess Sarbuland of Gujrat. This imperial help is mentioned in the Maharaja's letter of 10th November, 1730 A. D. As the task entrusted to the Maharaja required a strong force, he returned to Jodhpur and on his way he took possession of Ajmer. At Jodhpur when a cavalry 20,000 strong was ready, the Maharaja marched towards Gujrat. At Jalore he was joined by his younger brother Rajadhiraj Bakhatsingh of Nagaur. Reaching the Sabarmati when he was encamping near the village Mojar. he was attacked at night by Sarbuland. After a few days' fight the rebel Governor was defeated and the Maharaja took charge of Gujrat.

In 1731 A. D. When Baji Rao Peshwa marched against Baroda, which was at that time under Pilaji Rao Gaekwar, a representative of Khanderao Dabhare, the Maharaja invited him (the Peshwa) to Ahmedabad and induced him to help Azmat-ulla in the capture of Baroda. This Azmat-ulla was deputed by the Maharaja himself to take possession of that city. Accordingly the combined armies of the Peshwa and the Maharaja advanced against Baroda, but Nizam-ul-Mulk, who was jealous of the power of the Peshwa, marched towards Gujrat to help his (Pashwa's) enemy and by misrepresentations poisoned the ears of the Nawab (Khan Dauran, the minister of the Emperor Muhammadshah) as well. Though Maharaja Abhayasingh tried his level best to expose the Nizam's tactics before the Nawab, as is evident from his two letters of the 10th April 1731 A. D., yet when the Nawab paid no heed to it, the Peshwa abandoned the idea of attacking Baroda and marched towards the Deccan.

As Pilaji, with the help of Bhils and Kolis, was behaving as an independent ruler of the districts under him and was not paying any attention to the orders of the Maharaja, the latter, in January 1732 A. D., decided to get rid of him and entrusted this task to his officers Inda Lakhdhir, etc., who in compliance of their master's orders, killed him treacherously at Dakore.

(The original letter, copy of which is attched with this paper, should be inserted here if necessary.)

(TRANSLATION OF THE LETTER.)

Almighty is our protector.

(Head lines of the letter in the Maharaja's own handwriting.)

By the grace of the Goddess, Pilu has been killed. Though there was a large force (with the enemy), yet the praiseworthy courage of our

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nobles, which will come to the notice of each and every one, cannot be described in writing. Formerly the case of Sarbuland Khan had to be dealt with, and this time the case of Pilu arose. We have left no stone unturned in doing our duty, and now it is your turn to serve our cause. We have left no cause for any body to say anything more (in the matter), and even then if nothing is done, your diplomatic qualities will be exposed, and we too would be unable to do any service in this province. In this task Dhanura has rendered good service. It is our command.

(Contents of the Royal Seal).

By the grace of almighty goddess Hingulaj, glory be to Soveriegn ruler, king of kings, Paramount Sovereign, Maharaja Shri Abhayasingh Dev, who shines like the Sun on the earth.

Hari, Amba, Shiv, and Vinayak, may these five deities always bestow favours.

(Approval in Maharaja's own caligraphy).

It is our command.

(LETTER).

By the command of the illustrious, king of kings, supreme prince, Maharaja Abhayasinghji Dev and his heir apparant Shri Ramsinghji Dav, Bhandari Amarsingh should note their favours.

That as Pilu, the invader, with a large contingent, crossed the Mahi and reached this side, we marched from Chandula and encamped at Vareja. This information had already been communicated and might have reached you. At Vareja, Pilu's envoys came to nagotiate. We commanded them to vacate Baroda and Dabhoi, as they are the Imperial posts, and accept the Imperial service. But he (Pilaji) did not take it to heart and declared that Baroda is connected with his head. Three governors had come and gone. Sarbuland Khan too came (here), but instead he had to pay "Chauth" and go bac. He talked like this. Therefore we thought that without doing away with him we cannot take Baroda, as he will never fight a pitched battle. They (Mahrattas) always hanged on the flanks of the Mughal army, and allowed them to proceed three miles, at the most, in a whole day. Even if he (Pilaji) dares to stand against our army at a distance of twenty miles, we can kill him. But when our vanguard had advanced only ten miles from Vareja to Kheda Harala, the enemy quitted Bhalej, which is fifty miles from Vareja and forty miles from Khera and entered a village of the Thakur of Dakol (r), which is fourteen miles from Bhalej. Thereupon it was decided to somehow make him halt, and therefore on our behalf Pancholi Ramanand, Bhandari Ajab Singh, Inda Lakhdhir, son of Jaitsingh, etc. were sent for negotiations. They were told that on receiving intelligence from them, the contingent will be sent. On the 9th day of the bright half of Chaitra (23rd March, 1732 A. D.) two thousand

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selected horsemen, of proved valour, were despatched, and they fell upon enemy at about two hours after dark.

Our emissaries, who were sent previously, had also reached the (enemy's) camp and murdered Pilu. Pilu's brother Mema, along with five or seven important men was killed in Pilu's camp, and a large number of other Mahratta soldiers were also put to sword. Thus five hundred Mahrattas fell on the spot, and others, including a large number of Kolis, were massacred at the various Imperial outposts. We had captured seven hundred horses and a large number of heavy firelocks, etc. Besides this there was a big loot. It was a splendid victory. Now we are shortly marching on to occupy Baroda. Convey all this news to the Emperor and by personal approach, get all our demands accepted by the Nawab. The rest of the information will be known to you from the letter of Bhandari Girdhardas and Dhanrup. It is our command.

Sunday the 11th day of the bright half of Chaitra V. S, 1788 (Shravanadi), (26th March 1732 A. D.

P. S.

On our side forty persons were killed. Fifty group leaders and one or two hundred soldiers were wounded. Full details will be sent later on.

MUSLIM RELICS WITH THE SIKH RULERS OF LAHORE.

BY

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A number of relics, said to be of Prophet Muhammad and of his immediate successors and followers, with the Sikh chiefs and rulers of Lahore, were objects of attraction and veneration to the Muslims of the Punjab during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It will be interesting for the students of history to have a detailed list of them and to know how the Sikhs came to be in possession of them, and how they were lodged in the Sikh forts of Gujranwala, Mukerian, Chawinda and Lahore.

The list and the following account of these relics are prepared from the manuscript Persian records that came to my hand last year, and which I secured for the Guru Ram Das Library of the Sri Darbar Sahib Committee, Amritsar, with a copy for the Khalsa College, Amritsar. These documents were originally collected and compiled into a *'Fahrist of the Tabarrakat'*, as the relics are called in these papers, by Faqir Sayyad Nur-ud-Din Muhammad Bukhari under instructions dated May 23, 1849, from John Lawrence, a member of the Board of Administration for the Punjab, after the annexation of the province, and the *fahrist* was completed on the 8th of June, 1849.

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LIST OF THE RELICS.

(*a*) Eight relics of Prophet Muhammad.

1. **Amana Sharif**, a green turban, with a cap.
2. **Jubbah-i-Mubarik**, a green cloak.
3. **Dalaq**, a patched cloth, with white and red lines.
4. A white pyjama.
5. **Qadam Mubarik**, a foot print impressed on a stone o light yellow colour.
6. **Na'lain Mubarik**, a pair of leather shoes, 14 fingers (about ten inches) in length.
7. **Asa**, a stick, 1½ *dirah* in length.
8. **Nishan Mubarik**, white flag-cloth, with the Quranic verses inscribed on it.

(*b*) Three relics of Hazrat Ali.

9. **First Siparah**, in Kufa hand, on white paper, bound.
10. **Dastar-i-Mubarik**, a turban of light yellow colour, with a cap.
11. **Ta'viz**, (Amulet) written on a very old paper.

(*c*) Two relics of Hazrat Fatima.

12. **Rumal**, A handkerchief, embroidered.
13. **Ja-i-Namaz**, A prayer carpet, embroidered.

(*d*) Two relics of Hazrat Imam Hasan.

14. **Surat-u-Yasin**, along with **Surat-u-Wassafat**, Chapters of the Quran in Kufa hand, one volume.
15. **Dastar-i-Mubarik**, a turban of **sandali** colour.

(*e*) Five relics of Hazrat Imam Husain.

16. **Siparah-i-Tilk-ur-Rasal**, in Kufa hand, one sheet,
17. **Dastar-i-Mubarik**, a turban of *sandali* colour, folded.
18. **Taj Mubarik**, a cap of *sandali* colour.
19. **Nishan-i-Mubarik**, flag-cloth of *badami* colour, with the Quranic verses inscribed on it.
20. **Rumal**, a handkerchief stained with blood.

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(*f*) THREE RELICS OF ABDUL QADIR JILANI, GHAUS-UL-AZAM.

21. A turban, folded, silk-like, of Yeman.

22. **Razai**, a cover for the head, silk, Egytian texture.

23. A prayer carpet, upper cover red, under-lining yellow and red.

(*g*) HAZRAT AWIS QARNI.

24. Teeth, in a box.

(*h*) MISCELLANEOUS.

25. One box, broken, without cover, seems to have been fitted with a mirror, ten pipes with two hair each.

26-31. **Ghilaf-i-Bait-i-Allah**, covers of the Ka'ba, six pieces, black colour.

32. Cover of the mausoleum of the Prophet.

33-34. Covers of the mausoleums of Hazrat Hasan and Husain, two pieces,

35. Cover of the mausoleum of Ghaus-ul-Azam Abdul Qadir Jilani, with the Quranic verses inscribed in red and black.

36. **Kahk-i-Pak-i-Karbala**, Holy earth of Karbala, in small box.

37. Foot-prints on old paper.

38. A piece of brick from some holy mausoleum.

These relics were originally in the possession of the Sayyads of Arabia and the Qazis of Damascus and Constantinople. On the day of the conquest of Damascus, 23rd Jamadi-ul-Awwal, 803 A. H., 9th January, 1401, by Taimur, the Qazis, the Sayyads and other learned men of the city presented a number of them to the conqueror. Similarly the presents made to Taimur by the Vakils of the ruler of Istambol, or Constantinople on the 1st Jamadi-ul-Awwal, 805 A. H., 27 November, 1402, after its surrender to him, included some of these sacred things. From Taimur they came down to Babar, who brought them to India during his last invasion in 1526 A. D., when he permanently established himself on the throne of Delhi. For over two hundred and thirty years, they remained with the Great Mughals. In the winter of 1756 Ahmad Shah Durrani came upon India for the fourth time and shook the the Mughal Empire to its very foundations. On his return, he confirmed Alamgir II on the throne of Delhi and carried away in marriage two princesses of the royal house—one Hazrat Begam, daughter of Emperor Muhammad Shah, for himself, and the other Zuhra Begam (also called Gauhar Afroz or Muhammadi Begam), daughter of Alamgir II, for his son Taimur. Malika Zamani, widow of Emperor Muhammad Shah, now found her life to be very unhappy in Delhi. She, therefore, decided to accompany her daughter Hazrat Begam to Afghanistan, and carried all her belongings along with her. Among those belongings were these relics.

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While the Durrani cavalcade marched on to Afghanistan, Malika Zamani seems to have stopped at Jammu, where we find her residing under the protecting care of its ruler Raja Ranjit Dev. After some time she was involved in financial difficulties and was driven to the necessity of mortgaging the relics to a local money-lender. It was at this time that the news of the death of her daughter arrived, followed by her dead body. The Malika now wished to leave for Delhi and felt the necessity of releasing the relics from the money-lender. But she had no money to liquidate her debts.

At this stage appeared on the scene Shaikh Saundha, son of Shah Muhammad Raza of Chitti—a descendant of Shaikh Farid Shakarganj—and Ghulam Muhammad, son of Chaudhri Pir Muhammad Chattha. Their parents had for some time been living in Jammu. Young Saundha and Ghulam Muhammad had attracted the notice of the Malika who, not unoften, lavishly showered her kindly favours on them. While the needy lady was in search of some one, who could advance the required money on the security of the relics themselves, if nothing else, these young men along with their fathers presented twentyfive thousand* rupees as Nazar to the *tabarrakat* and humbly requested her to transfer them to their custody. Malika Zamani had no alternative. But she had the consolation that she was not passing them on to unworthy hands. Shah Mohammad Raza, as stated above, was a descendant of the well-known Muslim Saint Shaikh Farid-uddin Shakarganj of Pak Patan, while Chaudhri Pir Muhammad belonged to the famous Chattha family of Rasul Nagar, now called Ram Nagar, in the Gujranwala District, Punjab. Both were eminent Musalmans of the day.

The two recipients divided the relics between themselves in proportion of their contributions. Some time later, while Shah Muhammad Raza moved to Pak Patan, Pir Muhammad Chattha carried his share to his own native place and lodged them in a bastion of the Rasul Nagar fort. In 1840 Bikrami, 1783 A. D., Sardar Maha Singh Sukkarchakkia led his well-known expedition against the Chatthas. The latter could not stand against him and were defeated. Rasul Nagar fell into Sikh hands. Sardar Maha Singh was not the man to render his brave enemy entirely destitute. He allowed Pir Muhammad to establish his residence at Manchar. To this place were also shifted the relics. The machinations of the Chatthas against the Sukkarchakkia Sardar, however, soon brought about the ejection of Pir Muhammad from Manchar. All his property fell into the Sardar's possession. This included the relics also; and he carried them to his headquarters at Gujranwala. Here they were kept with all respect and reverence in a *haveli* in the town. Sardar Maha Singh is well-known to history for his religious broad-mindedness, and many *sanads* and *pattas* for land and money granted by him for the erection of mosques and Hindu temples may still be seen with their

*According to the statement of Chaudhri Ghulam Qadir Chattha, the sum paid to the Malika was eighty thousand rupees. The figure of Rupees twenty-five thousand in the text above is taken from the statement of Shaikh Nur and Fazl-i-Ilahi, sons of Shaikh Saundha of Chitti.

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present custodians. This speaks for the attention he paid to the safe custody and proper care of these relics sacred to the Muslims.

On the death of Sardar Maha Singh Sukkarchakkia in 1790, his son Sardar (later on Maharajah) Ranjit Singh succeeded him. Thus did the relics pass into his possession, and he retained them in the old *haveli* af Gujranwala. But new arrangements had to be made for their lodging in 1211 A. H., 1797 A. D., when Shah Zaman Durrani of Kabul descended upon the Punjab for the first time to reclaim what his grandfather had lost to the Sikhs. Gujranwala was on the high-road from Kabul to Lahore, and was not, therefore, a safe place for their custody. There was every possibillty of the Shah attacking the town to take possession of the relics, if for nothing else, and sacking it in the case of Sikh resistance. Ranjit was not the man to run any such risks.

In the previous year he had married Bibi Mahtab Kaur, daughter of Mai Sada Kaur (widow of Sardar Gurbakhsh Singh, son of Sardar Jai Singh) of the Kanhaiya confederacy. The fort of Mai Sada Kaur at Mukerian, in the district of Hoshiarpore, was considered to be the safest asylum for the relics, and he at once transferred them, along with a prize-gun, called Chatthianwali, to that place. But here they were soon entrapped by a conflagration. A great fire took place in the fort and much of it was burnt down. The relics were lodged in the upper storey of the Baroot-Khana (gun-powder room). As good luck would have it, the fire only charred its gate and was extinguished as it reached it. Thus were they saved from being reduced to ashes. Some people ascribed it to a miracle of the Tabarrakat, and this added to their importance and veneration among the credulous. From that day onward, thousands of people from far and near visited Mukerian, Chawinda and Batala, to which places they were transferred later on, for Ziarat——to cast a reverential look, to kiss or to offer a respectful bow to them.

After the death of Mai Sada Kaur, they remained in the custody of Maharajah Ranjit Singh's second son, Kanwar Sher Singh, who lived at Batala.

To the great satisfaction of his Muslim subjects, Maharajah Ranjit Singh, throughout his reign, paid great attention to their preservation. The Nawab of Bahawalpur once offered one lakh of rupees for one of the shoes of Prophet Muhammad. But Ranjit Singh politely refused the offer.

On his installation on the throne of Lahore in January 1842, after the deaths of his elder brother Maharajah Kharak Singh and the heir-apparent Kanwar Nau-Nihal Singh, Mahrajah Sher Singh carried them to Lahore. Then followed a series of assassinations and murders, and the relics changed hands and lodgings in quick succession. After the assassination of Mahrajah Sher Singh and his minister Dhian Singh Dogra on September 15, 1843, they were carried away by Dhian Singh's son, Raja Hira Singh Dogra and placed in the custody of his *tantric* preceptor, Pandit Jalha. And when the arrogance of the Dogra and his Brahmin accomplice brought upon them the wrath of

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the Khalsa, and the two met their deaths in their thievish flight on the 21st of December, 1844, the relics were taken to the *haveli* of the new Prime Minister Sardar Jawahir Singh, the brother of the Queen-mother Maharani Jind Kaur, popularly called Mai Jindan.

From his *haveli* the Sardar shifted them to his apartments in the fort and placed them in the custody of the Darogha-in-Chief who, on his own part, appointed Sayyad Faqir Shah, a Mutsaddi of the Stables, for purposes of *ziarat* by the Muslims.

After Sardar Jawahir Singh's death on September 21, 1845, Maharani Jind Kaur removed them to her own Toshakhana in the Khwabgah and placed them in the custody of Sardar Jiwan Singh Toshakhania. Rasul Jiu Kashmiri, the Mukhtar of the Sardar, looked after this section and, as usual, one Hafiz Badar-ud-Din was appointed for lighting the lamp and showering flowers and guiding the visitors.

On the annexation of the Punjab by the East India Company to their dominions, these relics also passed into their possession, and they allowed them to remain in the Lahore fort.

During his tour of the Punjab, Lord Canning, the Viceroy of India (1856-62) paid a visit to them. Thus, these relics attracted the attention of the European and native dignitaries of India. This was, however, very distasteful to a section of the Anglo-Indian press and adverse notes appared in some of the papers. While chafing at the idea of this unusual attention paid by the British Government and Englishmen to the Tabarrakat or the Ziarat Sharif, as these relics were called by the Muslims, the Lahore Chronicle, Lahore (1860), questioned their very genuineness. "We doubt," it wrote, "if any one can readily name an article made of wool, or textile fabric, of an age exceeding twelve hundred years." "Why are they so guarded by European soldiers. Are they the palladium of the State? Are they, like the tooth of Budha, the heirloom of the Sovereign?" Thus "setting aside their religious character," it suggested that as "they really are interesting intrinsically, they ought to be sent to England, or sold by auction." And referring to the old offer of the Nawab of Bahawalpur made to Maharajah Ranjit Singh, and which he had refused, as stated above, the note concluded with the remark, "we imagine if the Nawab of Bahawalpur were to repeat the offer of a lakh of rupees for one of Hazrat's shoes, it would not be unfavourably entertained. Will not the Muhammadans of Lahore take the whole lot and lay down enough money to build a School, Hospital and Town Hall?"

These relics are at present preserved in the Badshahi Mosque at Lahore under the trusteeship of the Anjuman-i-Islamia, Lahore. How they come to be there is being investigated.

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CLIVE'S DISPUTE WITH MR. GEORGE GRAY REGARDING THE CONFINEMENT OF RAMNAUT DASS

BY

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The confinement of Ramnaut Dass, an employee of Mr. George Gray of the Council at Fort William, was one of those controversial actions of Clive which throw an interesting side-light on the manner in which he asserted his position as Governor of Fort William. The matter gave rise to a very bitter controversy on the question as to whether Clive intended to set up a Military Government in the settlement by arrogating to himself the right "to seize, with Military Guards, the civil inhabitants" and "to place Military Guards upon their houses, persons and properties". The affair of Ramnaut is therefore of considerable interest as an illustration of the early phase of Clive's second Governorship.

The ostensible plea for the detention of Ramnaut was "the numberless complaints" which Clive had recently received "of extortion and oppression committed" by this man at Maldah. In the course of his several minutes, Mr. Gray urged :—

1. No person residing within the jurisdiction of his Majesty's courts could be lawfully confined by Military guards longer than was actually necessary to deliver him up to the civil magistrates.

2. The Governor had no right "in time of profound peace" to place Military Guards over the house of any inhabitant.

3; The purpose of the confinement was to procure accusations against him (Mr. Gray) and degrade him in the eyes of the servants of the Company.

4. The confinement betrayed a desire on the part of the Governor to establish a Military Government in the Presidency.

5. The highhanded proceedings against Ramnaut amounted to an encroachment on "the rights and privileges of the subjects" of the entire settlement.

The arguments which Clive put forward in defence of the action he had taken against Ramnaut were sufficiently elaborate and may be thus summed up :—

1. It was his duty, as Governor, to enquire into the numerous charges which had been communicated to him against Mr. Gray

2. The seizure of Mr. Gray's servant was necessitated by the fact that he was accused of "heinous crimes and misdemeanours.

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3. Ramnaut was confined to his own house by a guard "upon intelligence that he was going to fly from the country." "The respect I have for the laws of my country", Clive contended, "will always prevent my exercising a military force to apprehend any British subject, unless in cases of a very heinous nature, and when the offender might otherwise escape from the justice of a civil power, to whom he must of course be given up".

4. Ramnaut and Mooteram, over whom military guards had been placed, could not, being natives of India, claim the privileges of British subject. "Were we to consider them as British subjects," he argued, "our political Government would be at an end".

5. Ramnaut was "an inhabitant of Maldah, two hundred and fifty miles from Calcutta" and his house and family were there and he was only "a sojourner at this settlement, an agent for the business of extortion in which Messrs. Gray and Leycester seem vexed to find him detected". As such too, he could not claim the privileges of a resident of the British settlement.

6. The Governor having "a commission, as a commander-in-chief of the forces" had "power in himself to exercise a military authority in support of the civil" and the Government of the settlement, though purely civil, had the right to obtain the assistance of the military in securing dangerous offenders. Clive urged that as the Governor must always have the earliest intelligence of matters relating to his Government and of importance to the public interest, he must be invested with the power of providing instantly for the security of the state in all emergencies. To assert from the case of Ramnaut that he was attempting to establish a military government and subvert the laws of his country was therefore "unjust and absurd to the highest degree".

7. Clive also maintained that his action was not unprecedented. He pointed out that there were "no less than two-and-thirty precedents of black men, some of whom were counsellors banyans, being confined for months together under military guards" by order of his predecessors within the last fourteen years and that most of these precedents related acually to inhabitants of Calcutta, whereas the case in question did not.

The principal issue involved in this controversy was the question as to whether the Governor really intended to set up a military power in opposition to the civil administration of the settlement. Messrs. Gray and Leycester stoutly maintained in their respective minutes that they had grounds for suspecting that a military government very inconsistent with the existing civil jurisdiction was going to be instituted and they demanded that the assertion of a military power over a British Colony must be resisted at all costs. But, they could not substantiate their charge against Clive and so the latter could retort with a show of reason that their accusation was wholly "romantic" and "absurd." A study of their minutes and statements leaves no doubt about the fact that their attitude was coloured by their personal resentment at the official

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enquiries into their corrupt practices. Their appeal to the laws of Britain was a skilful pose adopted for the purpose of discrediting Clive's government in general, and his measures against their oppressive agents in particular.

The punishment which the Council inflicted on Mr. Leycester, an avowed supporter of Mr. Gray, on the ground that he was "the propagator of the injurious report spread through the settlement that a military power was going to be set up" was, however, meted out in much too dictatorial a fashion. Clive personally charged Mr. Leycester with being the author of the report in question and he was supported by General Carnac and Mr. Verelst. Mr. Leycester himself was asked to withdraw from the meeting and was not allowed to participate in the voting. By a narrow majority of three to two, the Council passed a resolution to the effect that Mr. Leycester, in publicly circulating the said report, was guilty of unfaithfulness to the duty of the service and being thus unworthy of any position in the Company's service was to be suspended forthwith, until the pleasure of the Court of Directors was known.

Clive and his two supporters voted for the resolution, and Messrs. Gray and Sumner opposed it. The suspension of Mr. Leycester was evidently intended by Clive to crush all opposition in and outside the Council. It, however, exposed Clive to the criticism that the resolution was passed with an indecent haste, and that the offence of Mr. Leycester did not merit so severe a punishment as suspension from the service. Actually, Clive later admitted that Mr. Leycester's report was based on "an expression hastily dropt by General Carnac at the board". Besides, there was no evidence to show that Mr. Leycester had actually broadcast the report all over the settlement. He himself emphatically asserted, "So far was I from industrially propagating reports to alarm the settlement, that I only recollect having mentioned my apprehensions and sentiments of what had passed to one gentleman ....." On an examination of the whole proceedings it is apparent that Clive did take an advantage of an accidental majority in the Council in his fight against his opponents and punished one of the obnoxious councillors without allowing him even the privilege of a hearing. Furthermore, when the accuser was not allowed to vote, Clive and Carnac, being the parties concerned, were also not justified in taking part in the voting. Mr. Leycester had thus reason to complain that he had been removed "by a majority of only three to two, and that two of those three were sitting in judgment on their accuser."

The prolonged detention of Ramnaut too was not clearly justified by the circumstances of the case. That he was kept under military guards for months without the opportunity of being allowed to make his defence was extremely unusual. Even assuming that he was "a notorious villain" guilty of gross malpractices at Maldah, he should have been immediately handed over to the officers of the Nizamat for trial and punishment. The absolute refusal to admit the man to bail by the Councillors in their capacity as civil magistrates and their failure

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to take any action on the charge levelled by Ramnaut against the guards that the latter had looted his money and jewels made the case against him all the more irregular. The subsequent disclosure that Mr. Verelst had private claims of his own on Ramnaut lent added weight to the allegation that his persecution arose more from ulterior motives than from a strict regard for justice. After all, Ramnaut was not the only, or even the principal villain among the gumashtas. But for his connection with an obnoxious councillor, he too like many other oppressive gumashtas would have escaped the notice of the Governor.

The affair of Ramnaut cannot be dismissed as an isolated instance of either judicial irregularity or executive tyranny. It was an essential link in the chain of circumstances which prepared the ground for the establishment of Clive's absolute control over his own Council.

ORIGIN OF THE ROHILLAS

BY

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The term Rohilla merely means "mountaineer" and comes from the word "Roh", which is applied to an extensive tract stretching from and including Swat and Panjkorah, down to Siwi in one direction and from Hasan-Abdal to Qandahar in the other. It refers to the mountain tracts as distinct from the plains of the Derajat further east. The inhabitants of these regions are generally known as Afghans, although in India they are also called Pathans and Rohillas. The name Afghan which is given to them by the Persians, is not used by the people, who call themselves Pushtan or Pashtana. This seems to have been derived from their language which is called Pushtu or Pashtu or in the northern dialect Pukhtu or Pakhtu. At the same time the Afghans generally use their tribal names to denote their families and dynasties.

The exact origin of the Afghans is still uncertain and a great diversity of opinion exists. They have been traced to Copts, Georgians, Armenians, Turks, Mongols, etc., besides the claim of the Afghans themselves to Hebraic descent. The majority of these theories are based on too slender a ground. As for the rest, they are given by "writers living in a pre-scientific age, before the examination of anthropometric data revolutionised the study of ethnological problems" and hence may be dismissed as fanciful.

The Afghans are first mentioned by the Muslim historians as inhabiting the Sulaiman mountains and about the year 760 A. D. they fought with the Raja of Lahore, who ultimately ceded to them a portion of Lamghan, on condition of their guarding the frontier against any invading army. They then erected a fort in the mountains off Peshawar, which they called "Khaibar" and took possession of the country of Roh.

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During the asendency of the Samarids, the Afghans prevented them from doing any injury to the territory of Lahore and that is why the incursions of the Samrids into India, from first to last, were made by way of Sind and Bhatiya.

But when Alaptagin rose to power, the Afghans found themselves unable to withstand his general Subuktagin, who frequently attacked Peshawar and Multan. The Afghan, Shaikh Hamid was about this time formally invested by Raja Jaipal, with the supreme command on the frontier. But Shaikh Hamid finding it difficult to cope with the growing power of Subuktagin, transferred himself to the winning side and was continued by him in the enjoyment of his authority.

After this the Afghans continued to be an obscure mountain race and we hear of them as adventurers and rebels only. Throughout the Ghazanavide and the Ghorid period, they were constantly employed as merceneries and they followed the Sultans of Delhi into India in the same capacity.

But the collapse of the Delhi monarchy after Timur's invasion of India gave the Afghans an opportunity to play an important role in India. The leaders of these bands of adventurers began to be given responsible posts. In 1405 A. D., Daulat Khan Lodi was Faujdar of the Doab and many other Lodis at this time, are alluded to as holding important posts. Daulat Khan rose to be one of the most important persons in the Empire and held Delhi for some time against Khizr Khan. By some he is classed as one of the kings but he never took the title of Sultan. He surrendered to Khizr Khan in 1416 A. D. and died in confinement soon after.

Under the succeeding Sultans of Delhi, another Lodi, Sultan Shah, *alias* Islam Khan rose to power and his nephew Bahlol Lodi, first became Governor of the Punjab and in 1451 dethroned the last of the feeble Sayyid Kings and became Sultan of Delhi.

Immediately after becoming the sovereign of the Delhi Kingdom, Bahlol Lodi issued proclamations to his countrymen and kinsmen, offering them service and free grants of land in Hindustan. A large number of Afghan tribes answered this call, many of whom migrated *en masse* to Hindustan and, settling down in Northern India, lost all connection with their kinsmen accross the Indus.

Bahlol Lodi, was succeeded by his son Sikandar Lodi (1489-1517), who was followed by Ibrahim Lodi, but the Lodi rule at first vigorous, failed to revive the moribund Sultanate of Delhi, which fell before the Timurid invader Babur in 1526 A. D.

But the Afghans who were then numerous and powerful in India, after a short retreat towards Behar, succeeded in driving out the Timurids and founded another Afghan dynasty under the leadership of Sher Shah Sur. A second influx of Afghans into Hindustan, on a larger scale followed the establishment of the Sur power, which attained its zenith

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under Sher Shah. But after the death of Sher Shah (24th May 1548), his successors were utterly incompetent and hence the Empire again fell into decay. The result was that the Timurids again dispossed the Surs at Delhi (5th November 1556) and the Emperor Akbar established the Mughal dynasty in India.

For some time, the Afghans in India, attempted to establish themselves in Bengal and Orissa but they were overthrown and compelled to acknowledge the supremacy of the Mughals. And in a short time these powerful Afghan tribes lost their distinctive organisation and were absorbed into the mass of the Muslim population.

It was the descendants of these Afghans who thus settled into India and intermarried with the Muslims of India, who came to be called Pathans. The origin of the use of the word Pathan, has been variously given but the most probable explanation of Pathan is that it is "merely a Hindi corruption of Pushtun". The Afghans who swarmed into India under the Lodis and the Surs were in the position of rulers and hence could not possibly have suffered themselves to be called by a name different from their own. Besides, these Afghans right down to 1770 A. D. were very proud of being called Pathans.

The Pathans, however, were not deprived of all power and position during the strong rule of the great Mughals. The wars of the Mughal Emperors gave them ample employment and because of their having no local ties, they were also given posts of trust and responsibility.

In the middle of the seventeenth century, a Pathan, named Bahadur Khan Daudzai, who was a Fauzdar of Kalpi and Kanauj, while on service beyond the Indus, brought with him a large number of Afghans from Roh, to colonise Shahjahanpur which had been given to his brother Diler Khan as *jagir*. These Afghans belonged to fifty two different tribes and each of them established their separate *mahalla* (quarters). After this there was constant communication between Shahjahanpur and Roh, and large numbers of Afghans gradually came down to the Gangetic plains, where they were given employment either by the provincial governors or the local Zamindars.

These new-comers were now given the name of Rohillas (mountaineers) in the sense of "savage" by the Pathans in India, and the Mughals in order to make a distinction between these rough and uncouth people and the more civilised Pathans, at once adopted this name. Thus in 1707 A. D. there was a body of troups in Bahadur Shah's army called Rohillas. And the new settlers on the other hand seem to have accepted the name at this time, for there is an ode in the Pushtu language, meaning "I am a simple mountaineer compelled to live in Hindustan, that is an honest man among knaves".

During the confusion caused in the Empire by the death of Aurangzeb and the ensuing war of Succession, a large number of Afghan adventurers came down to India from Roh and while some of them found employment in the army of Bahadur Shah, the rest wandered about the

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Gangetic plains in search of employment. Taking advantage of this, Daud Khan Rohilla, one of the new arrivals, collecting a few followers under him, began the life of a highway robber in Katehr, and in a short time became the leader of a band of two hundred men. Then on the death of Bahadur Shah, when the Rajput Zamindars in Katehr, rose in revolt, Daud Khan got employment under Mudar Saha of Mudhkar, in the pargana of Barsir, and was given a small jagir. At the same time another Rohilla named Muhammad Khan, whose father had settled at Mau in the preceding century, collecting a large number of the newcomers under him, was hiring himself out to the different zamindars in Bundelkhand, and by 1713 had about four thousand followers under him.

Muhammad Khan on the arrival of Farrukh-siyar near Bundelkhand on his way against the Emperor Jahandar Shah, joined him with his army and fought for him in the battle at Agra (12th Jan. 1713), and on the accession of Farrukhsiyar to the throne was given possession of the town of Farrukhabad, with twelve villages in perpetuity (Altamga). Muhammad Khan now took his family name of Bangash and gradually laid the foundation of the Bangash kingdom of Farrukhabad.

Daud Khan Rohilla on the other hand, who was joined by about 500 Afghans from the native village of Toru Shahmatpur, remained in Madar Saha's service only for some time and then entered the service of the Raja of Kumaon (1721). He had only been five years with the Raja when he was put to death for deserting his master in the battle field against Azmatullah Khan, the deputy governor of Muradabad. But his followers managed to escape his fate and making his adopted son Ali Muhammad Khan Rohilla their leader, they entered the service of Azmatullah Khan (1726).

Ali Muhammad Khan Rohilla under the patronage of Azmatullah Khan, who remained in office till 1736 A. D., considerably increased his possessions. And in 1737 when he rendered a signal service to the imperial cause by his bravery in the expedition against the Sayyids of Barha, he was given a *mansab* of five thousand; besides a substantial grant of lands. Soon after this came the persecution of Nadir Shah in Afghanistan, which led to the migration of a large number of Afghans into Hindustan. Ali Muhammad Khan encouraged most of them to enter his service and finally became so strong that in 1741 he was able to defeat Harnand, the deputy governor of Muradabad who had been sent to chastise him. He was now made the deputy governor of Muradabad by the Wazir. But he annexed the neighbouring land and stopped the remittance of revenue to the Imperial Exchequer. For this reason the Emperor marched against him and he was taken as a prisoner to Delhi (1745). But within a year he was appointed governor of Sirhind and after two years he was again transferred to Muradabad. Ali Muhammad Khan once more annexed the neighbouring territories and asserted his independence, but the confusion in the central government caused by the death of the Emperor Muhammad Shah, saved him from any further attack. He lived to enjoy only

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six months more of his exalted position, but when he died (September 1748) the Rohilla State in Rohilkhand was firmly established and lasted for the next twenty-six years playing a dominating role in the politics of Hindustan.

It was during the time of Ali Muhammad Khan that the term Rohilla was restricted to the Afghans settled in the Rohilkhand State. The reason for this was as follows: The newly arrived Afghans who had been called Rohillas had put up with the name very reluctantly and were constantly desirous of being called Pathans. Thus when Muhammad Khan Bangash established the State of Farrukhabad, a large number of the Pathans in India rallied to his standard and because of constant inter-marriages, all the Afghans in the State of Farrukhabad became known as Pathans. The case was, however, quite different with the State of Rohilkhand. Daud Khan Rohilla was originally a slave and nothing certain was known of his parentage and family. Hence in the absence of any distinguishing eponym, like Muhammad Khan Bangesh had, he was obliged to call himself by the current name Rohilla. And after him, his successor Ali Muhammad Khan Rohilla, being only an adopted son and an Indian by extraction, naturally called himself a Rohilla also, for otherwise he could not have assumed the leadership of the Rohillas. The followers of Ali Muhammad Khan on the other hand, most of whom joined him in 1739, naturally took their leader's name. Thus when Ali Mohammed Khan became master of the Sarkar of Muradabad and Bareilly, his possessions came to be known as Rohilkhand or land of the Rohillas.

The term Rohilla thus, at this time, meant the Afghan followers of Ali Muhammad Khan Rohilla whom, the Pathans of Farrukhabad particularly regarded as the son of a slave and with whose family they refused to have any matrimonial relations. Soon after, however, because of inter-marriages between the family of Ali Muhammad Khan and the principal chiefs of Rohilkhand, the Pathans refused to have any matrimonial connection with the Chiefs of Rohilkhand. Hence the term Rohilla now came to be understood in the sense of a class of Afghans who had slave blood in them. Thus even when the family of Ali Mohammad Khan was superceded in the control of the State by the principal chiefs of Rohilkhand, the Afghans under the rule of these chiefs continued to be called "Rohillas". After the overthrow of the Rohilla power in 1774 and the dispersion of the greater part of the Rohilla population, the term Rohilla and Pathan gradually became practically synonymous.

Thus Rohilla was never a racial term. It represented a heterogenous body consisting of the various tribes of Afghanistan, although the Baraich and the Yusufzais were more numerous and enjoyed a preponderating influence. The most important of the Baraich chiefs were Hafiz Rahmat Khan and Dundi Khan and the notable Yusufzai chiefs were Najib Khan and Mullasardar Khan.

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THE MEMOIRS OF WOLLEBRANT GELEYUSSEN DE JONGH, 1625 A. D.

BY

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During the first half of the seventeenth century the little republic of Holland led Europe in the Science and arts. When the long and herioc struggle for indendence against the Spanish monarchy had reached a successful conclusion, the seven provinces of the Netherlands settled down to a long spell of prosperity and creative achievement. In an atmosphere of intense love of liberty and patriotism the Dutch people turned their boundless energy, skill and courage to the pursuit of the arts of peace, Art, letters and philosophy flourished brilliantly in Holland while Europe was plunged in the gloom of the Thirty Years' War. The city civilization of Holland was based on its preeminence in industry and commerce. The merchants of the Dutch East India Company soon vanquished their Portugese rivals and left their English friends far behind in the race for the spices and luxuries of the East.

During the days of their prosperity and preeminence in trade the Dutch merchants in the East often wrote their memoirs and impressions. Many of these merchants were refined and cultured middle-class men and had strong sense of curiosity for knowing the ways and customs of the oriental people with whom they came into contact. Their interest was many-sided and their writings stress a great deal on economic and social conditions. The Imperial Archives at the Hague contain a large number of such documents which are rich in material on the social and economic conditions prevailing in many parts of India during the period of the decline of the Mughal Empire. The writings of Wollebrant Geleyussen De Jongh fall into this category.

De Jongh was born at Alkmaar on 8th January, 1594. In 1613 he became assistant factor at the factory of Massan, at Banda, in the Dutch East Indies, and on 1st November, 1618 he became a factor at Halmabeire. He returned to Holland on 15th July, 1621. At the end of the same year he went back to the East and from January 1623 he worked as upper factor at Bashanpur and after that till 1632 at Broach. His memoirs which will be referred to in this study belong to this period. In 1631 Wollebrant fell in love with the daughter of a notary cornelis Janszoon Bhart who used to be his guardian at Alkamaar ; but he did not succeed in marrying this women. He again returned home in 1632, and four years later he was appointed second in-chage of the factory at Surat. He made a journey from Surat to Agra and wrote a description of his travels. In 1640 he was appointed director and in 1648 he returned home as Extraordinary Councillor of the Indies and Commander of the Return Fleet. He spent the rest of his life in Holland as an

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ordinary citizen of Alkamaar where he died in 1674, a bachelor in the 80th year of his life.

The copy of his memoirs, which has been preserved in the Imperial Archives at the Hague, has not been entirely written by De Jongh ; it seems that he dictated his memoirs to one of his clerks at Broach. The notes, however, are in his own hands. The authorship of De Jongh has been established beyond dispute. Johan Van Twist in his popular work 'General Description of India', first published in 1638, largely borrowed from De Jongh. Both of them knew each other well after 1630 and corresponded with each other. De Jongh's work was composed in 1625 and the concluding portion was added in 1631. The manuscript has never been edited and published in English Translation, but its Dutch original has now been published at Utrecht by Prof. Dr. W. Caland. In the following pages a very brief reference is made to the contents of De Jongh's writings, which need careful editing before the historical information, particularly on the economic and social aspects, can be completely exhausted.

There are few direct references to the governmental machinery and politics of the Mughal Empire, but some information can be gleaned from incidental and indirect statements. The use of state monopoly in certain products is indicated by the following :

" The trade in indigo continues to be in a bad way, because the greedy king has taken possession of it, knowing very well that no one will be able to buy indigo except from him. With that object he has sent his agents to all places where indigo is grown, and buys up everything. The merchants at first resisted, as they had to sell their goods cheaper to the king than to others. They complained about it, but, getting no hearing, have been forced to submit to the tyranny of the king. This is the reason why so much indigo in not sown, and the indigo is not so pure as would be the case otherwise."

Reference is made to the military system of the Empire. The King assigns villages and towns for the maintenance of nobles or captains who must maintain and produce a specified number of mounted and foot soldiers for the service of the State. The places assigned for maintenance of nobles change hands every three years or sooner, depending upon the whims of the Emperor. De Jongh does not envy the power and riches of these nobles, who, indeed, seem to enjoy a precarious tenure of authority. " No Captain can depend upon the place given to him for today he may be the lord of a great place and tomorrow driven out of it. In order to obtain another place, he must go to the King again, or if he does not go himself, he must rely on a good friend who may recommend him to the King and speak for him. According to the King's pleasure a royal letter is again sent to him, making him master of some place with which he must be contented. The servants of the King have no security of any place, much less security of their life ; for if they have much money, any one, for trivial reasons, brings false charges against them, and they are lucky if they can buy their lives with their money

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and property." There seems to be little justice when the great men fight for power. "With almost all the powerful Muhammedans, when any one is justly or unjustly accused, arguments are of little or no use, except when one has money or property." Their common saying is "First strike and then argue. Thus if any one, being in the wrong, gets involved in a quarrel with somebody else, and is powerful enough to do him injury or violence, and first goes to the government judge to lodge a complaint, the judgment will be given in his favour, though he was very much in the wrong. In all parts of the Moghul's dominions one will find this a common practice. It is their custom and is more strictly observed than all other good disciplines. He who lodges his complaint first will be recognised to be most in the right."

Crimes and offences are mostly punished with fine. Very few offences are punished with death and all men of wealth can get away with the most serious crimes by the payment of money. This is so because the Governor benefits from all fines and confiscations. "This is the reason why there are so many ruffians on the roads and travelling is so unsafe and dangerous for merchants." Various kinds of tortures are used and these devices are described at length by De Jongh. Gangs of robbers do what they like on roads. "The reason why the ways are unsafe is that they are daily used by bania and heathen merchants, travelling through the country with their marchandise, and these merchants carry few or no servants with guns. Whenever overtaken by robbers, they are easily attacked and robbed of everything. These merchants would rather lose their goods than kill anyone, and robbers know it very well. If trade were carried on only by Muhammedans and Christians and the roads used by them, there would not be so many encounters with thieves as now, because the Muhammedans and the Christians would rather die fighting than be robbed of their goods by thieves."

In the great towns of the western provinces the three officials who count are the Governor, the Kazi and the Kotwal. All merchants must keep on friendly terms with these officers, because the letters of recommendation given by them are necessary, when travelling with merchandise, to pass through the garrisons without molestation. The letters of these officers often grant to merchants exemption from payment of tolls in certain towns. In any case it is necessary to make small presents to the various other authorities of these towns. De Jongh is careful in impressing upon his countrymen the importance of the Governor: "The Governor is the master of everything, and anyone who wants anything, or has committed an offence, should see the Governor and fill his hands, and seek to win over the Kazi and the Kotwal with some presents. Having done this, and secured the friendship of these three, no evil can happen to you, nor can your case be lost, even though you were in the wrong, and the other party right. The whole of Hindustan, and particularly Gurjeratte, is governed in this way. The wealthy are protected and the poor are kept down." The Dutch, the English and the Portuguese all vie with each other in bribing the officials heavily. "Thus in all places where we live there is nothing better or more profitable for

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the authorities of the Company than to make friends with the Governor and to win him over to your side with the best means that can be employed, and to accommodate yourself to his humour. If he is pleased with your company, visit him frequently ; if he is inclined to pleasure, be merry with him ; if he loves drink, sometimes present strong drinks to him ; if he loves the hunt, sometimes go with him; if he is covetous, which is the common weakness of the Muhammedans, one must sometimes present to him some little but strange things, which very often is more acceptable than common things of great value. Thus one should try to win their favour by these and similar means. This is the best means of carrying on your trade in peace, as our nation has no power here, and we cannot frighten them with our threats, as they know very well, and say that we cannot take our ships and all our guns on to the land, and that they would leave us to do what we liked on the sea."

The Governor is highly respected at the court and also by the common people. He is a man of wealth and reputation, and maintains great state. He has many servants, and when he goes out for pleasure, he is accompanied by 30 to 40 mounted and more than 100 foot soldiers, all carrying arms. He lives in splendid style, has many servants and eunuchs, who are mostly his slaves, as well as male and female servants who work for pay. He has hundreds of horses and elephants used for his pleasure and for war. "The reason of their heavy expenses and large households is that they can have as many wives as they like, all of whom must be housed, served, fed and clothed, according to their position, magnificent style. In addition to wives, they may have as many mistresses as they please." De Jongh heard that his contemporary, the Governor of Ahmadabad, kept more than 400 mistresses, and maintained for the service of the Emperor more than 15,000 horsemen, paid from the revenue of his area. His annual revenue amounted to over 260 tons of gold, and used to be even larger before 1630. "The reason of this fall in revenue is that the peasant, who pays all in the end, is now more heavily taxed than before ; he very often runs away and is not able to pay his taxes as in former times. For this reason much land remains uncultivated, which has reduced the revenues of this place." A more immediate cause was the widespread famine which had visited Gurjeratte in 1624.

The people suffer much when a tyrannical or ignorant person is appointed as Governor. "Sometimes it is seen that merchants and other citizens, when they get an unreasonable man as Governor, go with their families to live in another place, and do not return so long as he remains there. They leave their houses and gardens to be used according to the Governor's pleasure. Sometimes they go away without the knowledge of the Governor, fearing that he may prevent them, in which case the Governor's people live in the houses and sometimes the houses are sold." When De Jongh lived at Broach, the people of the city were still talking of a Governor who was corrupt and cruel, and had several persons skinned alive in 1622, till the king, hearing reports, recalled him and appointed another, and "since that time the town is governed in a more civilized fashion and with greater discretion, though there is still enough

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of severity." It is, however, worst for the people when a governor is about to relinquish his position. "When a Governor has to leave a place which he ruled, and which is then given by the King to another, he becomes to know of it 20 or 25 days beforehand. Then he freely robs, plunders and squeezes the people in his town, using means most suitable for the purpose: charging anyone falsely with having wronged some one else or not having paid the taxes due from him, or bringing such charges against him for which he is condemned to pay a certain amount of fine, according to his wealth and property. These and such other practices are much employed by the Governors when they leave their place." These local tyrants, however, are often the victims of Nemesis. "The wealth which the Governors collect they often lose in the same manner as they gathered it. For when a Governor falls into the king's displeasure, (which often happens) and it is thought that he had amassed wealth—by honest and dishonest means—it is taken away from him, and he must again try to get a new post from the king, or from a noble of his court, unless he is wholly in disgrace, or thrown into prison, which often happens, particularly with big people who have amassed some wealth. This is the common curse of this country."

In his comments on the administrative system of the Moghul Empire, De Jongh gives the point of view of one who spent most of his time in one of the outlying provinces of the Empire. His stray references to politics substantiate what Bernier wrote later and reveal that the decline in the administrative system had set in earlier in the seventeenth century. He regarded the administrative defects noted by him as chronic and the absence of standards of public morality as general. But socially and economically the India which he saw was in good health and the middle orders of society were both numerous and flourishing. The habit of religious tolerance was amazingly universal. Familiar with the religious dissensions of Europe, De Jongh concludes with surprise: "No one is hindered in the exercise of his religion or religious practices; everyone lives free." To him the distinctions between various groups of people are, indeed, economic, and not religious. Far from imperial Delhi, in Gurjeratte there is among the upper class a rich and gracious culture and material affluence. The towns have large populations, extensive gardens, mausoleums, tanks and playing-houses, there is much to be done for both work and recreation.

To the people at large the coming of the European merchants is a misfortune. "They say without shame, whenever it pleases them, whether in ordinary conversation or when they are enraged, that they could live as well, and better, if the Portuguese, the English and the Dutch had not come to trade there, because the goods exported by these three nations make everything dear in their country. The common man would rather see the three European nations go away than reside here any longer." To the great lords it seemed strange and almost incredible that the Europeans should come from distant countries beyond the seas, "not out of curiosity, but for making money."

The Memoirs of Wollebrant Geleyussen De Jongh are written by a man who was mainly absorbed in the task of making money by trade,

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It was to help the trade of his countrymen that he collected his information about western India. The copious references to economic and social conditions are of much interest and some use ; but this information will be examined in a separate paper. This short introduction to the Memoirs may conclude with a reiteration of the value of Dutch sources for the history of the seventeenth century.

WHAT WAS THE MOST IMPORTANT MOTIVE OF THE RAJA OF NAGPORE, IN SENDING CHIMNAJEE BAPU TO CUTTACK IN 1780 A. D.?

BY

PROF. G. S. DAS, B. A. (LONDON), Ravenshaw College, Cuttack.

On the 7th July, 1788 the Bengal Government received intelligence by way of Suez that war had been declared by the court of France against England on the 10th March, 1778. "It was no longer a time to temporise" says Hastings "but for speedy and decided actions". On 20th July, 1778, he deputed Alexander Elliot to Nagpore with offers of alliance to the Govt. of Berar. Alexander died on his way "thinking of nothing but public business in his delirium". Goddard was entrusted with Elliot's mission. But when Mudhoji heard of the resolution of the Bombay Government to conduct Raghoba to Poona (October, 1778), he atonce renounced all engagements with the British. In the month of September, 1780, news reached the Bengal Council from Madras that Hyder Ali had entered the Carnatic, destroyed an army and driven Sir H. Munro to the walls of Fort St. George. It was at this time known, that Mudhoji Bhonsla and the Nizam had united in a plan of confederacy with Hyder Ali and the ministers of the Pesha's Govt. for the overthrow of the British power.[1]

Hastings wrote "The Raja of Berar (Mudhoji) had neverthless on many occasions given the most convincing proof of his pacific disposition towards the English; and even given us early intimation of this confederacy, alleging that he had been compelled to enter into it from a dread of the resentment of his associates and assuring us that whatever appearance he might be constrained to assume, he would not involve the Berar Govt. in a decided enemity with the English. In conformity to this plan, Mudhoji sent thirty to forty thousad horses under the command of his second son Chimnaji Bapu: they received their dismission on the 11th August 1779. The plan of operation prescribed to them by the confederates was to march into Bengal, which they might have reached in two months; but instead of following this plan they took a different road, and by studied delays had only reached Cuttack in the month of May, following (*i. e.* May, 1780 A, D.), being about the time, when the periodical rains usually set in that province, which of course,

1. Selections from State papers of the G. G. of India Vol. I Forrests.

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served them as a pretext for deferring the prosecution of this preferred design.[1]

It is quite clear from this despatch that the Raja of Nagpore had no real intention of attacking Bengal for instead of taking the long route which his son took six months to travel, he should have taken the short cut to Bengal, and finish the march in two months if he wanted to attack Bengal. The Raja of Berar (Mudhji Bhonsla) was in fact practising a policy of splendid diplomacy. Ho persuaded his allies, the Peshwa, the Nizam and Hyder Ali to believe that he was wholeheartedly with them in their anti-English drive and in proof of this policy, he had despached Chimnaji Bapu to Cuttack. At the same time he secretly gave early intimation of the anti-English confederacy to Hastings and assured him that he would not involve his Government in a decided enemity with the English. Thus he tried to please both parties, the English and Confederacy. The motive of Mudhoji in sending a big regiment to Cuttack was not much to please his allies. The fact that Chimnaji did not attack Bengal does not prove only the secret friendship of Mudhoji towards the English E. I. Co.

What was then uppermost in the minds of Mudhoji in sending thirty to forty thousand horses under his second son Chimnaji to Cuttack in 1786 A. D. ? One of his minor objects was to please and at the same time deceive the anti-British confederacy: Another minor object was to frighten the English and extort concession from them by promising not to send his cavalry against Bengal from Cuttack. This is proved by the fact that later on the Bhonsla received several lacs of rupees as the price of his neutrality. His real motive was to save the Orissa from growing interal danger and to suppress the revolt of the Raja of Dhenkanal.

This assertion is proved from an Oriya Kavya named Samara Taranga (waves of war) written by a contemporary poet Brajanath Badajena of Orissa. This fact is also corroborated by the contemporary letters of Anderson who was deputed by Hastings and came to Cuttack to placate Chimnaji in 1781. In a letter dated the 22nd January, 1781 Anderson writes; "I arrived this morning. The Marhatta army is I find engaged in the seige of Dhenkanal which lies amongst the hills a considerable distance to the west of the Cuttack road. The communication is I am told, almost entirely stopped as there is a thick jungle of nearly seventeen *koss* in length between the road and Dhenkanal, which is so much infested by the people of the rebel Raja, that some days ago a considerable body of horse which attempted to pentrate the army with some supply from Cuttack were obliged to return". The rebellion so much troubled Chimnaji that he simply could not think of invading Bengal. The rebellion was with the greatest difficulty quelled. The real intention of Mudhoji in sending Chimnaji with a big cavalry can reasonably be interpreted as the supression of the Dhenkanal rebellion.

1. Mr. Hasting's Despatch of 1781, Fort William.

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A UNIQUE DOCUMENT, ON THE PATNA STATE, IN THE EASTERN STATE AGENCY.

BY

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The achives of the Deputy Commissioner of Sambalpur in Orissa contain a few interesting records, one of which is a unique document written by Major H. B. Impey at Camp Deogaon in the Patna State on the 29th May, 1863. It is a unique document because it traces the origin, growth and decay of the Southern Chauhan Empire under a race of Chowhan Rajputs; (ii) it traces the origin of the states of Patna and Sonepur, of the district of Sambalpur, the zemindaries of Borasambar and Khariar; (iii) it decribes the hostorical relation of the Patna and Sambalpur Empires with more than a dozen states of the Eastern States Agency. It also refers to the depredation of the Bhonslas of Nagpur in the Patna and Sambalpur tracts. I consider that such a unique document is worthy of being quoted in full as it is likely to help historians in compiling the history of Patna and Sumbalpur. This unique document provides us for the first time vith a list of 31 Rajas who were the ancestors of Ramai Deo the first Chauhan Rajah of the Patna State. Some of the facts recorded in the document are corroborated by Kasolanda Kavyam[1] written in Sanskrit by Pandit Gangadhar Mishra of Sambalpur, in the seventeenth century and by Jayachandrika[2] written in Hindi by Prahlad Dubey of Sarangarh in the Eastern State Agency, and therefore the document as a whole is worthy of credence and therefore of publication.

MARKETING ORGANISATION AND PRICE CONTROL UNDER THE MARATHAS IN THE 18TH CENTURY

BY

PROF. R. V. OTURKAR M. A., S. P. College, Poona, Member, Bharat Itihas Samshodak Mandal

INSPECTION OF WEIGHTS AND MEASURES

Important sidelight is thrown on the marketing organisation and the active efforts made by the state and the people to create and foster market centres. Even here, as everywhere else watan and custom helped to give stability to the traders thus providing for a certainty of supply of articles to the locality. We know how weights and measures

1. Printed in Oriya character and published by the Maharaja of Sonepur, in the Eastern State Agency.
2. An unpublished manuscript.

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were inspected, prices regulated and even places of different vendors in the pilgrimage bazars fixed. In 1789 the Deshpandes, probably of Saswad were informed that one Bhaskar Govind had been sent from Poona to inspect weights and measures of Wanis and Gujars and to fix government stamps to each of them. The Deshpandes were ordered to inform the grocers accordingly. The inspecting officer used to be called Awati and used to get a small share in kind per gunny bag of corn sold. From a letter of the year 1788 it seems that the office of the inspector of weights and measures was being crystallised into a watan. In a paper of the year 1734 which is an original order (आज्ञा पत्र) of Bajirao 1 he severly reprimanded the oil dealers for not using the new measures and pointed out that they would be fined, should they persist in their use of out-of-date weights and measures.

Opening of new market centres.

Opening new market centres and giving assurance to the prominent merchants in the old ones were subjects in which government authorities keenly interested themselves. In a letter of 1778 Tukoji Holker thus wrote from local authority of Murati village. "Dhondo Purandare is trying to open a new market centre at Murati by exempting traders from government dues for a period of years. You are therefore asked not to exact your gandki (patilki) on the bazar for the said period of contract." Again in a letter of 1784 Malhar Dhondev wrote to the Kulkarni and Mukadam of Amrapur requesting them to state in detail the prevalent claims of Patil, Kulkarni, Shete and Mahajans on the bazar, as the information would be highly useful to him in his effort to open a new market centre at Vadule. In 1771 an attempt was made to settle a bullion merchant at Saswad by exempting him from the payment of usual taxes for a period of four years and asking him to pay only one rupee during that period. We find that he was being encouraged to start his business although there were already four other bullion merchants doing their business in the market. From a paper of the year 1778 we know that Marwadis of Vadule were assured that the claims of the marketing officer would be moderate and that the officer would see to it that order was maintained in the bazar. Sometimes caste appeared to exercise its unhealthy influence. The Wanis of Jejuri approached the higher authorities to remove the Gujars away and promised to pay the authorities one hundred rupees for doing that service to them (1795 A. D.). We do not know whether the authorities consented to meet their demand.

Regulation of prices

The authorities thought themselves entitle to regulate prices. It cannot be ascertained how far they were successful in their efforts. In a letter of the year 1806 they prevented the Wanis from dealing in oil at Saswad as it was an exclusive privilege of the Telis (oil dealers). The oil dealers were allowed to sell grain, as all others did, but not any other articles that are usually sold by a grocer. The oil dealers of Saswad however were specially instructed that they should sell oil at the Poona

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price or at a price lower than that, but certainly not at a higher one and that they were responsible for maintaing a steady supply of oil to the locality. Should they fail they would be deprived of their privilege and the trade would be thrown open to the grocers. At times, the authorities interfered with the market demand and prevented an excessive external demand from creating a scarcity in the local market. In a letter to Naropant Nana, Mahipat Trimbak of Saswad requested him not to demand more *patravali* (leaf-plates) from the Saswad gurav as there were marriage ceremonies in Saswad, where the article would have to be supplied.

These references should be enough. It could be possible to quote original letters to show how a conflict of a Watani claim on the bazar was determined, how the traders trying to evade the payment of taxes punished, how prices of articles were raised by the fear of a possible march of an army and what the prevailing prices of several articles had been. One remark however may be made before I close.

Conclusion.

It may be thought that the excessive regulation of the market left no scope for competition. A careful perusal of these papers did not leave that impression on my mind. The different grocers and bullion merchants did compete with each other and the state saw nothing wrong in it. State regulation was useful in oiling the wheels of competition and prevented it from creating any local scarcity. 'The merchant's function" said Ruskin "is to provide". State regulation helped to keep the merchant upto that 'Providential' ideal.

A SHORT NOTE ON HARKUBAI HOLKAR

BY

B. R. Kulkarni, B. A., Shirpur W. K.

There were several ladies in the Harem of Malharrav Hokkar the founder of the Holkar dynasty. Though they were not wedded to him through any nuptial ceremony, some of them at least were held in high esteem by his successors including even Ahalyabai.

Harkubai was one of such esteemed ladies and a number of old despatches from Maheshwar discovered very recently at Shirpur West Khandesh, contain some information about her The papers, have been handed over to Rajwade Samshodhan Mandal, Dhulia, for publication.

The papers include several orders from Ahalyabai regarding the dispute about the office of Patel between two rivals sections of a family in Shirpur. There are also some letters from Harkubai herself who happened to be a very close relative of one of the parties.

In one of her orders while referring to Harkubai, Ahalyabai the then head of the Holkar House has used these terms " Ganga-jal-nirmala-

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matushri Harkubai " meaning "the mother as pure as the very water of the Ganges ". The same letter says that one of the parties is a nephew (brother's or sister's son in this case) of the aforesaid Harkubai. The family claiming the office of Patelship of Shirur then, is continuously enjoying that privilege and occupying the hereditary post up till now. It is a Maratha family and it is clear that Harkubai was a Maratha lady by caste.

The letters sent by Harkubai are full of sympathy and love for her relation to whom they were addressed. They repeatedly encourage him and assured him of help in his efforts for getting justice done in the Maheshwar Darbar. One interesting noteworthy feature in the papers is that every letter from Harkubai ends with a very small oblong seal bearing the following wording in Devnagari script "Shri-Datta-Charani-Tatpara-Harkubai-Holkar". Use of a seal by Harkubai is a clear testimony to her respected status she seems to have attained in the Holkar family. The wording in the seal means "ever-devoted to the feet of Shri Datta, is Harkubai Holkar "

In Maharashtra there are at least two popular personages as saints bearing the name Datta. One is worshipped at several places like Narasinha Vadi, Ganagapur etc. on the bank of the Krishna in the Deccan and the majority of the worshippers are Brahmins. The other is worshipped by persons follwing the Mahanubhao sect. This sect is known in the Punjab of Jai Krishna and is the only Hindu sect that has its followers in Afghanisthan and its temple in Kabul and Kandahar.

Traditions connected with Harkubai and current among the Mahanubhao people convince one that the Datta alluded to in her seal is the one belonging to the Mahanubhao sect.

So it can safely be said that Harkubai was a Maratha lady following the Mahanubhao sect and had attained a respected position in the Holkar family as a widow of Malharrav Holkar the I.

A MISGUIDED EXPEDITION.

(Col. Leslie's march through Bundelkhand, 1778 A.D.)

BY

PROF. SHANTI PRASAD VARMA, M. A.

THE DECISION TO MARCH THROUGH BUNDELKHAND.

In the summer of 1778, Col. Leslie, at the head of a British expedition, entered into the as-yet-unexplored regions of Bundelkhand. He had been asked 'to proceed by the most convenient and practicable route to Bombay or any other place directed by the Bombay Government'. The Supreme Government's suggestion that they 'judged the

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road through Bundelkhand and the province of Berar most eligible' was permissive but not mandatory, and even if they permitted him to take that route they had cautioned him 'to make it his first care to reconcile the chiefs of the country through which it may lie. The object with which the Supreme Government had suggested this route was to create a distraction for Mudaji Bhonsle and other northern chiefs and to disable them from going to the help of Nana Phadnavis and Haripant Phadka and thus relieve the pressure upon the Malwa chiefs, Buchaba Purandhare and Tukoji Holkar, and set them at liberty to take what part they pleased in the support of Raghoba. The recent political events at Poona, however, had rendered this object superfluous. On June 4, 1778, Col. Leslie received peremptory instructions from the Bombay Government, under covered orders, dated a month earlier, asking him to expedite his march to Bombay, Mostyn adding a word of caution that he was to avoid as much as lay in his power to giving any cause of complaint to the local chieftains. In view of these circumstances, and the later criticism of the Governor-General, the responsibility of finally deciding upon the Bundelkhand route must be laid on the shoulders of Col. Leslie himself.

Circumstances which ought to have led to a reversal of this decision.

True, that he had already started hobnobbing with the Bundelkhand chiefs, but he had received ample warnings too, if his practical experience was not enough to deter him from such hazardous campaign. His march from Kara to Kalpi was hindered, the local 'aumil' creating difficulties both in the way of his collecting provision and obtaining transport. This, Col. Leslie acknowledged, was due to the local chieftains being 'unaccountably backward and suspicious of his approach'. The Killedar of Kalpi refused to afford him the assistance of his boats or even to grant him free passage. His repeated applications to other Killedars for boats were similarly attended. The Maratha Sardars, Balaji and Gangadhar, hovered in the neighbourhood, with five thousand men each, On 17th May, and again on 19th May, he received requests from these chiefs to cross the river Jumna, sixteen *kos* higher up and proceed by the Jhansi route. The local chiefs were making persistent appeals to him to avoid the Bundelkhand route. The Raja of Berar urged upon him to take the route through his country and promised every aid he could require, and also suggested that if he marched straight to Narbada and from there through Burhanpur to Bombay, he would be able to avoid all serious opposition from the Maratha chieftains. Col. Leslie could not also have been oblivious of the urgency of his presence at Bombay. "A confederacy, so suddenly erected", he himself wrote, "must have support. The prosecution of the intended destination of the detachment will affect this". He also knew that it was necessary for him to cross the Narbada before the height of the rainy season overtook him. But strangely enough, he rudely brushed aside all warnings, dissuasions, entreaties, and reiterated his decision "that the detachment should immediately penetrate into Bundelkhand".

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Col. Leslie's main object in adhering to an effete decision.

The only object which could have inspired Col. Leslie to adhere to an effete decision was to take advantage of the distracted condition of the Maratha affairs in Bundelkhand in inciting an insurrection of the local chieftains against their Maratha overlords and achieve a great diplomatic success by making them hopelessly dependent upon the English.

Conditions in Bundelkhand.

Conditions in Bundelkhand were both chaotic and tempting. The Maratha rule sat lightly on the local chieftains. The Maratha Sardars, Balaji and Gangadhar, evoked fear mixed with respect but had hardly any direct control over these chiefs. The sole work of the Maratha Governors seems to have been to collect an uncertain tribute at irregular intervals. The chance to throw themselves on the mercy of some other power was not unwelcome to the local chieftains; though left to themselves they were hardly miserable enough to congregate and appeal to that power for help and protection. Many of the petty statelets of Bundelkhand were further rent by internal dissensions. The case of Raja Anurudh Singh, the most important of the Bundelkhand chiefs is a good sample. He was facing the opposition of his brother, Sarnet Singh, whom he had overthrown and who had recently been deserted by a number of Maratha troops that had formerly supported him. A man in Sarnet Singh's position was bound to look towards the English for support. Other similar disgruntled elements too could be expected to gather round the British Commander. It was exactly this role of promising protection and distributing patronage which pre-eminently suited the petty-minded Colonel, and egged him towards his fatal enterprise.

The first reactions—good and bad.

The first reactions, however, proved to be highly satisfactory. Addresses and vakils from a number of neighbouring Rajas began to pour in. By 30th May he had received vakils from most of the local chieftains, all professing amity and friendship. Mudaji informed him that he had already deputed a Sardar, Lala Jodh Rai, along with his own Diwan, Gangaram, to wait his commands at the Hoshangabad Ghat, on the bank of the Narbada. Raja Anurudh Singh wrote to him a second letter containing the most satisfactory declarations at the approach of the English army. Sarnet Singh made frantic efforts to win him over. Guman Singh and Khuman Singh sent secret agents. Even Balaji and Ganga Dhar kept a show of friendship. But behind the professions of amity and friendship, at first stealthily and then openly, marched trouble. Leslie's plan was not to halt even at Kalpi but to proceed from Kalpi down on the Srinagar-Chhatarpore road some twenty miles southwards and establish himself on the bank of the Betwa river with a view to place himself in an advantageous position to prosecute his march farther and also to create an impression on the Maratha chiefs that they had not succeeded in

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their efforts to impede his march. On 7th June he received a letter from Dewaji, giving him clear indication of the severity of the coming storm, and conveying to him an impression that even the Bhonsla Chief was in secret league with other chiefs of the country to oppose his march, but this hardly created any impression on Leslie. It had been under great pressure from Middleton that Almas Khan, who had appropriated all the grain in the neighbourhood of Kalpi, had promised to supply him with grain and boats at Kalpi. But when Col. Leslie actually reached. Kalpi on June 15, not a single day's provision nor a single boat had been provided by Almas, nor the conciliatory letters from Balaji and Gangadhar had made the Killedars relax in their obstinacy.

At Jalalpore.

Undeterred, Col. Leslie marched from Kalpi to Jalalpore, where he received vakils from Anurudh Singh, Guman Singh, Khuman Singh, Sarnet Singh, Balaji and Gangadhar, the Raja of Datia and the Rana of Gohad. Col. Leslie's impression on their departure was that "they parted to get everything in readiness..to grant me an unmolested passage through their districts and every supply I might require. Khuman Singh's vakil even agreed to join the English and enter with them into an offensive and defensive treaty on condition of their restoring part of the country wrested from his family by the father of Anurudh Singh. But in the meantime, the Maratha leaders were not idle.

Balaji organising a concerted drive against the English.

While Col. Leslie was parleying with agents and deputies, Balaji was presiding over a Congress at Srinagar, that was attended by Anurudh Singh's diwan, Guman Singh and Khuman Singh in person, Gaj Singh and Bisheshwar Pandit, and exhorting them to assemble their forces and oppose Col. Lesli's passage. From Srinagar, Balaji proceeded along with his troops to Chhatarpore, the capital of Raja Anurudh Singh's territories, where he succeeded in persuading the ministers of the young Raja to collect all their forces and oppose the English advance. The combined armies of Balaji and Anurudh Singh were soon to be joined by the forces of Guman and Khuman Singh, Gaj Singh and some freebooters. Ganga Dhar, who was working for the recapture of Kalpi was to join them as soon as his task was accomplished. Panna was put in a state of defence, and all their valuable effects sent to Kalinjer. The confederate army was to assemble on the banks of the Kaine river, near Rajgarh and from there to march to Ghhatarpore, where a concerted attack was to be made* on Col. Leslie's forces. As these accounts reached Col. Leslie, he chafed with rage. "I almost wish," he wrote in a letter, "they might put it in my power to chastise them, for of all the race of mankind I ever encountered they are the most perfidious and infamous rascals and it would gratify me much to see this fine country wrested from them and put into the hands of some more deserving people

*The Maratha preperations for a counter-attack.

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that would cherish and not crush the poor industrious inhabitants as these tyrants do".

Col. Leslie's march : difficulties at Srinagar.

On 17th June Col. Leslie left Jalalpore and encamped at Belgong. On 19th he marched to Chawrie, where he halted for two days. On 22nd, he continued his march to Raut, where they got into a very pleasant country and plenty of supply with which they could complete their provisions. He resumed his march from Raut on 24th and encamped at Curulla. From there e proceeded to Kolhapur, where he halted for 25th and 26th. The country through which the expendition passed was 'romantic and pleasant, interspersed with hills, heaps of broken rocks and forts and villages rising out of extensive plains of most excellent soil capable of producing anything'. On 28th he reached Srinagar, where he halted for two days, vainly endeavouring to meet and accommodate matters with the chiefs, Guman Singh and Khuman Singh, but found, to his great disappointment that the chiefs had slipped away to a place within five *kos* of Rajgarh to meet Anurudh Singh and Balaji. The influence of Balaji was such that the local chiefs were afraid of coming near him or rendering him any help On his road to the south there now lay 2000 horse, ready to fall on his luggage as soon as he passed and waiting to be joined by Khuman Singh. Khuman Singh, in fact, seems to have been the arch-insurgent in this area. It was through his efforts that all his communications had been stopped and he had been refused all grain supplies by the banjaras. It was while he was at Srinagar that he received news of a part of his army under Col. Munro receiving a serve blow—involving the death of the leader—at the hands of Gaj Singh's forces and probably working under the inspiration of Anurudh Singh. Khuman Singh himself now encamped within two *kos* of Srinagar, with about a thousand horse and two or three thousand foot, his army daily increasing, Gangadhar was reported to have been advancing with above 800 men to join him and one of Balaji's *naib* at Sagar with about a thousand men was said to be on his way to join the whole army at Rajgarh, Col. Leslie found that all his movements were being rendered impossible. His draft and grazing cattle sent out for grazing were being cut down, harassed or carried by the enemy.

Col. Leslie's attack at Mau.

Instead, however, of marching at full speed to Rajgarh and combating there the Maratha forces before they became too strong, Col. Leslie now planned a surprise attack at Mau, a fortress situated three *kos* west of Chhatarpore and then occupied by the troops of Anurudh Singh, consisting of 600 horse and 2000 foot, with a formidable artillery. He advanced a number of reasons for this action. He was induced to attack Mau, firstly, because its possession was likely to open a free communication to the westward. Another reason was his desire to break up Anurudh Singh's forces stationed there, which were stopping his supplies. Finally, as Gaj Singh, whose troops were perpetrators of Capt. Munro's cruel buchery, was there, he thought it a fair opportunity of retaliating

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on him. The attack proved to be well-planned and was successfully executed. The fort, having been pierced through some breaches in the eastern wall, capitulated within a few hours. There was little loss on the English side. Among the generals who participated in the attack were General Goddard, Capt. Popham, Lt.-Col. Parker and Capt. Ashe. Of these, Goddard and Parker particularly distinguished themselves.

Results of the victory.

The immediate results of the victory proved to be both striking and useful. It threw the local chiefs into a temporary confusion. Himmat Khan retreated towards the South. Gaj Singh made a precipitate retreat towards the north with about 200 horse and so great were his apprehensions that he ordered them to disperse and passed through Mahoba, on his way to Jaitpur, with only seven men, in the utmost consternation. The local inhabitants and banjaras came in with grain.

More difficulties.

Col. Leslie's position was further improved on his being joined by Munro's detachment and Sarnet Singh. But in the meantime an internal crisis arose in his army, due to the officers retaining some valuable articles obtained in the pursuit of the enemy troops after the victory at Mau. The army clamoured for a fair distribution. The battalions of Capt. Crawford and Capt. Ashe refused to take their pay. Another cause for discontent was the hardship the troops had to undergo on account of the dearness of provisions. In dealing with the crisis, Col. Leslie displayed ignorance, presumption and rapacity. Desertions once more became general in the army. A sepoy deserter was sentenced to death by a general court-martial, but this seems to have created little impression. The detachment had hardly reached Chhatarpur when due to incessant rains and the swelling of nullahs they found all movement partically impossible.

The encirclement plan of Balaji.

While Col. Leslie was engrossed in these difficulties, the Maratha leaders were rallying back from the Mau mishap, Balaji patched up a little misunderstanding which had lately arisen with Himmat Khan and a little trouble which had arisen with his troops, and set about organizing a most adroit piece of encircling campaign, with a view to starve Col. Leslie's forces into surrender. The first hurdle was to be organized at Rajgarh. Anrudh Singh was entrusted with the task of fortifying the place and to wait for Col. Leslie's detachment to reach there on its Golgunge-Panchamnagar route to Sagar. The Mau and the Golgunge passes were to be effectively guarded. The rear was to be closed in by an army moving from the Srinagar side. Balaji was also reported to have been exerting all his influence with Sindhia to send a force against the English. On July 11, information was received that Bakhshi Pradhan

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Singh had advanced his troops within two *kos* of Col. Leslie's and that the fort of Bussary had been greatly strengthened. More troops were soon expected to reach there. Making all these arrangements, Balaji himself moved some fourteen miles towards Sagar, in a south-westerly direction, and posted himself directly in Col. Leslie's way near Panchamnagar were he was expected to cross the Sonar river. Two strong barricades were thus strongly entrenched in the way of Col. Leslie, one at Rajgarh and the other at Panchamnagar.

The final encirclement at Rajgarh.

The detachment reached Rajgarh on 17th August, and proceeded to encamp on the banks of the Kaine river but was checked in its advance by a smart cannonade and fire of musketry from the opposite bank of the river. All the attempts of Col. Leslie to cross the river by means of floats and punts failed due to Anrudh Singh's troops keeping up a constant fire. The prospects before Col. Leslie were now the gloomiest. Sarnet Singh, upon whom he had depended so much, had been reconciled to Anurudh Singh and appointed the latter's prime minister. Himmat Khan had made up his differences with Balaji and, having crossed the river had thrown himself into Golgunge, in the neighbourhood of which he had captured two forts, and was now exhorting all the neighbouring villagers to collect and join him in opposing the English. Anrud Singh's power was daily growing. He had by now 8000 foot and 2000 horse. Leslie could not make a detour and leave Anurudn Singh there, as this would have involved leaving in his rear a dangerous foe hotly pursuing him. Col. Leslie realized that all was now over with him. "If I move forward", he wrote to the Governor-General, "by Goalgunge the troops of Anurudh Singh will recross the Kaine and take post at this place and Chhatarpore, if Sarnet Singh is not able to prevent them, and my supplies will run great hazard of being stopped, if Guman and Khuman Singh will not exert themselves, and I shall have to contest with the remainder of Anurudh Singh's at Goalgunge under Pradhan Singh. And Balaji's troops are in my front, and I can expect no supplies from that quarter. Col. Leslie's communications from Calcutta also appear to have been cut off by the people of Gaj Singh and Khuman Singh. No letters had arrived from Calcutta for a fortnight. And as if to crown the whole series of misfortunes, heavy rains commenced on 29th night, continuing on 30th and 31st., and raising the river to a high degree. Till 7th September, "nothing happened but incessant fall of rain". On 13th Sept. Col. Leslie wrote, "The incessant rain for many days past, and now falling in torrent and storm, forbid all possibility of my marching, until they are over, and the rivers and nullahs (so much swelled) subside, as well as water which lies on the roads."

Leslie's death: A criticism of the policy.

Five precious months had thus been wasted. ' 'The reasons assigned by Col. Leslie", wrote the Governor-General in a Minute, "for the delay of his march are various and appear to have changed according

to circumstances". Warren Hastings thought that "all the obstacles mentioned by Col. Leslie were merely ideal, or created by himself, such as might have been obviated or removed without any difficulty or danger to the troops." The inordinate interest shown by Col. Leslie in the Bundelkhand affairs, his colluding with Sarnet Singh against Anurudh Singh, his efforts to break away Guman and Khuman Singh from Balaji, his designs to form counter-alliances, all had created the impression that he wanted to reduce the whole of Bundelkhand and then triumphantly to march against Poona and put the local chiefs on their guard, and set them about raising and disciplining their forces. The situation created the leader and they found an energetic organizer in Balaji. For once the Marathas and the Rajputs forgot their old quarrel, and united in a common desire to oppose the English. If the kindly hand of Death had not removed Colonel Leslie and if the keen judgment of supreme Government had not replaced him by a really capable man, there was danger for the whole English army under him to be smothered at Rajgarh, or Panchamnagar or Sagar.

A Resume.

Col. Leslie's expedition through Bundelkhand has a twofold importance in Indian history. Firstly, it was part of the first British land-drive across the Indian sub-continent—it was the detachment commanded by Col. Leslie in the earlier stages which was later extricated from the Bundelkhand meshes by Gen. Goddard and carried triumphantly to Gujrat. Secondly, it put the Maratha strength to test and showed clearly that the Maratha state was not yet ripe for disolution. It ought to have been an eye-opener for the British. The Bundelkhand expedition of 1778 is the First Maratha War in miniature. There is the same needless offensive undertaken by the British, the futile effort to intermeddle in the domestic affairs of the Maratha state, the unwholy conspiracy to wean away the subordinate allies from loyal allegiance to the Maratha overlordship-and the same tragic failure and inglorious retreat. It is surprising to find that General Goddard who struck the gong of retreat in Bundelkhand should have sounded the bugle of war in Gujrat. He clearly failed to apply the experience gained in a small locality to a wider field of political action. The attitude of the Rajput chieftains of Bundelkhand—their first indecisiveness and their subsequent quick response to Maratha leadership like the attitude and policy shortly to be displayed by the different subordinate members of the Maratha confederacy, the Gaikawar, the Bhonsle, the Nizam, the Sindhia—clearly pointed out that the time for the destruction of the Maratha Empire had not yet come, that its roots had not yet completely lost their sap and vigour, and that the days of British supremacy were yet distant. But how close that distance was, this very few people knew or could divine.

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THE RELATIONS OF DAULAT RAO SINDHIA WITH THE BRITISH FROM THE TREATY OF SURJI-ARJANGAON TO THE DEPARTURE OF LORD WELLESLEY.

October 1804 to July 1805.

(THE MINISTRY OF SHARZA RAO GHATGE)

BY

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The "Wellesleyan System" is generally regarded as ruthless, arrogant and callous to the intigrity of the Indian states. That aspect of the history of Lord Wellesley's administration is one on which a good deal has been written by historians. It is, however, a pity that not much has been written about the last phase of the 'System'. The publication of the Poona Residency Records has brought much material to light which enables us to study the nemesis which overtook the 'System' after the Treaty of Surji-Arjangaon. It is my object in this paper to illustrate from the contemporary records the very perceptible weakening of the System towards Daulat Rao Sindha from October 1804 to July 1805.

This period coincides with the spirited and powerful ministry of Sharza Rao Ghatge, father-in-law and Prime Minister of the Sindhia. Sharza Rao Ghatge was a man of very considerable diplomatic ability and the ruling passion of his life was to inject fresh vigour into Mahratta affairs so as to enable the Mahrattas to recover from the British that Supremacy over the Deccan of which they had been deprived recently by Lord Wellesley as a result of the Second Mahratta War. The Treaties of Deogaon and Surji-Arjangaon had reduced both these powers to second class rank and it was Sharza Rao's object to restore the Sindhia to the position of a first class power.

The year 1804 offered an excellent opportunity for the achievement of this object. The Holkar had assumed a defiant attitude and on 13th April 1804, Lord Wellesley had declared war upon him. British pre-occupation with this war was Sharza Rao's opportunity. He knew that the British could not afford at this critical juncture to alienate the Sindhia. This was Ghatge's trump card. And, as if the fates had planned the whole game to suit the interests of the Prime Minister, his adversary was absolutely no match to him. The statesmanlike Mr. Webbe, Resident to the Court of Daulat Rao Sindhia, died on the 9th November 1804 and the Government appointed his Assistant one Mr. Richard Jenkins as temporary Resident pending the arrival of Mr. Close (then Resident at Poona) who was appointed to succeed Mr. Webbe. Richard Jenkins was a singularly unfortunate choice for dealing with the difficult situation at the Court of Daulat Rao Sindhia.

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He was a man with fixed ideas and with a singularly unbalanced temperament. He was as blind to the realities of the situation as he was ignorant of the arts of diplomacy.

The treaty of Surji-Arjangaon had left a number of problems unsettled. They were to be settled in due course of time through the Resident in accordance with the instructions of Government. These problems are succinctly summed up in a Memorandum presented by the Sindhia to the Government through his agent Bhagwant Rao (Received in March 1805).

1. Payment of revenue from Dholepore, Baree and Rajakhera from the date of the conclusion of the peace treaty.

2. Adjustment of the Sindhia's pecuniary claims on the Holkar.

3. Payment of the revenues from Sreegonda and other districts and from the taluqas of Pawagarh and Dawood.

4. Protection of the Deccan Mahals from the depredations of the Bhils.

5. Restoration of the Jagirs and payment of the pensions granted to officers in the Sindhia's service at the time of the peace treaty.

6. Payment of Rs. 25. lacs as a compensation for the depredations of the Holkar in the territorries belonging to the Sindhia in Malwa, Baroda, etc. and which the Sindhia was forbidden by the British Government from protecting through his own troops.

7. Restoration of the district of Gwalior and the fort of Gohud, which had been given away to the Jats in contravention of the peace treaty.

8. Failure of the British Government to protect the Sindhia's territorries from the Holkar, who plundered Mandasor, and Ameer Khan, who plundered Bhilsa, even though the British were pledged to do so under the peace treaty.

These problems were urgent and demanded a speedy solution, especially because of the outbreak of war with the Holkar. If these problems were not settled to the satisfaction of the Sindhia, there was a danger that a coalition would be formed between the Holkar and the Sindhia against the British. The Governor-General had already issued instructions to the Resident in his despatch dated 5th November, 1804 asking him to settle the Sindhia's claims. (letter No. 70). Mr. Jenkins, however, put off the solution of these problems. This was a fatal attitude to adopt and furnishes the real clue to the deterioration of the Sindhia's relations with the British which followed close upon the appointment of Jenkins.

The Sindhia started preparations for an alliance with the Bhonsle, Amir Khan, Zalim Singh of Kotah and Ambaji Ingle. (Letters No. 64 and 69 in the Poona Residency Records). Jenkins should have tried to pacify the Sindhia by promising a speedy settlement of his claims in

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order to win him back to the British alliance. Instead he adopted a most rash and ill-advised course of action. He threw the whole blame for the Sindhia's projected alliance upon Sharza Rao Ghatge and demanded his instant dismissal (Letter No. 70) while maintaining complete silence about the Sindhia's claims. Thereupon ensued a conflict between the acting Resident and the Sindhia's Prime Minister in which the former was completely outwitted.

Under the advice of his Prime Minister, the Sindhia maintained a pacific exterior and even went so far as to promise the dismissal of Sharza Rao Ghatge (Letter No. 73) while in practice he went on with his designs of affecting a junction of his forces with those of Amir Khan, Zalim Singh and Ambaji Ingle. The Sindhia was really waiting for some sign on the part of the British Government that a settlement of his claims would be taken into consideration. But these hopes were doomed to disappointment. The Resident did not move even his small finger in the desired direction. The patience of the Sindhia was at last comletely tired out. Ghatge now played his trump card. He ordered the Sindhia's forces to march north. Ghatge's action aroused the expected suspicion in the mind of the Resident that the Sindhia was going to join forces with the Holkar against the British Government, The astute Mr. Webbe could have won the Sindhia over at once by taking up the question of the Sindhia's claims, the settlement of which was really all that the Sindhia wanted at this time. The records will not bear any other interpretation of the true motives of the Sindhia in trying to join the forces of the Holkar. That was a threat on the part of the Sindhia and nothing more. But Mr. Jenkins tried threat where concilation was wanted. He demanded the dismissal of Sharza Rao Ghatge within 48 hours (Letter No. 73). This ultimatum, untimely and ill-advised, drew upon the acting Resident the wrath of the astute Sharza Rao Ghatge. On the 27th December 1804, "the guard attached to the tent containing of toshakhana articles of the Residency was surprised and overpowered by a large body of plunderers who wounded and murdered every person near the tent, and succeeded in carrying off the money and other articles—a booty of about Rs. 12,000". To the Resident's protests, Daulat Rao Sindhia answered by promising full compensation for the outrage. (Letter No. 78) The satisfaction, however, took the most unusual and unexpectted shape. On the 25th January 'the camp of the Resident was overwhelmed and plundered by the whole body of the Pindaris about a mile from Sindhia's camp'. (Letter No. 80). The British Residency was reduced to a pitiful condition in the absence of furniture, clothes, money and camp-attendants. This was Sharza Rao's reply to Jenkins for the ill-fated ultimatum.

The Resident advised the Government to withdraw their Resident from the Court of Daulat Rao Sindhia as a protest against the recent outrages. The unexpectedly surprising weakness which had crept into the Wellesleyan System by 1805 is very well illustrated by the instructions given to the Resident by the Government in their letter dated Fort William, 2nd April 1805. 'It has not appeared to the Governor-General', the letter reads, 'that Dawlat Rao Sindhia was disposed to

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obstruct the functions of the British Resident, or to deny the marks of attention due to your representative character'. The Resident was merely asked to demand from the Sindhia adequate atonement for the recent outrages and in return to promise that the Sindhia's claims will be immediately settled by the Government. (Letter No. 96) This was a resounding triumph for the diplomacy of Sharza Rao Ghatge and a source of unspeakable humiliation for the British Resident, Mr. Jenkins. And more, it was a striking comment upon the sore straits to which the Government of Lord Wellesley had been reduced. If there ever is a namesis in human affairs, the discomfiture of the British Government and the successful flouting of the British Resident by Sharza Rao was one of the most striking. At this time Lord Wellesley laid down the reins of office.

MAHARAJA RANBIR SINGH OF KASHMIR.

(A. D. 1857-1885.)

Soldier, Statesman & Reformer.

BY

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If Pandit Birbal Dhar liberated Kashmir from the yoke of Durrani Afgans with the aid of the Sikhs in A. D. 1823, Lord Hardinge guaranteed her peace and prosperity by concluding the tready of Amritsar (1846) with Maharaja Ghulab Singh Ji Bahadur.

Maharaja Ghulab Singh was a man of superb strength, stern expression, and perhaps the greatest diplomat after Maharaja Ranjit Singh. He employed all his energies and his extraordinary military genius in the supression of the turbulent and unruly mountain tribes and thereby assured peace to Kashmir after five conturies of ruthless tyranny and corruption. He was moreover, a great and devoted friend of the British, and at the outbreak of the Mutiny of 1857 threw in his lot with them helping them with the flower of the Dogra Army. But, he did not live to enjoy its fruits. He died on 25th Sawan 1914, and was succeeded by his son, Mian Ranbir Singh, for whom the Gaddi was not a bed of roses.

Maharaja Ranbir Singh had been brought up in the hard school of his father who had given him ample training as a Soldier and a Statesman and had even "crowned" him as "Maharaja" on 8th Poh 1912—nearly two years before his death—so that no one could think of the Maharaja either a foreigner or a usurper. Thereafter he proved himself every inch a "Maharaja".

During the five centuries of the Muslim Rule, Kashmir had withdrawn into its shell. In *1857*, she was still a medieval State; her culture and society had reached the nadir; there was no organised judiciary or the police; educational facilities hardly existed; Laws were

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mostly spoken, harsh and cruel; roads were only pack-horse tracks; recruiting to Army was mercenary, of the Silladari Type. Power was intensely centralised; and the Frontier Chiefs and "Paharis" settled in their manorial castles and mountain-fastnesses, were hot beds of intrigue and mischief.

By *1885* Kashmir was profoundly changed both in the heart and the face. The general prosperity which the most strenuous Maharaja, who invariably attended his Court twice every day, brought in Kashmir, enabled him to launch out into a series of productive legislation for which he was excessively beloved by his subjects. Both the Civil and Military administration were overhauled; roads were laid out; hospitals were built; vine, hops and Silk Industries were working under expert European management. Schools imparting technical and academic education were progressively functioning although attendance was compulsory. The University of the Punjab was handsomely financed and a State Translation Department under the expert guidance of Dr. Leiter of the Punjab University was started. Sati and female infanticide were made penal. The administration of the Forests, Revenue and Customs departments was overhauled; laws and Ains for the guidance of Revenue and Judicial Officers were codified and printed side by side with the printing of Annual Administration Reports. Waste lands were reclaimed and brought under cultivation. The Maharaja spared no pains and no funds, to alleviate the distress caused by the flood, famine and fever of 1870-72, which took a heavy toll of the population. The Maharaja himself toured indefatigably through the length and breadth of the distressed areas making wholesale remissions of land revenue, advancing Taccavi loans and supplying food grains, imported from outside, freely or at a reduced price. Above all the Maharaja was proverbially tolerant of other religions, and brought about the historic compromise between the Sunis and Shias which continues to this day. He even encouraged Gurkhas, Sikhs and Pathans to settle in Kashmir giving them services and land for cultivation. Roads connecting Kashmir with Central Asia. Afganistan, Tibet, Gilgit and other surrounding Ilaqas were measured and thoroughly guarded, and specially qualified men were appointed as secret Political Agents in all these foreign countries. Gilgit Agency was settled, and Officers of the calibre and integrity of Sir Federick Drew, and Mr. W. H. Jhonson were appointed as the First District Officers in Leh to establish order and guard the interests of the Darbar on the Treaty High Road.

Nevertheless, to the disgrunting rulers in Calcutta all this was an anathema; the Anglo-Indian Journals *i. e.* The Friend of India, the Indian Public Opinion and the Indian Herald, taking the cue, started unceasing and scurrilous propaganda impugning the Maharaja with inefficient and chaotic administration, with the result that the Government of India forced the reluctant Maharaja to accept the appointment of the "Officer on Special duty in Kashmir", as a "pis aller". For all this perhaps, the illustrious Maharaja, until his death on 12th September 1885, never forgot the characteristic ingratitude of his British friends, for whom he, more than his father, spared neither men nor

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money during their hour of trial in 1857-58, and all through their Central Asian Schemes against the Russian bogey, when a less shrewed man might avail of the opportunity to serve his own ends, and the Maharaja astonished the world with his gratitude. Still he neither bent nor broke but fought his way, serving the State and its subjects most adroitly and assiduously, against all obstacles, fulfilling thereby the prophecy made about him by the great Maharaja Ranjit Singh Ji in 1837.

ADIL MUHAMMAD KHAN (JULY 1, 1857).

BY

PROF. K. L. SRIVASTAVA, M. A. (ENG.), M. A. (Hist.), B. T. (CAL), LL. B,, (AG), M. R. A. S. (Bom.), Research Scholar, Holkar College, Indore.

Colonel H. M. Durand in his letter of June, 24, 1859 wrote that Adil Muhammad Khan was one of the chief instigators of the mutinous outbreak at Indore on the 1st of July 1857. But this view is entirely erroneous. Sir R. Shakespeare's letter of the 26th September, 1861 conclusively proves that Adil Muhammad Khan had nothing whatever to do with the outbreak at Indore on the 1st July 1857. Colonel H. M. Durand's mistake must have occurred on account of his confusion of the name of Adil Muhammad Khan and Warris Muhammad Khan. Warris Muhammad Khan came of the same Ambapani family and was a prominent leader in the outbreak at Indore on the 1st of July, 1857. In 1859, Sir Robert Hamilton recommended the case of Adil Muhammad for merciful consideration. Sir Robert Hamilton would never have recommended the case if he had not been convinced that Adil Muhammad Khan was not a leader of the Indore Mutiny. Sir Robert Hamilton knew well that Queen Victoria's Proclamation for General Amnesty and Pardon did not exempt the ring-leaders of the Mutiny from punishment. From the diary (Roznamcha) of those times it is found that Adil Muhammad Khan and his brother Fazal Muhammad Khan—the two Ambapani brothers remained in their own estate for twenty-eight days even after the outbreak at Indore. The distance between Indore and Ambapani is about 140 miles. The distance of the place, the want of swift communication during those days and the absence of any definite connection between Adil Muhammad Khan and the mutineers at Indore, preclude the probablity of either of these brothers to be instigators or participators in the Mutiny of the 1st of July, 1857 at Indore. Pandit Waman Ganesh Shastri's diary, Major Hutchinson's memorandum, and information from other responsible contemporaries collected by Sir R. Shakespeare prove beyond doubt the impossibility of Adil Muhammad Khan's presence at Indore on the 1st of July 1857. The Reports of the British officers on the offences committed by the rebels in general, are altogether silent as to Adil Muhammad Khan's connection with the Indore outbreak. The best evidence, in favour of Adil Muhammad Khan, is loyal Secunder Begum's silence on Adil Muhammad Khan's activities as a rebel at

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Indore. Secunder Begum was loyal to the British and can be said to be in no way in sympathy with Adil Muhammad Khan. Numerous papers give an account of Adil Muhammad Khan's complicity in the mutiny of 1857 at many other places in Malwa, but neither in contemporary newspers nor in contomporary diaries of the notable personalities, any reference is found to prove that Adil Muhammad Khan was one of the leaders of the Indore Mutiny of the 1st July, 1857. Had there been a shadow of plausibility in such an accusation of Adil Muhammad Khan in the Indore Mutiny, then it is sure that the opponents of Adil Muhammad Khan must have employed this important argument (of Adil Muhommad Khan being one of the instigators and leaders of the Indore Mutiny) most successfully, as a sure means of precluding pardon for Adil Muhammad Khan and securing his death sentence. But even his bitterest opponents did not bring forward this argument. Taking into consideration all these arguments together, we can feel sure that Adil Muhammad Khan was not one of the chief instigators or leaders at least at the outbreak of the Mutiny at Indore on the 1st of July, 1857. Colonel H. M. Durand must have made an honest mistake arising probably due to confusion of names.

A COPPER INSCRIPTION IN HINDI OF THE TIME OF RAJA DEONATH SINGH DEO OF RAIGARH STATE E. S. A., DATED VIKRAM ERA 1896—1840 A. D.

BY

Pt. L. P. Pandeya.

This inscription was shown to me a few years ago. It consists of a single plate and bears writing in the Nagari script on both sides. On the top portion of it is given the family emblem—the figure of an eagle (bird) within a circle, the circumference of which contents the name of the Raja as shown elsewhere.

The importance of this record is that it is the first of its kind—incised on copper by a Gond chief under the Sambalpur (Atharagarh) Raj, held by Chauhan kings of Patna-cum-Sambalpur family.

The object of the grant is not stated clearly, but the donee—Bodh Mahamad Haniff, a Musalman by caste, ordered to report all cases of murder to 'Sirkar' either the Raja or his overlord.

The record is dated Agahan Badi Friday, Samvat 1896 (Vikram) = 1840 A. D.

Raja Deonath Singh Deo was the donor of the village named Kondpati which is now owned by a family of agriculturist caste known as Kulta or Kolta (कोलता) and is attached to the Pusor police station in Raigarh State, E. S. A. In that village there are some families of Musalmans and a member of one of them is in possession of the docu-

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ment. It contains the signature or sanction of the donor in the word 'Sahi' सही

There are several spelling mistakes in the text. The village was given as मोकासा or rent free.

Raja Deonath Singh was the son of Raja Jujhar Singh, the 5th Raja as shown in the geneological table of the Raigarh Raj family (Chhattisgarh Feudatory States Gazetter—1909 by E. A. de-Bret I. C. S., p. 168).

This Raia Jujhar Singh concluded a subsidiary treaty with the East India Company, on the annexation by the Marathas of Sambalpur Raj of which Raigarh had hitherto been a feudatory.

As a result of this treaty, Jujhar Sing had to part with the Padampur pargana granted to him by the Rani of Sambalpur. He was succeeded by his eldest son, Deonath Singh, who in 1832, put down the rebellion set up against the British by Ajit Singh, the Raja of Bargarh. In recognition of this service, the Zamindari of Bargarh was conferred on him (Deonath Singh) in 1833. Raja Deonath Singh also rendered good service in 1857 in connection with the capture of the followers of the rebel Sundar Sai of Sambalpur, and also of the notorious Sheoraj Singh of Udaipur (E. S. A.) together with his followers. Raja Deonath Singh died in 1862, and was succeeded by his eldest son Ghansyam Singh, the grand-father of the present Ruling Chief Raja Chakradhar Singh Sahib of Raigarh State E. S. A.

In 1865 Raja Ghansyam Singh received an adoption Sanad and in 1867, a Sanad, defining his status as Feudatory Chief.

The Zamindari of Bargarh was held by Raja Ajit Singh about 1830. We have got no materials to ascertain what led him to rebel against the British. He belonged to the same Gond caste to which his brother-chief Raja Deonath Singh of Raigarh belonged. At present this Zamindari is called Bargarh pargana or Bargarh Raj, and consists of about 155 villages, the Kharsia town and Railway Station on the B. N. Railway line, being the important trading centre of the pargana.

The pargana of Padampur referred to in the above passage is now a Taluq having about 54 villages in the present Sambalpur district, Orissa, and is owned by the Taludar family of Chandsapur-cum-Padampur tracts, adjoining the Raigarh State.

I give below a copy of the text of the inscription showing the exact shape and size of the copper plate :—

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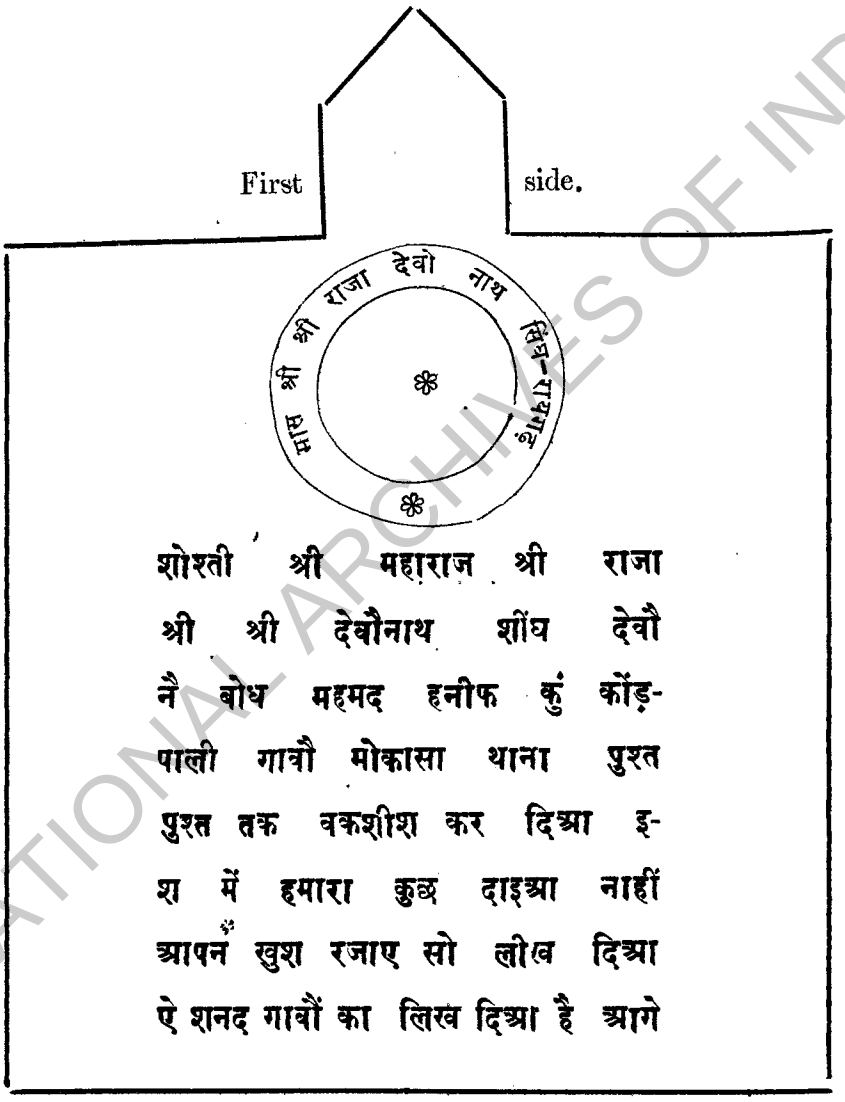
Copy of the text of inscription within outlines showing exac' shape and size of the original plate.



शोश्ती श्री महाराज श्री राजा
श्री श्री देवौनाथ शींघ देवौ
नै बोध महमद हनीफ कुं कोंड़-
पाली गावौ मोकासा थाना पुश्त
पुश्त तक वकशीश कर दिआ इ-
श में हमारा कुछ दाइआ नाहीं
आपन खुश रजाए सो लीख दिआ
ऐ शनद गावौं का लिख दिआ है आगे

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Second side.

को काम आवैगा वो गावो
का खूनी मोकदमा सर-
-कार मों दाखल करना
मीती अगहन बदी ६ सु
क्र वार स समत १८६६ शा-
-ल

सही

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TWO URDU NEWSPAPERS OF MADRAS IN PRE-MUTITY DAYS.

BY

K. Sajun Lal, M. A., F. R. S. A.

(Summary.)

In this paper I will deal with only two newspapers *viz*, Azam-ul-Akhbar and Tiasir-ul-Akhbar. These newspapers present us a vivid picture of the social, intellectual and cultural life of Madras of Pre-Mutiny days.

Azam-ul-Akhbar.

This was the first Urdu newspaper to be published in Madras. It was lithographed on ordinary white paper and published every Thursday. It contained ordinarily eight pages (12″ × 7. 6″) but some of its issues had ten pages. Each page was divided into two or three columns. The title of the paper was named after 'Azam' the pen name or *takhallus* of Nawab Mohammed Ghouse Khan of Arcot, appeared at times in a fine monogram, with or without borders containing verses mentioning its patron.

Many of its issues had the bare title, but they had the volume and issue number, the former on the righthand top side, while the latter on the left hand top side. The day, date, month, and the year was given in Hijri, Christian and Hindu years. All this matter covered up a pretty good space of the title page.

The editor's name does not appear, but at the close of the last page, one finds the publishers' name as Hakim Saiyid Mohammed and his associates. In some of its issues, the publishers' name appear as Haji Saiyid Rustom, son of Mir Saiyeedduddin with associates, but the names of associates are not mentioned. The subscription was a rupee a month, Rs. 10 for a year to be paid in advace with postage charges exta. The charges for the publication of the matter either in prose or in poetry for the regular subscribers was an anna for the first line and half an anna for the subsequent published lines. Non-subscribers could not claim this privilege and so they had to pay annas two per line of any published matter. There was also a notice to the effect that if any one became a subscriber in the middle of the month he had to pay subscription for the whole month. But the annual subscriber ceasing to be snbscriber in the middle of the year had to pay charges pro-rata, the postage of course, was to be paid in full.

This Urdu weekly was published in the Mathba-ul-Azam. Wallajahi Road, near Ghulam Murtza Vakil Lane, Trimulkheri (Triplicane) Madras. The language used was very archaic, full of Madras idioms Ghazals (Odes) and Rubayiats (Quartrains), and at times, news and letters appeared in the Persian language. Too much use of Persian expressions together with the misuse of (ے) and rhymed prose is the chief characteristics. The very subscription note is full of alliterations.

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The policy of this newspaper was to promote learning and instil the spirit of patriotism, and widen the narrow outlook of its readers. To spare no pains to promote unity among Indians, and to champion the cause of younger generation. In matters of publishing articles for the promotion of knowledge or discourse (without any charge) the publisher tried his best to see that the matter was original, and that it was not published elsewhere.

Tiasir-ul Akhbar.

The subscription of this one sheet newspaper whose pages had each four columns was annas five a month. As regards its policy, the Editor said that it was based on, we may add, the often misused maxim. " Honesty is the best policy ".

This paper was published in the Mathba-ul-Taisirul-Akhbar, Mohalla Trimulkheri, Walla Jahi Road, House No. 3, by its founder and publisher Hakim Abdul Basit Eshq.

This paper quoted or referred to the following newspapers. Fawaid-un-Nazirin (2) Ahsan-ul-Akhbar, Gulshan-i-Naobhar, Shamsul-Akhbar, the Friend of India, the Deccan Herald etc.

The first column of this newspaper was reserved for the Fort St. George Gazettes and the Madras City. Apart from the foreign news of Iran, China. Russia, Muscot, London, Sydney, Arabia, Indian States, news was always prominent.

SUMMARY OF THE PAPER ENTITLED "CESSION OF THE DUTCH POSSESSION IN INDIA TO THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT. 1824—25".

BY

DR. KALIKINKAR DATTA, M. A., PH. D., P. R. S.

Patna College, Patna.

This paper is based mostly on certain unpublished records of the Imperial Record Department, New Delhi. It deals with some transactions relating to the cession of the Dutch possessions in India to the British Government according to Articles 8 and 13 of the treaty concluded between the British Government and the Government of the Netherlands on the 17th March, 1824. Early in 1825 Sir Thomas Munro, Governor at Fort St. George, appointed Lieutenant Colonel James Stuart Fraser, special Agent for foreign settlements, Commissioner for "receiving possession of all such Netherlands Establishments as were within the territories subject to the Government of Fort St. George from such person or persons as would be duly empowered by the Netherlands Government to deliver up the same". Instructions were also issued to the Magistrates and the Collectors of Hugli, Murshidabad, Dacca, Patna, Cuttack, and the Twentyfour Parganas appointing them Commissioners

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to take charge respectively of the Town and Territory of Chinsurah, and the Dutch Factories and possessions at Kalikapur (near Kasimbazar in the Mershidabad district) at Dacca, at Patna, at Balasore and at Fultah. On the 7th May, 1825, Chinsurah was formally delivered by Mr. B. C. D. Bouman, Commissioner, appointed on behalf of the Netherlands Government, to W. H. Belli and Mr. D. C. Smyth, Commissioner, on behalf of the British Government. Most probably the other Dutch Settlements were soon made over to the English Government.

A CRITICAL EXAMINATION OF THE VARIOUS VERSIONS OF SHUJAUDDAULAH'S DEATH.

BY

DR. A. L. SRIVASTAVA, D. A. V. College Lahore.

(Summary.)

This paper examines both the recorded versions of the cause of Shujaud-daulah's death. One attributes his death to a wound inflicted on his thigh by a daughter of the Ruhela chief, Hafiz Rahmat, whose chastity he is said to have attempted to violate, while the other says he died of a syphilitic tumour. A critical examination on the basis of all the available contemporory evidence in English, French and Persian reveals the hopeless contradictions of the first version and traces its origin to an important officer in the camp of his detractor, Alexander Champion, the English commander-in-chief. The second story finds confirmation in the pages of absolutely contemporary writers, English and Indian.

"BRITISH RELATIONS WITH THE ARAB TRIBES NEAR ADEN"

(1864—1868).

BY

MR. DHARAMPAL, M. A., D. A. V., College, Lahore.

(Summary.)

Sir John Lawrence did not follow an aggressive foreign policy. A firm insistence on British rights but with scrupulous regard for the interests of others formed the keynote of his foreign policy. The Fadhlees, the Abdalees, the Azaibas and the Subaihees were the chief Arab tribes near Aden. Fadhil, Sultan of the Abdalees was a sincere ally of the British but the Fadhlee chief gave much trouble. Colonel W. L. Merewether, the British Resident at Aden and Sir Bartle Frere the Governor of Bombay belonged to the school of Jacob and were anxious to adopt an aggressive policy towards the Arab tribes and the greatest

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vigilance had to be exercised by the Government of India in checking this policy. In his letter to the Bombay Government dated 17th November, 1864, the Resident suggested the loan of 15,000 dollars to the Sultan of the Abdalees for attacking the Fadhlees. The plan was not approved of. Further acts of aggression led the Resident to suggest the adoption of the Sind Frontier System; he wanted to have a Horse Police but the Government of India did not agree to this scheme as it was likely to embroil them in quarrels with the Arab tribes. Still further acts of aggression compelled the Government of India to take action against the Fadhlees who were coerced into submission. But at the same time the Government of India took care to lay down its policy for the guidance of the Resident and the Bombay Government:—"Under any circumstances, the principle of refraining from interference with the neighbouring tribes and abstaining from concern with their internal quarrels, must be vigorously maintained. The course of action also hitherto observed of maintaing our relations beyond the walls of Aden, but not by direct operations on our own part, but by operating through friendly chiefs, must still be considered a paramount obligation. Our concern is purely with the security of the fortress and its immediate approaches; and no system which would go beyond this object can receive the countenance and support of the Government of India."

WAS 'HINDU DISCONTENT' A CAUSE OF THE WAR BETWEEN THE ENGLISH AND SIRAJUDDAULLA?

BY

PARESH NATH MUKHERJEE, M. A.

(Summary)

1. Mr. S. C. Hill writes, "the Hindus were quietly looking round for a possible deliverer." He also writes. "It can therefore be easily understood how there gradually grew up in the minds of the Bengali Hindus an idea that if the worst came to the worst they might find in the presence of these foreigners a means of escape from the ills by which they were oppressed." Mr. Hill further gives 'Hindu discontent' as a cause of the war between the English and Sirajuddaulla. These statements have three inferences. *viz*:—(a) the Hindus suffered in the hands of Siraj (b) they wanted the English to come in Bengal and (c) the English came on for that reason.

2. They are not founded on facts. Not a single document from any prominent Hindu exists to prove either of the above inferences. The Hindus supported their Nawab for fear of the Marathas. Hindus in high posts prove the Nawab's good intentions towards the Hindus. Hindus like the Seths who wanted a Revolution were moved by self-interest and no other motive.

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3. In the Treaty of 9th February, 1757 and that with Mir Jafar no privilege or safeguard is secured for the Hindus, as such. It proves that the Company did not fight for 'Hindu discontent'.

4. Clive and other officials' despatches prove that Sirajuddaulla was tyrannical towards all, and not particularly towards the Hindus and that the Company fought against him in its own interests.

Section V

MUGHAL INDIA

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

BY

Prof. Sri Ram Sharma, Principal, D. A. V. College, Srinagar.

The Mughal period is supposed to be the best studied period of Indian history. Series of monographs have been written on Mughal Kings, the system of administration has been studied with care, the economic structure has attracted both avowed historians and economists. Its painters and paintings have been duly appraised, its gardens described with care. It can claim even a descriptive Bibliography of its original material. The Persian writers of the period have been always receiving considerable attention. Of late some students have evinced their interest in its Sanskrit and Hindi writers as well.

Yet there are some aspects of period that have not yet received the attention that they deserve. Meeting at Aligarh hallowed by the works of Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan and Molvi Zakr Ullah, I should like to speak to you about some of them. At the top stands the problem of education in Mughal India. At one time it was customary to imply that every thing good—or shall I say apparenly good—in India started with the British acquisition of India. Most of our historians assumed that this was true of education as well. Even when attention was directed to certain educational efforts, what caught the fancy of our historians was the patronage of learning by Rajput Princes, Mughal Kings and Mansabdars. They quietly missed what the investigations of Adams in Bengal and Leitner in the Punjab brought to light. Both these stalwarts proved that judged by the standards of the contemporary world elaborate arrangements for education existed in Bengal and the Punjab before the British started doing anything serious in the matter. Leitner went to the length of asserting that education in the Punjab declined after its acquisition by Britain. So disturbing were the conclusions of these two writers to British Official classes that Sir Philip Hartog had to demonstrate to his London audiences recently that both these writers were careless, unreliable, given to exaggeration and so forth. But I know from the records in the Punjab Education Depart-

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ment that Dr. Leitner's observations were proved to be correct by official figures that were collected by the district officers soon after he started his work. I put it to you that if the pre-British Punjab had the amount of education revealed in Leitner's report, it is safe to assume that its extent could in no case have been less during the Mughal period. What is true of the Punjab is true of some of the rest of India as well. I am unaware of any special circumstances that might have distinguished the Punjab from the rest of contemporary India in this respect. That considerable arrangements existed for education in Mughal India is proved by the astonishing amount of literary output of the period. As I pointed out elsewhere more than 2500 Sanskrit Mss. works of 652 writers, are even today extant scattered in the libraries of the world. More than 600 Hindi writers of the period have been traced. The large number of Persian and Arabic works of the period cannot be easily dismissed as the appendage of the royal patrons. Most of this literary output was called for by the practical and topical purposes of the moment. There was a reading public that needed new Manuals of Sanskrit Grammar. The *Tahfit-ul-Hind* could not have been written for one princely scholar alone. The schools where Hindus and Muslims studied together must have been drawing quite a large number of students before they could attract the wrath of Aurangzeb towards them. Yet of all this we know very little today. Sanskrit, Persian, Arabic, Hindi and its cognate languages, the Indian system of accounting were all taught in institutions of various types all over the country to quite a large number of people. I submit that time has come when leaving the princely figures of the period alone one should turn to the study of such topics not in their relation to Mughal rulers but as forming a part of the history of the people. I can assure those interested in a further study of the subject that there is enough material for patient work on the subject.

The second aspect of the period, like the first, arises from our paying too much attention to Mughal rulers and administrators. They fill the pages of contemporary writers, Indian and foreign. Their loves and hates seem to dominare the contemporary scene. Even when they are not heroic figures our writers discover something interesting about them. Yet all this while India had several millions of people living within her borders several of whom left a greater impress on the history of their country than some of these rulers. I would therefore like to draw your attention to the Hindu and Muslim saints of the period. The country is full of their relics even today. Some have left mosques, some temples behind them. The graves of a few draw thousands even today, the Samadhs of others attract followers from all over the country. From Kashmir to Mysore and from Sind to Bengal the country is studied over with the memories of their miracles. Yet no *systemetic* effort has yet been made to carry through a comprehensive study of the lives and times of these leaders of men as a part of the history of the period. Even to professed students of the period, they are seldom anything more than bare names, flitting across the pages of the Tabaqat-i-Akbari or the Amal-i-Salih or at best fit instruments to illustrate, in general

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terms, the inter-action of Hindu and Muslim religious thought on each other. I submit again that here is a rich field of work waiting for enthusiatic scholars in the field who would not be content with prattling about the Bhakti movement and its effects in general terms but who would study the lives and particularly the times of these saints as a part of the history of the people. I know some valuable work has already been done in this field by students of comparative religions. I am, however, suggesting that the students of the Mughal period as such should turn their attention to the subject and make the history of the period richer by their results.

There is then the history of the people at large. Despite the bulky tomes that have been written on the period, how much do we really know of the people of the period ? It is very reassuring to be told that we are very conservative, that we have generally bowed our heads before the storm to raise them again in proud disdain when it was all over. Yet along with the obvious continuity of life in India we find compelling evidence of prevailing differences as well. How did they arise ? To take one example, the much divided caste system has been supposed to be a hoary institution persisting for centuries. Yet if you would take its provenance today, you would discover that some provinces in India have only one caste today, others two, a few three and fewer still four. There are large classes of people having a respectable place in society who stand outside the system. There are sub-castes that are replete with the essence of ages. I could understand my being a Qanungo Brahman by sub-caste. Aurangzeb appointed an ancestor of mine a Qanungo without demanding that he should be converted to Islam. I have known Bakhshi Brahmans and Bakhshi Mahajans as well. But when at Srinagar I recently met a Pandit Badri Dutt *Qazi* I could not help wondering. A Pandit Qazi ; that was really a curious combination. It was very patiently explained to me that Qazi is a sub-cast of Brahmans in Kashmir. In view of these facts are we justified in asserting that the caste system represents an unchanging institution ? If not, we should like to know something about its changing structure and organization down the ages. I have just a faint suspicion that the Mughal period added considerably to and subtracted largely from the structure of the system that was handed down to it. There are several sub-castes besides my own that I visualize emerging during this period. Every such emergence would always have an interesting social story at its back migration of families due to otherwise unrecorded local causes, assumption of new professions hitherto closed. performance of new social functions called forth by new circumstances. Pooling together all this knowledge we would get a better insight into the period than what is afforded us by royal autobiographies or official histories.

Another unchanging Indian institution is said to be the village. It was a state within the state, it remained unruffled by changes of dynasties at Delhi or Agra, we have been assured. Howsoever true the insight which gives us this picture, it should be possible to verify or amend it by trying to study the life in a Mughal village. At present we know precious little about it. The Panchayat and the Muqaddam

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are supposed to be two distinct features of the village life. Of the first, so far as northern India is concerned we possess at present no authentic records. On that account it would be idle to deny its existence or assert its disappearance. Such a suggestion is belied by the fact, that customary law is found to be occupying a considerable field in various parts of the country when the British appeared on the Indian political scene. Even Muslim communities were governed by it. Now it stands to reason that customary law could not have survived without courts of its own. These could only have been the Panchayats. We can thus safely assume that Panchayats were efficiently and effectively functioning during the period. But this would not take us very far. Again I am quite sure that a patient search among family records, caste and sub-caste names, and local traditions would bring to light a mass of material. That alone would enable us to understand how the villagers lived and worked in their villages. We would then be able to appreciate at their true value the changes that were introduced from time to time in the life of the villagers and understand what difference it really made to Bhagat Ram when his neighbour Ram Nath became Abdul Ghani. It would then be time to talk of fusion of cultures or their interaction alone in India.

If the Panchayat represented the social organization of the times, the Muqaddam stood for its economic organization. But we know very little about the actual relations between the Muqaddam and the individual cultivators in the village. It has been suggested that the Muqaddam might have been the Sarpanch in his relation with the state. But I have yet to come across a precise account of the place occupied by the village community, the Muqaddam, the individual cultivator and the state in the village economy. Even the report of the Bengal Land Revenue Commissioner had to be content with adopting my tentative solution of these questions. We do not yet possess a full picture of the village life of these days. As the report of the Bengal Land Revenue Commissoner and the questionaire of the Punjab Land Committee implied, it is of practical importance for us to know out of what type of village economy did the present—at places at least—muddled economy of the modern Indian village emerge. If ownership of land by the village community with partial rights in his and the waste land to the individual cultivator worked in the Mughal times—I do not assert it did—but if it did, one need not go to either U. S. S. R. or the friends of the Soviet Union in order to get that information for the solution of our village problems today. There is thus enough room for painstaking research work in connection with the economic organization of the village in Muhal times. As one who has skimmed the surface of this problem I am prepared to assure those willing to "rush in where angels fear to tread" that systematic work on records and patient local inquiries would certainly result in their adding largely to our knowledge of the period.

These examples are only illustrative of the great gap which exists in our knowledge to the people of the Mughal period. Many more problems would strike some of you. The beginning of wisdom, it is said, lies in asking questions. I am quite sure that if we would but start

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asking questions, we might in time get some satisfactory answers to them.

From people I would turn to the princes. Though historians of the British period have seldom admitted it openly, the relations between the princes and the Government of India have turned, in the past century and a half, more on what the contemporary British administrators thought were Muhgal usages and practices in various matters than on the Treaties, Sanads, Engagements, between the princes and the British Government of India. Believe it or not, the Doctrine of Lapse was supposed to represent a Mughal practice and not the interpretation of the treaty relations between the princes and the East India Company. It is extremely unfortunate therefore that we do not yet possess a full and precise account of the constitutional relations between the Mughal Emperors and the feudatory princes. Such an account would illuminate many dark corners of Mughal history. It would also enable us all to understand what role the Indian princes played in the history of their country—apart from that of their states—during the Mughal period. It is possible that some of them might be persuaded by that knowledge to play a somewhat similar role now, but I am sure that it would certainly make it very difficult for them to play a contradictory role in Indian politics today and still exalt it by talking of it as their historic destiny!. More than twenty years ago I made an attempt to draw the attention of the Indian scholars to this question and made some tentative suggestions, The material at our disposal since then had accumulated vastly, many more states have made their ancient records accessible to the public. Here is an almost unexplained field of work which would amply reward those who would care to study it.

I have been trying to indicate hitherto that some of the gaps in our knowledge of Mughal history, if filled, *might* provide some guidance for some of our present day problems. But I should like to warn you against making the study of the Mughal period the play field of rival political parties and factions. Today more than ever it is necessary for us to strive to ascertain the truth; it is no use placarding wishful thinking as the result of deep study. If the Mughal period represents a glorious epoch in the history of our country, let us sing its praises in verse and prose. But it is gone, all that glory is no longer ours today. An essential part of our study of the period would be the inquiry how and why it came to the dismal end it did. Let us study it without any mental reservations. There is a view of Indian history that sometimes seems to be in danger of gaining acceptance in some circles. Put bluntly, it demands that we should demonstrate that India was always great, all her rulers were all-wise. Would that it were so! Truth seems to hurt some times, but its suppression hurts all the more. At this critical juncture in our country's history, we cannot afford to be soft, We cannot play the ostrich with safety. I would therefore earnestly entreat you to continue studying the period scientifically and impartially without being swayed by voices which though they ostensibly call for historians, really need political pamphleteers at their service.

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Several years ago while conducting a research seminar I happened to point out to a youngman that two statements he had made on the same page contradicted themselves. He tried to convince me that he meant no harm. But the statements had been originally made several centuries ago by a contemporary observer and presumably had ceased to be contradictory on account of their great age. I am afraid that in our study of the Mughal period we have some times adopted this attitude and have not made necessary discount for the propaganda element in our material. When Babar tells us that he was accompanied by ten thousand soldiers only when he left Karnal and alleges that he was *told* that the enemy had 1,00,000 soldiers, we assume that the battle of Panipat was fought between 10,000 soldiers under Babar against 1,00,000 under Ibrahim Lodhi! When Abul Fazl not content with ascribing miracles to Akbar, extends his field of operations backwards making Babar's death a greater miracle, we nod our heads never imagining that he is probably pulling our leg. If Khurram in rebellion protests that he is loyal to Jahangir but resents Nur Jahan's place in administration, we take him at his word and at once jump to the conclusion that not only was Jahangir a cypher in administration but so were all his ministers as well. We forget that if we had possessed only Jahangir's account of his own rebellion, we should have concluded similarly that Salim was a dutiful son who got Abul Fazl murdered for the safety of Akbar's empire! When Badshahnama calls an independent chief a Zamindar and reviles him as a rebel for not submitting to Shah Jahan to whom neither he nor his..had ever owed any allegiance, we adopt Lahori terminology and talk of the Chief's rebellion! If prince Aurangzeb declares that he was about to wipe out the Decanese kindars in 1658 when Shah Jahan, inspired by evil Dara, recalled forces which had not been sent for such a purpose, we smile at Shah Jahan's folly. We forget, however, that these very states took nine years of Aurangzeb's own ampler services in the eighties—when they had not grown any stronger—before they succumbed. Similar other propaganda statements of other contemporary actors in the drama of the Mughal period can be easily accumulated which have not been properly discounted. Those who are interested in historical revisions would find in such statements an interesting field for the exercise of their faculties.

In these and other directions there is enough work yet to be done in the Mughal period. Many have ploughed the field but many more are yet needed. At Hyderabad my predecessor in the Presidential Chair, Professor Commisariat, stressed "the eminently satisfactory state" of Mughal studies. Without venturing to depart from the view taken by such an eminent historian I have tried to indicate today some thing, which might yet be attempted and some thing which might still be done.

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THE COURSE OF DECCAN POLITICS IN 1739.

(The last campaign of Bajirao I.)

By

Professor S. V. Puntambekar.

The Problem.

This campaign took place in the earily months of 1740 (January and February). The antagonists were Bajirao I and Nasir Jang, the deputy governor of the Mughal Deccan during the absence of the Nizamul-mulk at Delhi. Though its causes and results are more or less known, we do not know as yet exactly (1) what was the course of the campaign, (2) whether there was a final decisive battle on the Godavari, (3) what were the forces engaged on the opposite sides, (4) who were the associates on each sides, (5) what was the nature of negotiations and (6) finally who defeated whom.

Modern historians are not agreed as to the course of the campaign, the nature and date of the battle of the Godavari, and the side which conquered or succeeded in the battle. Some have made definite statements about the success of the one or the other. The contemporary Maratha Camp letters do not at all support the view of any decisive battle at any particular place on the Godavari or near it, nor of any complete success or victory of any one of them in the actual warfare which took place. They however definitely show that Bajirao came off better in the struggle and was not at all severely beaten as is believed and stated by some writers. This is also confirmed by the terms of the treaty. I have examined these letters in detail and have stated here the results of my scrutiny, and have refuted the extreme views of all later writers or recorders.

Causes and nature of the contest.

The Marathas considered the Nizam-ul-mulk their greatest enemy —enemy No. I—after the death of Aurangzeb who was their mortal foe. The Nizam was the greatest opponent of their Swaraj, its reestablishment and growth ; and of their empire, its expansion and consolidation. He occupied and ruled a large part of the Maratha country—their eastern homelands and holy-lands, the province of Berar and the districts of Aurangabad, Parbhani, Nanded, Bid and Usmanabad—the Marathwara, where their ancient capitals like Paithan and Devagiri, their great religious places and centres of learning, their ancestral jagirs and watans lay. Aurangzeb had only driven away by his superior military force and resources the old rulers and nobles of these lands. He had not really conquered them. The work had still to be done when he died in 1707. The Marathas had to retake their country by driving away Mughal officers from these lands and defeating their armies. Though they retook the Swaraj in a death struggle with the Mughals, their internal war of succession weakened their power and resources, and gave the Mughals an opportunity to

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occupy and administer those parts of the Maratha country which were not as yet brought under Swaraj. The family funds of the Maratha princely house and the jealousies of their Sardars and ministers, the defection of Tarabai and a number of great officers strengthened the hold of the Mughals on the Deccan, especially on the eastern Maratha country lying outside the Swaraj at that time. Its population, language, religion, customs, culture and institutions were typically Maratha. All this country had to be reconquered from the Mughals and their officers who were foreigners in the land. They had nothing in common with the people of the country. The Mughals have not any right to their territory except that of force and a purely military occupation. Auranzeb's religious policy and political design in the Deccan made the religion and culture of the Maratha people quite unsafe. Nizam-ul-mulk represented this policy and design in the Deccan. As against the foreigner's theory and rights of conquest the Marathas believed, preached and carried out the people's theory and right of reconquest, and the liberation of their homelands, which was more justifiable morally and politically. Ramdas preached this philosophy of revolt and reconquest, and Shivaji carried it out successfully.

Nizam-ul-mulk who was a Turkish foreigner and whose immediate ancestors came from Central Asia was maintaining and carrying out the anti-Maratha policy and designs of Aurangzeb in the Deccan as his Mughal representative. In pursuance of them he sowed dissensions amongst the Marathas, occupying and encroaching upon their territories, preventing them from extending their empire in the North, the South and the East, and avoided the recognition of their rights agreed to by the Emperor in 1719 A. D. He helped and bribed the rebels and pretenders in the Maratha state and thus won some of them over to his side. His design was to become himself an independent king in Deccan, and therefore hated the Marathas who were bent on frustrating his evil design and on driving away the Mughal foreigners from the land.

It is to the credit of the Peshwas that they alone amongst the Maratha statesmen of the period correctly gauged and understood the main bases and aims of Nizam-ul-mulk's policy and his continuous intrigues against the growing Maratha state and empire. They watched all his movements and intrigues and checked them by their own military power and political diplomacy as far as they were allowed to do by Shahu. But they did not get full scope from their king for the achievement of their policy and aims nor complete cooperation in their warfare and campaigns against the Mughals in the Deccan. The old Maratha Sardars and ministers also opposed them largely and often betrayed them. Under these circumstances of their limited political power and financial resources, and the innumerable obstacles created by their powerful opponents within the state they were not well equipped militarily nor well supported politically to complete their great task in a short time. These political limitations and interferences rendered futile many a time their forward policies and vigorous campaigns for want of adequate military, financial and even political support, and thus prevented

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them from pressing and utilising fully the successes which they achieved so brilliantly on the battlefields and on the diplomatic boards. If they had possessed full power and received adequate support there cannot be any doubt that they would have finally crushed the Nizam and destroyed the Mughal rule in the Deccan completely. The whole discredit goes to Shahu and his old ministers and Sardars who cared more for their own narrow ideas and interests.

Shahu was weak and soft in his dealings with the Mughals. He as the ruler was the final arbiter of political policies and military campaigns. He did not aim at the final destruction of the Mughal power both in the North and the South. He would perhaps only like to see it crippled or controlled. He did not fully realise that the Nizam was the greatest foe of his own Maratha state and Empire. Consequently he did not fully help the Peshwas in their forward policies and campaigns but often put a brake upon them, and even disapproved of them. He was neither a great politician nor a real statesman nor possessed any sense of geographical security and political strategy. He was merely a good non-interfering ruler for peace times and also possessed good intentions. He did not fully realise the dangers with which the growing Maratha state was surrounded. "Advance or perish" was the necessity of the time. He vacillated between a forward policy and an inactive policy, between the advice of the Peshwas who wanted to go forward and that of the old Sardars and ministers who were either separatist or inactive and his own views about the Mughal rule developed during his captivity under Aurangzeb. He being the ruler and the Peshwa being merely the chief minister the forward and anti-Mughal policy could not be carried out with vigour and determination to its full extent and to its final success. All the resources of the Maratha state, military and financial were never commandeered and employed for this one purpose. The Peshwas were diverted from their work by the intrigues and rebellious quarrels and plots of Maratha Sardars against the Maratha state.

Relations and contests of Bajirao I and Nizam.

Bajirao I defeated the Nizam in two famous battles of Palkhed (25-2-1728) and of Bhopal (16-12-1737). The Nizam was compelled to surrender, to negotiate for peace and to agree to the terms of the treaties of Mungi-Shevagaon (6-3-1728) and that of Durai Sarai (7-1-1738) But the Nizam did not carry out their terms and fulfil his promises honestly and fully. Bajirao I also foiled many of his plots and intrigues against the Maratha state and his attempts to sow dissessions amongst the Maratha Sardars, to raise them against Shahu and himself, and to win them over to his side. The Nizam's strength lay largely in his treacherous diplomacy and in the weakness of Shahu, and also to a certain extent in the imperial position and prestige and in his well-equipped army. He was the best minister and administrator on the Mughal side at that time, but very unreliable. Though Bajirao I defeated him a number of times in battles and diplomacy, he was not able to destroy him and his power completely as Shahu interfered; and Bajirao's own

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limited strength and Shahu's half-hearted support could not give him that dominance over the opponent in the fields of battle and in the chambers of diplomacy. Shahu always was against extreme measures and policies and his financial and military help was not sufficient for full success.

The Nizam had not carried out all the terms of the two treaties and other engagements and understandings entered into between the Nizam and the Marahta state. The grant of Chouth and Sardeshmukhi on the revenues of the six Subahs of the Deccan recognised by the Emperor in 1719 was not willingly acceded to by the Nizam in the Deccan. He avoided and opposed paying it. After the battle of Palkhed (1728) it was agreed to by the Nizam in the treaty of Mungi-Shevagaon, and Maratha revenue collectors were allowed to realise it. But the working of the system was not satisfactory and the full amount was not paid or realised, and Maratha collectors were often molested and maltreated. Then a number of territorial adjustments and settlements in the shape of grants or jagirs agreed to were never carried out. In the treaty of Durai Sarai (1738) the Nizam agreed to grant to Bajirao I the whole of Malwa, the complete sovereignty of the territory between the Narmada and the Chambal rivers, to obtain a confirmation of these grants from the Emperor and to use every means to procure the payment of a subsidy of 50 lakhs of rupees to defray Peshwa's expenses. Bajirao I waited for the fulfilment of these terms for two years from 16-12-1737 to 12-12-1739. But nothing was done. During the invasion of Nadir Shah in early 1739 which threatened the whole of the Mughal Empire, Bajirao did not press his claims. On the contrary he went to the North and crossed Narmada to help the Emperor Muhammad Shah in response to his appeal. But the sudden defeat of the Mughal army in one battle at Karnala on 13-2-1739 by Nadir Shah, his entry, loot and massacre at Delhi on 7-3-1739 and then his sudden departure from Delhi to his country on 1-5-1739, after putting Muhammad Shah again on the throne, all these events happend before Bajirao could reach the actual theatre of war. He however had naturally to wait for the confirmation and fulfilment of the terms of the treaty of Durai Sarai during this critical period. He however expected it to be carried out after Nadir's departure. But again nothing was done by the Nizam as well as his deputy governor Nasir Jang in the Deccan. No doubt this is the main cause and motive of Bajirao's campaign of early 1740.

Contacts of Bajirao and Nasir Jang

Bajirao was watchingthe movements of Nasir Jang the second son of the Nizam who was appointed as his deputy in the six Deccan Subahs during his absence at Delhi as the imperial vizier. The Nizam had left Burhanpur on 17-4-1737 and reached Delhi on 17-7-1737 to assume the Vizierate. During the battle of Bhopal he had asked Nasir Jang to prevent the Maratha reinforcements reaching Bajirao and to send help to himself. But Chimaii Appa who encamped himself on the banks of the

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Tapti prevented Nasir Jang from going to his father's help or sending him help or interfering with the movements of Maratha forces. Nasir Jang had collected a strong force by November 1737 and the Nizam had asked him to come to his help rapidly. But because of Chimaji and other Maratha Chiefs he could not go. Moreover, Avaji Kawade and Raghoji Bhonsale defeated Mughal Sardars in Khandesh and Berar in November and December of 1737 and were establishing their rule there. Hence Nasir Jang could not go to his father's help at Bhopal.

After the defeat of the Nizam at Bhopal and while he was engaged in the affairs of Delhi, Nasir Jang seems to have developed his secret ambition to seize the throne of Hyderabad from his father. He disliked the activities, aggressions and interferences of Bajirao and other Maratha chiefs in the Maratha Subahs of the Deccan. He did not disband his troops but remained at Aurangabad, watching the Marathas and strengthening his authority in the Deccan. Nadir Shah's invasion and atrocities at Delhi seem to have strengthened his idea of usurping his father's authority and become independent. He began to drive away old officers of the Nizam, as may be seen from a Maratha letter of 1739[1]. "Nasir Jang got the Subah of Aurangabad. Therefore old officers of Sadat Khan were dismissed. Sadat Khan's men have run away from the thana of Belha. It is now deserted.' This was happening when the Nizam was absent in Delhi and Nadir Shah's invasion was taking place, and when Nasir Jang was posted at Aurangabad. Nasir Jang was perhaps not expecting his father to return. Therefore he was preparing to usurp his father's authority in the Deccan. A letter of 15-5-1739[2] informs us that at the time of his departure (1-5-1739, Nadirshah issued four firmans, one to Nasir Jang, a second to Nasiruddaula, a third to Raja Shahu and a fourth to Bajirao, urging them to be loyal to the emperor Muhammad Shah and to respect the settlement he had made. Nasir Jang must have felt after this firman strengthened in his desire to usurp his father's authority in the Deccan. In the firman he perhaps saw the *de jure* recognition of that authority which he was holding *de facto* at the time.

In the entries of the year 1739[3] of Peshwa's diaries we find Nasir Jang was given a feast on 29-1-1739. Thus the relations of Bajirao and Nasir Jang seem to be cordial at the beginning of the year during Nadir Shah's trouble at Delhi (from 8-1-1739 to 1-5-1739). Bajirao left Poona on 3-2-1739 for the North. He wrote at the time " our domestic quarrels are now insignificant: there is now but one enemy in Hindustan. Hindus and Mussalmans, the whole power of the Deccan must assemble and I shall spread our Marathas from the Narmada to the Chambal." Muhammad Shah had appealed to Bajirao. The following letter[4] of Bajirao to his general Pilaji Jadhav shows, "I shall march to North India by regular stages. The Persian sovereign

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1 P. D. 30—247
2 P. D. 22-399; Rajwade VI, 167.
3 P. D. 30-373.
4 Rajwade VI. 130.

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Thamasp Quli has come to conquer the world. To help Muhammad Shah I am sending the Malwa force, under Malhar Rai Holkar, Ranoji Sindhia, and (Udaji) Pawar. It is a glory to this monarchy (Maratha State) to help the emperor of Delhi at such a time."

In a letter of 24-3-1739[5] Bajirao writes to Brahmendra Swami "After this, he (Nadir Shah) is going to invade the Deccan. He has no other enemy left (in the North). Now we are his and he is our enemy. Therefore we are planning that before he starts from there Maratha forces should gather together and cross the Chambal River and not not allow him (Nadir) to cross it to this side. It is a great danger."

In a letter of 17-4-1739[6] Balaji, son of Bajirao, writes to Brahmendra Swami that "his (Nadir Shah's) whole intention is to invade the Deccan.....Bajirao is near Burhanpur."

Bajirao then being at Burhanpur began to form plans for holding the line of the Chambal to prevent a Persian invasion of the Deccan.

In an important letter[7] of Shahu written in February 1739 after Bajirao left Poona for the North on 11-2-1739 he asks Bajirao to advance rapidly to oppose Nadir Shah "as he is bound by promise to Aurangzeb that if any foreign invasion came upon the emperor he would send assistance as much as lay in his power."

Bajirao affirms this pro-Emperor policy in a letter of 31-3-1739[8] from Burhanpur to his brother Chimaji Appa. He writes" I am not going beyond Burhanpur. Staying at Burhanpur I am going to restore order in Khandesh. You should soon finish your campaign in the Konkan, send the army above the ghats and maintain order in the country. After finishing the Bassein campaign you should send cavalry units to me. Order will have to be kept in every place in the country..... O Appa, if the foreign rule of Nadir Shah remains, it will be disastrous to us all. Therefore without thinking over it much, you should do your duty after recognising the importance of the settlement of these affairs and the magnitude of the situation on this side."

But while consolidating his gains and plans during March to June 1739 Bajirao was watching all the movements of Nasir Jang through his agents. In a letter of 4-4-1739[9] he writes to Tubajipant, one of his agents in the Mughal Deccan, "I got the information about three places sent by you ; it was well that negotiations were entered into about these places. But it is not necessary to carry out the object now. For what reason is Nasir Jang who had gone to Bhaganagar is returning to this province. I am thinking of winning him over during our meeting, and of achieving my object with his consent. Having already overturned his administration in these places there has

5 Br. Ch. No. 42 p. 67.
6 Br. Ch. No. 58 p. 89.
7 P. D. 30-222.
8 P. D. 15-72.
9 P. D. 15-74.

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been created in his mind some fear and suspicion. If we carry out our intentions about those places there will be great fear created in his mind. Therefore for the present you should keep only your plans ready. You should win over the fort-guards of those places, and keep them ready to carry out our objects as our own servants. If Nasir Jang comes over to us it will be well. Then the places will be ours. If he does not agree and if we cannot carry out our plans, then we shall find means to defeat him, and all the places will fall into our hands. Then we shall not worry about three places only. Therefore for the present after keeping the plans ready and entrusting all the threads to Malharpant you should come over here." This shows Bajirao's plan of capturing some places at the time. He wants the plan to be kept ready but before executing it he wants Nasir Jang to agree to it. Therefore he wants his officer-in-charge to proceed very cautiously so as not to alarm unnecessarily Nasir Jang with whom friendly negotiations had already been opened. He intends to resort to severe measures only in case Nasir Jang was unfavourably disposed. Thus while he was at Burhanpur and while Nadir Shah had not as yet left Delhi, Bajirao was trying to negotiate with Nasir Jang for the fulfilment of his claims on the Nizam before he undertook to force him to do so. He was still watching Nadir Shah's activities in Delhi. On 24th April, 1739[10] Bajirao wrote to Chimaji Appa advising him to try to win over Raghuji Bhonsale to their side as he would be of much use when they marched against Nadir Shah. We have to avenge the insult of Nadir Shah. Therefore we must conciliate him by putting up with him and satisfying him. Raghoji should be addressed in a conciliatory tone although he had put down Awaji Kawade who was a general of Bajirao." But all the time Bajirao was preparing his secret plans against the Mughal Deccan. In a letter of 10th May, 1739[11] he writes to Tubajipant, the same officer, "There is a delicate but urgent piece of work to be carried out here. Therefore three hundred picked men are wanted. Bring them immediately without fail along with the army very quickly and without making any noise or show. This work is very important. By grace of God there is prospect of money and territory. Chimaji will follow soon as Bassein is now captured (5th May, 1739). Nasir Jang has come on the other side of Nanded."

Just two days after this on 12th May, 1739[12] on the day when Bassein was surrendered to the Marathas, Shyamji Govind, one of the agents of Bajirao at the court of Nizam, writes to Chimaji Appa from Aurangabad that "Nawab Nasir Jang has gone to Nanded, he has given new jagirs and large amounts of money in cash to Sayyad Jamaluddin Khan, Sultanji Nimbalkar, Chandrasen Jadhao, Udaji Chavan and other sardars in order to equip a large army and to guard the forts and the country." He has issued important orders to them all to collect and keep an army of 10,000 each. He is also keeping a large army of his own and increasing it. Anandrao Sumant (who was an opponent

10. P. D. 15-77.
11. P. D. 30-228.
12. P. D. 15-79.

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of Bajirao) has come from Delhi here. Nasir Jang is plotting to send him to Shahu in order to gain his friendship, and by getting the help of Raghoji Bhonsale's and Prince Fattehsingh's armies he wants to create disaffection and complete breach between them and the Peshwa Bajirao. He has also sent two men to Bajirao to treat with him. If Bajirao stops his confiscations in his territory for realising his demands (of chauth) and acts according to previous agreements it is well. If not, he intends to put his whole above mentioned plan into operation. Matters are very serious and are getting worse", This is what one who is near the Nawab writes. "Bajirao is at Burhanpur, Awaji Kawade who is with 15,000 troops in Berar has been called again by Bajirao to him. Such is the disturbed state of affairs. Let us see to what extent this reaches. Therefore Chimaji should be ready and prepared." From these letters it is evident that both sides were preparing for a possible conflict of arms if their negotiations which were then going on were to fail. Both sides were at the same time preparing their plans about collecting army, capturing places, sowing dissessions and gaining friends and traitors in other camps. Both sides did not trust each other and were getting ready for war. The same Shyamji Govind writes[13] to Chimaji Appa again (before 15th May, 1739) the news that Nasir Jang has reached Nanded.

In this connection what was Shahu's policy after Nadir Shah left was well reported by Bajirao's agent at the Satara Court in a letter of 31st May, 1739[14] "God has restored the emperorship of Muhammad Shah which he had lost. Therefore by maintaining good political relations (with him) we should behave like other nobles. Whatever we want for expenses and army we shall get by collecting from Emperor's territorial revenues and the remainder we shall send it to his treasury. There is great glory in asking for separate jagirs for keeping army and in helping the emperor in preserving order and maintaining the empire by pleasing all. There is no credit in breaking it. We will get discredit for breaking it. I do not want the emperorship. I will be glad if it is reconstructed. If we both cooperate the Deccan will be without trouble. The aim of our politics with Muhammad Shah should be that he should take the help of Bajirao who should organise and settle his affairs. Now that Nadir Shah has departed it is not proper to create disturbance everywhere and cause quarrels." Shahu's policy was thus not to destroy but to help the Mughal emperor, as also not to disturb and encroachupon the Mughal territories in the Deccan. This is clear from the above letter. Therefore Nadir Shah's departure and Shahu's conciliatory policy towards the Mughal Emperor and the Mughal rule in the Deccan made Bajirao return from Burhanpur. Shyamji Govind writes from Aurangabad to Chimaji on 14th July 1739[15] that Bajirao has recrossed the Naramada with his army and is coming to this province (Aurangabad)". This letter however shows that Nasir Jang and his officers are making the

13. P. D. 30-234.
14. Satara Historical Records II-268.
15. P. D. 15-81.

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stay of Maratha officers there difficult by troubling them and not giving them their dues willingly. Nasir Jang was not prepared to recognise Maratha claims. Bajirao returned to Poona on 27th July 1739.[16] Chimaji also reached Poona on 3rd September 1739. But Bajirao decided to start on a campaign against Nasir Jang on 1st November 1739.

What were the reasons for this ? Shahu was conciliatory. But Nasir Jang was not. He was not allowing Maratha officers to collect their Chouth rights undisturbedly and not carrying out previous engagements and promises. He kept himself prepared with a large army. He was plotting with the help of Anandarao Sumant to gain the good will of Shahu and create a breach between him and Bajirao.

HISTORICAL REFERENCES IN JAIN POEMS

(Jahangir's Relations with the Jains)

BY

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It has been said that Jahangir was not so tolerant towards other religions as his father Akbar was, and examples are cited of his persecution of the Sikh and Jain religions. His orders for banishing all the Jain sects from his realm are taken as evidence of the persecution of the Jains. An examination of contemporary events does not support this charge of indiscriminate persecution of Jains and Jainism.

Jahangir was incensed at the dissolute conduct of a Darsani, and in a fit of passion not only did he expel him but order the Darsanis as well as Jains (सेवडे) without distinction to be unfrocked or banished the realm. The Jain *sangha* at Agra requested *yugapradhana* Jinacandrasuri to come to Agra and intercede with the Emperor. He did so and ultimately prevailed upon him to withdraw the order, so that the Jains were allowed free movement in his empire. This incident is referred to in contemporary Jain literature.

I am quoting some relevant verses.

(*a*) From *Sriyugayradhana-nirvana rasa* (*Aitihasik Jain Kavya samgraha*, pp. 79ff).

पातिसाहि सलेम सटोप, कियउ दरसणियां सु कोप ।
कामणगारा कामी, दरबार थी दूरि हदामी ॥१७॥
एकनकुं पाग बंधावउ, एकनकुं नाआस अणावउ ।
एकनकुं देशवटौ जंगल दीजै, एकनकुं पखालो कोजइ ॥१८॥
पातिशाहि हुंतउ जे जूठउ, पूज्यंभाग बलइ अति तूठउ ।
जाउ विचरउ देश हमारे, तुम्ह फिरतां कोइ न वारइ ॥२७॥

16. Peshwa chronology p. 84.

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(*b*) Poet Samaysundara says:

एक दिन पातिशाहि आगरै कोपियौ, दर्शनी एक आचार चूकौ।
शहर थी दूरि काटौ सवै सेवड़ा, मेवड़ा हाथ फुरमाण मुक्यौ ॥२॥
अंजब की छाप फुरमाण करि आखियाँ, केडला गुणहु सहु माफ कोधा ॥६॥

In a pattavali of the Kharataragaccha sect there is a veiled insinuation that the misconducting Darsani belonged to the Tapagaccha sect. It appears, however, that the insinuation is unfounded, as the literature of the Tapagaccha sect also mentions this incident. The offending person is called. वेषधारी Jinacandra explained to the Emperor that for the offence of an individual, the entire Samgha should not have been judged guilty and banished.

(*c*) Labdhisekhara's song (A. J. K. S. p. 98).

श्रीपातिशाह ताहि सलेम कोपइ चढ़यइ बोलाविया सही ए जंगम जुगप्रधान।
धरम मरम कहि बूझयउ सही ए, तुरत दीया फुरमान।

(*d*) Kesaramuni in a Ms. preserved in Sri-Jinadattasuri-jnana-bhamdara at Surat (A. J. K. S. p. 103).

युगवर श्रीजिन चन्द्रजी, जगि जिनशासनि चन्द रे।
दरसनी जिन मुगता करो, सोलसित्तरवासि रे॥

The incident also finds mention in Bhanucandra Caritra, pattavali of Ksamakalyana etc. as well as in Jahangirnama. The date is Samvat 1669 (=A. D. 1611-1612). Jinacandra is said to have exercised as much influence on Jahangir as he had on Akbar.

The Suri's disciple Jinasimhasuri (original name Manas'mha, then Mahimaraja) is claimed to have influence over Akbar and Jahangir alike. Rajasamudra (*alias* Jinarajasuri), a disciple of Jinsimhasuri, says that Jahangir honoured him much and sent Mukarrab Khan to invest him with the title of Yugapradhana.

जहांगीर-सलेम संतुष्ट हृदय थकइ श्री मुकुरब खानइ पोते मोकली—
महोत्सव पूर्वक युगप्रधान पदवी (दीधी) इहक श्रीजिनसिंह सूरि...

—See Yugapradhanasuri, p. 177 foot note, also हर्षनन्दनेकृत गीत In Samvat 1670-71 he became the leader of the Kharataragaccha. While he was at Bikaner (Sam. 1674) Jahangir who loved the Suri and was anxious to see him sent a *farman* to his officers asking them to send him to Agra.

हिव श्री साहि सलेम, मानसिंह सुं धरि प्रेम।
इक वेर मानसिंह आवइ, तउ मन मुझ सुख पावइ॥—जिनराजसूरि रास

Jinasimha left Bikaner for Agra, but after having passed Merta, his health failed and he returned to Merta and died there (Sam. 1674= A. D. 1617).

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But contemporary history tells a different tale. At the time of Khusru's rebellion one Man Singh prophesied that Jahangir's reign would last but two years. This encouraged Rai Singh of Bikaner to rebel, but he was pardoned. Later on Jahangir wishing to punish Mansingh, summoned him to Agra, but the latter took poison on his way from Bikaner and died. Mr. K. P. Jain, however, thinks that this Man Singh was a different person and was not the same as Manasimha *alias* Jinasimha Yugapradhana. The followers of the *yati* of Bikaner only were expelled, but not "all Jains" who according to Prof. Sriram Sharma "were punished irrespective of their political proclivities."

It is said[2] that while Jahangir was sojourning at Mandu (Mandapagarh) he heard from a noble named Candu, the leader of the Jainsamgha there, of Sri Vijayadevasuri, a Jain saint and wanted to hear him discourse. Accordingly he issued a *farman* inviting him to come to Mandu. The acarya came from Stambhatirtha or Khambat (Cambay, Gujrat) and reached Mandu on Asvin Sukla 13. Next day at noon he discoursed on religion in the picture gallery (*tasbirkhana*). Jahangir conferred on him the viruda of Mahatapa. This is related in *vijayadevamahatmya* composed by Sri-Vallabha Pathaka.[3]

अथात्रवसरे श्रीमन्मण्डप सर्व सम्प्रदाम् ।
पत्तनं मण्डपं नाम बाभात्थुत्सव मण्डपम् ॥१॥
पातिसाहि जहांगीर सिलेमसाहिरुत्तमः ।
हिन्दू-तुरुष्क भूपालनायकस्तत्र शोभते ॥२॥
भों चन्दसंघपं ! क्वास्ति धर्माऽऽचार्यस्तंवाधुना ?
विजय देवे सूरीन्द्रो नाऽमिलत् स कथं च नः ॥७॥

Also see verses—19, 23, 24, 32.

Some account of Vijayadevasuri (belonging to the Tapagaccha sect) is given in the introduction of A. J. K. S. (pp. 97, 98). He became the pattadhara of Vijayasena suri (*alias* जै सिंघ जी, or जयसिंह, birth name) after his death in Cambay in Sam. 1672 (=A. D. 1615). He performed the चौमासा at Paban in Sam. 1673 (=A. D. 1616).

His pattadhara was Vijayasimhasuri. One of his disciples was Kanakavijaya.

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2. P. 987 of the Proceedings of the Seventh Oriental Conference, 978 ff.

(*a*) जैसिंग नु निरवाणं, 'खंभाइति' जग भाण । पाठि पयेधर पूरो, विजयदेव सूरिउ ॥४॥

(*b*) भलउ भटारक भाकइ, पाटणि चउमास आवइ ।
सोल तिहुतरा वर्षि, लालि श्राविका हर्षी ॥६॥

3. Upadhyaya Vallabha was the disciple of Jnanavimala Upadhyaya, and was a very learned scholar. His works are—(*a*) a commentary on Silocchu-nama-kose 1654), (*b*) a commentary on Linganusasana (Sam. 1661) (*c*) Abhidhananamamala-vrttih (Sam. 167), (*d*) Vijayadevamahatmya.

4. संवत सोल इक्यासी (य) इ, उत्सव हुआ आनन्द ।
विजयदेव सूरि थापीया, विजयसिंह सूरिन्द ॥६८॥ A. J. K. S p 362 Sam. 1688=A. D. 1624.

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The following relevant verses are quoted from A. J. K. S. (p. 355) :

'साहि सलेम' उदार, करवा सुगुरु दीदार।
'मांडव गढ़' गुरु तेड्या, कुमति ना मद फेडया ॥२०॥
देखी 'तपगछ नाह', खुसी भयो पातिसाह।
जगगुरु के पटि पूरे, बड़े 'विजयदेव' सूरे ॥२१॥
शाहि 'जहांगीरी' थापइ, नाम 'महातपा' आपइ।
—विजयसिंह सूरि विजयप्रकाश रास

It is said also that Bhanucandra Upadhyaya was invited by Jahangir to come to his court and discourse on the Jain religion, just as he used to do so in the presence of his father[6].

मिल्या भूपनइ भूप आनन्द पाया, भलईं तुमे भलईं अहीं भाणचन्द आया।
तुम पासि थिईं मोहि सुख बहुत होवइ, सहरिआर भणवा तुम वाट जोवइ ॥३०६॥
पढ़ावो अम्ह पूतकूं धर्मवात, जिउ अवल सुणता तुमह पासि तात।
भाण चंद! कदोम तुमे हो हमारे, सबही थकी तुझ हो हम ही प्यारे ॥३१०॥
—हहोर विजय सूरिदास, ऋषभदास कवि रचित।

It appears that Jahangir did not indiscriminately persecute the Jains. Many manuscripts and images made during his reign are still to be found in Northern India.[7] Mr. K. P. Jain says that he found a *gutka* in the bhandar of a Digambar Jain temple at Manipuri, the prasasti of which runs thus :

Atha samvatsare Srinrpa-Vikramaditya-raje. Samvatu 1680 jesthamase suklapakse parvani navami bhoma dine Sri-Nuradim-Jahangira-Badsahi-rajya-pravartamane Sri-Kasthasamghe Mathuranve Pukkaragane Bhattaraka Sri-Gunacandra-devan. Tatpatte Bhattaraka Sri-Sakalacandra, Tatpatte Mamdatacarya Mahendrasna, tatsisya Pandita Bhagavatidasu, Tena idam samcikamadhye upakrtah lisapitam Vinidosu subhamastu.

He has given an account of the composition of the Poet Bhagavati Das Agravala of Shahjadipur which is situated probably in the Farukhabad district. In one of his poems there is a reference to Jahangir.

राजवलि जहांगीर कह फिरिय तिस आण हो।
ससिरसवसुविंदा धरहु संवतु गुणहु सुजान हो

6. Proc. of Seventh Oriental Conferenct p. 978 where reference is made to Surisvara aur Samrat, p. 241.

7. Jain Siddhanta Bhaskar, 5, 3. p. 144., Ibid 4.3, pp. 176, 182.

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BIHAR DURING THE FIRST QUARTER OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

BY

PROF. SYED HASAN ASKARI, PATNA COLLEGE.

Bihar was, in the periods immediately preceding the establishment of the Mughal rule in India, often united with Bengal while some parts of it, at one time, owed allegiance even to the Sharqi kings of Jaunpur. Akbar, made it a separate administrative unit at a time when the Afghan menace was still a factor to be reckoned with and in the 20th year of his reign appointed Muzaffar Khan Turbatti, Governor of Bihar, from Chausa[1] to Teliagarhi. The policy of appointing separate governors for the 2 provinces was generally followed by Akbar's successors. The statements of writers like Smith and Stewart that Man Singh remained in charge of both Bihar and Bangal after the death of Bhagwandas in 1589 until the closing days of Akbar's life, normally residing at Ajmere, and leaving the administration of his provinces in the hands of his deputies, is not supported[2] by reliable and original documents. But it can be safely asserted that Bihar remained an absolutely independent administrative unit of the Mughal Empire, during the reign of Jahangir.

Said Khan Chaghtai who had been transferred from Bihar to Bengal in the 32nd year of Akbar's reign was again made governor of Bihar on 28 Jamadi II in the 39th[3] year (Rajab 1002–March 1594) and was replaced by Man Singh in Bengal. He went to the Court in the 40th year but was sent back to Bihar on the 20[4] Tir year 41. It was probably during his absence from Bihar that Salim arrived at Allahabad and according to De Laete, occupied "the whole country as far as Hassipur (Hajipur) and Pattana (Patna)." He gave the subah of Bihar to Khuba or the ill-fated Qutubuddin Kokaltash. Some time after, the Prince made another arrangement, when he left Allahabad for the second time to wait upon his father. In 1604, he promoted the notorious

1. A. N. III p. 200. M. U. III Chausa was the wel known ford of the Ganges about 8 miles S. W. of Buxar. Garhia or Teliagarhi is little to the west of Sahebganj at the point where the Santal hills touch the Ganges. The fort is regarded as a gateway to Bengal Province.

2. The author of the T. A. alone mentions it but he contradicts himself and cites a wrong date. Again both the Governor (M. S.) and his deputy (S. K.) could not belong to the same rank of 5000 as incorrectly mentioned by Stewart. Maha Singh and Pratap Singh were not the deputy governors of the two Provinces as Stewart says, but the latter was sent to assist the former who was a lad of 15 or 16. See A. N. 1151 ; M. U.

3. A. N. 998 ; 1001 I. N. J. The author of M. U. is wrong in mentioning the 40th year. Blochman has blindly accepted the date given in M. U. (A. A. III).

4. A. N. ; 1031. He was sent off to Bihar after receiving many instructive advices on 20th Tir. i. e. 30th June, 1596. (A. N. Bev. tr. 1060) ; See also I. N. J. (Ms. O. P. L.).

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Sharif Khan to the rank of 2,500 and appointed him the Subah of Bihar. Hardly had Sharif taken charge of the province when he was displaced by Asaf Khan[5] (Mirza Jafar Beg Qazwini), the last imperial Governor of Bihar of Akbar's reign.

Lala Beg entitled Baz Bahadur was appointed Governor of Bihar in succession to Asaf Khan within one month's after Jahangir'[6] accession (Oct. 1605). He was raised to the command of 4000 and given Rs. 2,000 and also Asaf's jagirs in Bihar. He was religious-minded, able and spirited, but cruel and haughty. He suppressed the rebellion of Raja Sangram of Kharakpur (Monghyr). For this distinguished service Baz Bahadur was created Jahangir[7] Quli Khan and he was promoted to the rank of 4,500 personal and 3,500 horse. Later on he was raised to 5,000 and transferred to Bengal on the murder of its governor Qutubuddin.

Alauddin Islam Khan, a son of the emperor's foster brother, and a grandson of Shaikh Salim Chisti, succeeded Jahangir Quli Khan but he served as the Governor of Bihar for about a year only (May 1607 to June 1608). Islam Khan appears to have had no control over the historic fort of Rohtas and its neighbourhood. He was transferred to Bengal on the report of the death of its governor, Jahangir Quli Khan, on 7th May, 1608.

Abdur Rahman, entitled Afzal Khan, son of Abul Fazal, was appointed governor of Bihar and held the post till the end of the year 1021/1612. The country of the deceased Raja Sangram of Kharakpur was assigned to him in Jagir. Another important jagirdar of Bihar was Safdar Khan who has been frequently mentioned[8] by the Emperor in his Memoirs. In the 4th year of accession (1611), Kishwar Khan, the commander of Rohtas, was promoted to 2,000, and was appointed Faujdar of the country of Ujjaynias[9]. The refractory Ujjaynias of Bhojpur (Shahabad, Bihar) being probably pressed by Kishwar Khan, turned their attention towards Patna. One of their chieftains named Raja Madhokar[10], taking advantage of the absence of Afzal Khan,

5. For his life see M. U. A. N. 1249.

6. T. J. I. 21. It is stange that such a careful writer as Dr. Beni Prashad has taken Baz Bahadur and Jahangir Quli Khan to be two different personages who was promoted to the government of Bihar in 1014/1605 and 1016/1606. The lists of the Governors of Bihar given by him and also by Gladions are not quite accurate None of them mentions such an important figure as Prince Parwar who has left abiding influence in Bihar.

7. I. N. J. 476 (Ms. O. P. L.)

8. T. J. 164, 167, 169, 200, 242.

9. T. J. (Kujhwa Ms.). The English version in T. J. (Rogers and Beveridge wrongly puts the word as 'ch', p. 170. The translators have not corrected the mistake in their " Errata and Addenda ".

10. Baharistan-i-Ghaibi gives this name. 189-90 The Tarikh-i-Ujjaynia II (Urdu Ms.) in writer's possession does not mention any Rajah bearing this name. But not much reliance can be placed on it for the account of Dalpat Sahi Ujjania, given in it is silent about the part he played in Akbar's reign, his imprisonment, release, marriage of his daughter with Prince Danyal.

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broke out into revolt but was defeated and killed. Later, Ghias Beg Zain Khani, the Baxi, and others, took up the cause of an obscure Fakir of Uch (Multan) nameed Qutb who pretended to be Prince Khusru who had escaped from prison. But the rebel was ultimateily captured and tortured to death. Twelve[11] of the cowardly officials were sent to the court to be disgracefully paraded and executed. Afzal Khan, on imperial orders sent an army from Patna under Mirza Aman[12] Ali Beg Shamlu to help Islam Khan in 1612. Sometime after this he was seized with an illness and was recalled to court where he died in the 8th year of accession.

Shukrullah, entitled Zafar Khan, son of Zain Khan Koka, who had been summoned from Gujrat, was promoted to 3,000 zat and 2,000 sawar and appointed governor of Bihar towards the end of Shawwal [13] 1021 (Dec. 1612). Jahangir describes him as one of the trustworthy house-born ones and foster children. The emperor had married his sister. " He had always hoped " says the emperor " that he might obtain some separate service in order that he might show his natural ability ". His regime would have been uneventful but for a raid that he made into Chotanagpur and the abortive attempt he made to make himself the governor of Bengal.

The succeeding Governor, Ibrahim Khan was a brother of Nur Jahan and he was presented at the end of Rabi II, 1024 *i.e.*, May 1015, with a horse, a robe of honour, jewelled dagger, a standard, a diwani and despatched to Bihar. He was eminently successful in the task with which he had been commissioned and which had remained unfulfilled at the hands of his predecessor. Indeed, the most ramarkable achievement of Ibrahim Khan was the conquest of Kukradesh (Chotanagpur) and the acquisition of diamond mines which lay in the beds of rivers like Sankh [14] which flows through the Ranchi district. The Governor's mansab was raised to 5 thousand zat and 4 thousand sawar and he was styled Fateh Jung and all his officers were largely rewarded. He was

11. The author of Ahsan-ut-Tawarikh who was at this time sent as a Diwan of Patna mentions one new name—Ilyas Bahadur. Those officers were paraded with their back on asses, in women's attire, and with their heads and beards cut-off. All this happened before the eyes of Hawkins. (G. M. Foster E. Tr. 1. 113, 147.)

12. B. G. T. 166 Shamlu(?) was the sister's husband of Jahangir Quli Khan. The expedition was led against Bayazio Kararani for the conquest of Sylhet. The Bihar army saw Islam Khan within 15 days of departure from Patna. Tuzuk is silent on the point. B. G. alone tells us also of an expedition which Afzal Khan and Iradat Khan led against Anant Chero, but the details are lacking. The Chero chiefs once ruled on the hilly region round Rohtas and in parts of Saran (e. g. Cherand) Shahaoat and lastly on the dt. of Palamoo (see Sarkar A). They were always at war with the Ujjaimi of Sheopur.

13. T. J. 231 It was probably on the 20th of Azar=17 Shawwal, 1021 that Zafar Khan was appointed Governor of Bihar. He seems to have given his yarn to Calico of broad size of fine quality and of higher prices which the weaver of Mekhaur (Biha Sharif) supplied to the English factors to be forwarded to Agra. The factors speak of not only of Zaffar Counes but also of the broadest and finest sort called Jehangiris (Foster 2, 21, 193, 212, 2158).

14. Note of Beveridge in T. J. 1. p. 315.

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well served by his subordinates in Bihar and saw to it that their merits were recognised. Ibrahim Khan was elevated to the government of Bengal which had been mismanaged by Kasim[15] Khan, sometime in the month of Rabi, II, 1026 *i.e.*, April 1617.

The next incumbent was Mirza Shamsuddin Hussain, entitled Jahangir Quli Khan, the eldest son of Khan Azam, Mirza Aziz Koka. He was escorted by Sazawaln (revenue collectors) to Bihar which he held from 1617 to 1618 . Though he sent 22 elephants including one, named Ranbadal, and also some diamonds which he obtained from Kukr Desh, the Emperor was not pleased with the way he governed Bihar. He was recalled in 1618-19.

Shaikh Hassan, entitled Muqarrab Khan of Panipat and Tarrana-Saharanpur , who like his father had been a noted[16] physician and held the rank of 5,000, had already served as Governor of Gujerat in which capacity he had come in contact with the English at[17] Surat. In a letter from Patna (12th July[18] 1620) Robert Hughes writes " I have since my coming visited the Governor, Muqarrab Khan, who seems to be wonderous pleasant for our arrival here and was inquisitive to know what goods I had brought with me." Muqarrab Khan, we are told, was very particular about getting informations of the rich commodities the English had to dispose off, the things specially liked by him were toys, [19] tapestry, curtains, broad cloth, hydes, swords, small wares, looking glasses, amber beeds, bobbin lace (usually of linen thread) etc. Indeed the English sold most of the goods to the Governor some at very good rates and he was not only a ready purchaser but also a good paymaster. In fact, the English Factor looked upon Muqrrab Khan as one of their best friends of whom, as Huhge wrote on April 11, 1621, we are altogether destitute since his departure.

It was in the beginning of Jamadi I[20] 1030 (March 16, 1621) that the emperor speaks of having given Bihar to his son, Parwez, in place of Muqarrab Khan and " sazawallan were started off to conduct him from Allahabad to Bihar". Hughes wrote on March 3, 1621 about the recall of the old and the arrival and 'amal' [21] (authority) of the servants of the new governor. On 31st March [22] Hughes wrote " acconuts have been cleared with Muqarrab Khan since hedeparted the city."

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15. B. G. 419 Qasim Khan was charged with wasting imperial revenue and with improper behavior towards his Bukhshi Mukhlis Khan. As regards the dates of the recall of one and the appointment of the other, Jahangir mentions these after 19th Farwandin i e. 1st Rab II, 1026=7th April 1617.

16. M. U. III 379 ; T. J.

17. F. E. F. 1.

18. All these quotations are taken from Foster's English Factory Records in India, 16 18-1621.

19. Forster E. F. 1. I. A.

20. T. J. II 200.

21. Fors. E. F. 1. 936 ; I. A.

22. Ibid 246, 248.

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Parwez, the first [23] Mughal prince of royal blood to rule over Bihar and who gave his name to Parwezabad, now known as Paleza, had the province as in his jagir and governed Bihar with the assistance of Mukhlis [24] Khan, his Dewan and Sher Khan and Iftikhar Khan as his Foujdars. One of his highly respectable officers was Nazar [25] Bahadur, a Khewsgi Afghan of Kasur, near Lahore, who held a rank of 1,500 under Jahangir and of 4,000 under Shajahan. He built the famous extant building of Sangi Mahjid at Patna in 1036 out of the wood and stone taken from the demolished fort and temple of the Raja of Majhauli against whom an expedition must have been led during the regime of the prince. He was a favourite of his father, being older than Shahjehan and born of a Muslim [26] mother was a prospective heir to the throne. Upon the news of the emperor's illness which began in Oct. 1620, he "being unable to restrain himself" [27] left Bihar "without waiting for a Farman" and arrived near his father. The emperor was pleased with his affection and solicitude and on or about 15th November 1621 sent him back to Bihar from Mathura. The prince did not leave Bihar despite urgent and frequent messages [28] sent by the emperor to meet the situation arising from Shahjehan's revolt till April 1623. He was embraced by his father and loaded with more favour and, on the 25th [29] of the month (May 1623) he was sent against Shahjehan. Mahabat Khan and many others were associated with him.

After his unsuccessful operations elsewhere, Shahjehan turned to the north-east. Bengal and Orissa soon fell into his hands. He then sent a farman to Mukhlis Khan, brother of [30] Fidai Khan, the Dewan and Deputy of Prince Perwez of Bihar, demanding the surrender of Patna. Raja Bhim easily obtained possession of the Subah. When Shahjehan arrived at Patna from Akbarnagar many of Parwez's officers and jagirdars of the province joined him. Khan Dauram was appointed Subedar of Bihar and Darbhanga and Hajipur were assigned as jagir to Abdulla Khan. Raja Narain [31] Mal one of the ancestors of Raja of Dumraon came with his brothers and relations and joined Shahjehan.

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23. Other notable examples are those of Sepahr Shikoh Prince Azam and Azimushan. The last gave his name to Patna which came to be known as Azimabad.

24. T. J.; I. N. J.; B. G.; A. 5; S. J. Note.

25. M. U. III 818-19.

26. Parwez was born of Sahib-i-Jamal, a daughter of Khawaja Hasan, the paternal uncle of Zain Khan Koka (T. J. Note 79).

27. T. J. II 215.

28. Ibid, the first to be sent on 2nd Til 1031 "with a gracious Farman to summon my favourite son, etc. Shah Parwez" was Tahawwar Khan.

29. Ibid 259.

30. B. G. 701, 702.

31. B. G. 722, 732 Mirza Natha describes Raja N. Mal as the son of Raja Bhatmal Bishan but Tarikh-i-Ujjania (Urdu Ms. Vol. II) in writer's possession tells us that he was the son of Hols Sahi who was the son of Ugra Sen Sahi and he succeeded Raja Matukman Sahi, son of Raja Dalpat Sahi, and he ruled on Jagdishpur and Bhojpur. He is said to have helped Shahjehan. His brother was Rudra Pratap and Kirat Singh.

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Prince Parwez and Mahabat Khan being ordered by the emperor proceeded to the north-east. Abdullah, the general of Shahjehan, had to raise the seige of Allahabad. The success of the Imperialists in the battle on the bank of Tons [32] Oct. 26, 1624 ruined the plans of Shahjehan. He was expelled from Bihar and Bengal. Parwez, however, had to return to court, leaving Mahabat Khan in charge of Bihar. [33] Some time after Mahabat also had to leave for [34] Burhanpur Thelast vistages of Shahjehan's sway over Bihar disappeared when, in 1035, on his express orders Muzaffar Khan and Khidmat Parast Khan (Raza Bahadir) surrendered the fort of Rohtas and proceeeded with three-months' old Prince Murad Buksh to the imperial court. [35] Muhammad Zaman Tehrani had been sent to Patna to escort the family of Prince Parwez and he was accompanied by the author of Subhe Sadiq [36].

LAND SETTLEMENT AND REVENUE ADMINISTRATION UNDER MAHARAJA MARTANDA VARMA,

(1729—1758 A. D.).

BY

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Maharaja Martanda Varma is known as the founder of the modern kingdom of Travancore, and is remembered as one of its greatest sovereigns. His greatness as a king depends as much on the administrative policies and the organisation of departments as on his wars and conquests. It was his glory that he was able to establish a strong kingdom with safeguards for civil administration and military defence before the western type of Governmental machinery was introduced into India. Of all the measures initiated by Maharaja Martanda Varma, the settlement of the land is the most important, and a few facts which are bound to create a new interest in the subject are gleaned from original sources.

Not much is known about the condition of land revenue administration in Travancore before the time of Maharaja Martanda Varma, beyond a few facts gathered from epigraphical and other records. The

32. B. G. 748; 755; I. N. J. 327; A. S. 82.

33. This is what Dr. Beni Prashad says relying on the wrong translation of I. N. J. given in Elliot and Dowsan VI 417. The original Ms. says "Prince Parwez having given Bengal in Tankhah to Mahabat Khan and his son, started on his return I. N. J. Ms: 329) Mukhlis Khan was sent by the Emperor to Prince Parwez to send him with the great Omrahs for the security of the Deccan (Ibid).

34. M. U.

35. S. N. J. 27a; I. N. J.; M. J. 197a.

36. Ibid.

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earliest survey of the lands, of which records are available, belongs to the early part of the reign of Martanda Varma. The existing documents, however, point to the fact that there must have grown up a sound system of tenures and proprietory rights long before his time. From the very beginning of his reign Martanda Varma realised that as a preliminary to the organisation of a sound system of public administration the finances of the state must be placed on a firm footing, and for that the revenues should be carefully ascertained and properly collected. A complete survey of the State was necessary for the purpose, and as soon as he established peace in the kingdom he turned his attention to the settlement of the revenues from the land.

In 914 M. E. (1739 A. D.) some time after the suppression of the revolt headed by the Tampi-Pretenders, Martanda Varma appointed Mallan Sankaran, an officer with great experience, to carry out the land settlement. The old chronicle (granthavari) of the Sri Padmanabha Swami temple, Trivandrum, mentions that in 914 M. E. a settlement of the wet as well as garden lands in the State was conducted under the supervision of Kanakku Mallan Sankaran. Twenty-seven different tenures are mentioned including Kudijenmom, Pantara Otti, Pattam, and Virutti. It is stated that Ozhuku, Peru, Atavu and Ayacut records were prepared fixing the ownership of each plot of land as well as the responsibility for the payment of the dues to the Sarkar. This survey appears to have extended over a period of ten years, as records ranging from 913 to 922 M. E. are available in regard to the same. These records afford interesting details. A Kuri (writ) was granted to the ryots, and in some cases Karanams or Neettus were issued instead of the Kuri. Old records were examined in cases of doubt. Irrigation works were constructed and maintained by the Sirkar, and special cesses were imposed on the beneficiaries to recover the cost of the same.

As in wars and conquests the personal direction and control of the Maharaja was responsible for the brilliant results achieved in the governmental activities at the time. Numerous records exist which are eloquent in their testimony to the deep and abiding interest taken by Martanda Varma in the revenue survey and settlement. Communications after communications were addressed to officers in charge of the settlement work, directing them in their procedure or correcting them in cases of mistakes. The documents noticed in official or other publications may be passed over as they are already known. A few unpublished records may be summarised here, which I was able to read with the kind permission of the Government of Travancore.

Chattavarioyalas were addressed to Adhikaris (village officer) giving them detailed direction in regard to their duties and responsibilities. The records are interesting in a variety of ways and hence a summary of the same is given below. Prerecord dated 918 M. E. relates to the duties of the Adhikari of Vanchiyoor Pakuthi Trivandrum taluk.

The Adhikari should see the collection of tax in money as well as in kind by Thantakaran, revenue peon, and should supervise the Chantirak-

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karan in charge of the palace. The Adhikari was given the power of appointing these and other subordinates. He should superintend the military training of Nayars by Asans, and should see to the disbursement of allowances due to them in proper time as well as the supply of bows and arrows, and gun powder and shots. The Adhikari should enquire into complaints made to him and supervise the work of the Srikaryams of temples in the village. He should not attend to any thing other than his official duties. He may receive for his work an atukkuvatu, (perquisite) of one fanam for every 10 fanams due as atiyara, and an annual allowance of 300 paras of paddy and 360 fanams. The Adhikari had the privilege of taking with him ten peons when he went round the village on official duty.

The Maharaja paid the utmost attention to ensure justice and equiry to all his subjects and to prevent corruption and malfeasance on the part of officers. A record dated 11th Kartika, 918 M. E. contains complaints to the Maharaja from aggrieved persons west of Karmana, regarding high-handed actions on the part of the revenue subordinates.

A document dated 24th Kartika 918 M. E. regarding instructions to Pillamars (accountants) in Vanchiyur Pakuthi, Trivandrum, affords interesting details about the method of settlement. The registration of wet lands should be effected in the presence of Kanakkan (accountant) of the Adhikari as well as of the Ahikaram. Direction is given to begin the preparation of the ozhukus of wet lands from a particular locality, and to register the lands according to lekkam numbers, giving the name of the owner and the amount due as tax. In regard to lands belonging to temples or Brahman Janmmis details regarding the tenant etc., should be given in the ozhuku. Tax due to the Sircar must in every case be specified in the record. Tax from lands held in Pantara Otti (Sircar mortgage) should likewise be settled according to their yield. Detailed directions are given in regard to other tenures. For the settlement of dry lands the presence of four Naduvars was necessary. Specific rules were laid down in regard to taxes to be imposed on trees, such as cocoanut, jack tree etc. The cocoanut trees were divided into four classes and tax thereon was fixed according to their yield. These directions even in matters of minute details removed the possibility of error as well as corruption on the part of officers and assured correctness and justice.

The foregoing details will show the thoroughness with which the settlement operations were directed and controlled. Although there existed from time immemorial rules fixing boundaries, arears and proprietory rights over cultivable lands, the settlement of 914 (1739 A. D.) must be taken as the first organised attempt at an exhaustive survey of the whole kingdom with a view to the laying of the foundation for a sound revenue administration. The measure thus inaugurated was as wise as it was original that it was taken as the basis for all future land revenue settlements in the state.

This settlement covered only the ancestral kingdom of Martanda Varma, *i.e.*, only the southern portion of what is now Travancore. The northern boundary of the original state (Venad) was pushed to the

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frontiers of Cochin by Martanda Varma by his conquests of Kayamkulam, Chempakasseri, Tekkumkur, and Vatakkumkur. A fresh survey was necessary in regard to the places newly acquired and in 926 M. E. the first settlement of Modern Travancore was undertaken. It was this measure more than anything else which served to consolidate the conquests of Martanda Varma, and to achieve the stability of State finances so essential for safety and progress of the kingdom. The settlements of 914 and of 926 assured the finances of the state and enabled it to orgainise a progressive administration on lines of permanent policies. The Maharaja paid equal attention to devise a governmental machinery for collecting the revenues thus ascertained and administering the affairs of the state. The state was divided into a number of Mandapattumvatukkals (taluks) and each mandapattumvatukkal was sub-divided into proverties, Pakuthies and Muris. The boundaries of these mandapattumvatukkals and proverties were carefully surveyed and fixed (as evidenced by a record of the year 918 M. E.). Each mandapattumvatukkal was placed under the control of a Karyakkar who had under him Adhikaris in immediate charge of Adhikarams or Proverties.

The Karyakkas were under the control of Sarvadhikaryakkar who was responsible to the Dalava and the Maharaja. A record dated 3rd chittirai 918 M. E. specifies the duties of the Karyakkar of Trivandrum Mendapattumvatukkal. Roughly giving the boundary of the taluk and naming the 8 Adhikarams comprised in it the record proceeds to lay down the duties appertaining to the post of the Karyakkar. The Karyakkar should supervise the work of the Ahikaris, and deal out justice to complainants after making enquires through the Adhikaris. He may take as perquisite (atukkuvatu) one fanam for every ten fanams received by way of judicial fee, and any amount not exceeding one fanam presented by parties, who petition to the mantapattumvatukkal, remitting all excess amounts into the royal treasury. He should supervise the work of the pillamar engaged in revenue collection and the affairs of temples within his jurisdiction. The Karyakkar had the power to appoint the Srikaryam (Manager of temple) and Pillamar in the temples under his charge. He should see to the proper performance of the pujas and the administration of the temple properties. It is interesting to note that in those days work commenced in the Mantapattumvatukkal Office at about 7 O'clock in the morning. Complaints received from the Adikarams were to be tried by the Karyakkar in the presence of four (respectable) men of the locality.

It may be seen from this how well-orgaised was the system and how well-defined were the powers and duties of the officers. In 929 M. E., four years before the close of the reign, the settlement department was finally reconstituted extending its power over the whole of the new kingdom including Tekkamkur, Vatakkamkur and Champakasseri. A record mentions that in 929, Sarvadhikaryakkar and Pillamar were appointed and that revenues were properly collected and accounts maintained. Forts were constructed in various parts of the country and soldiers were garrisoned in them to keep the peace. In 930 Karappuram

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(Shertalai) was also added to the state, when it was constituted into a new Mandapatumvatukkal.

These meassures as well as the dedication of the kingdom to Sri Padmanabha Swami secured the consolidation of the State and laid the foundation for the greatness of Modern Travancore. The future of the State was assured, and order and progress were established for all time to come.

AN UNRECORDED MARATHA VICTORY OF THE YEAR 1699 A. D.

BY

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The Muslim chroniclers and news-writers who constitute the main authority for the history of the war waged by Aurangzeb against the Marathas appear to have passed over an important victory won by the Marathas over the Mughals in the year 1699 A. D. Sir Jadunath Sarkar, the historian of Aurangzeb, has given an authoritative account of the events that occurred in this year.[1] After perusing this account, however, one gets the impression that the Marathas were defeated on almost all sides, and the only victory which they won and which is worth recording was that of Hanumantrao over Iklas Khan on Dec. 27, 1699.[2] But even before this date, the Marathas appear to have scored off a brilliant success in one of their daring raids on the Emperor's camp itself. In this they were so successful that they carried off practically every thing before them and captured several important persons including "a daughter of the Emperor".

The news of this event is given nowhere except in a contemporary letter [3] written on Dec. 22, 1699 by Parasharam Trimbak who, at that time, was the Pant Pradhan or Chief Minister of the Maratha State. This is one of the most important papers bearing upon the Maratha-Mughal war and it should be brought to the notice of more scholars, interested in this subject, than is the case at present. A free translation of the more important portion of this letter is, therefore, given here.

Parasharam Trimbak Pradhan to Vithoji Babar, the Deshmukh of Naneghol [4].

"....On occasions like this you must render loyal services and prove your merits. Organise your troops and cut off the enemy's supplies passing through your valley. Whatever you capture will belong to you except the banners and drums (of the enemy) which, if taken,

1. Sarkar. History of Aurangzeb Vol. V. PP. 131-35.

2. Idem P. 135.

3. See Satarachya Pratinidhi Gharanyancha Itihas, Vol. 3, PP. 451-52.

4. Naneghol at that time was a sub-division of the then district of Karhad, See Rajwade Vol. 20. 35 (P. 41).

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should be surrendered to the government.....Chhatrapati Rajaram arrived at Sinhgad with a large army and sent the whole army against Aurangzeb. Senapati Jahavrao[1], Malharrao[2], Namaji [3] Shinde and Parsoji [4] Bhonsle with a large number of men from the hills marched forth towards Brahmapuri [5] and fell heavily upon that place. They captured the Emperor's daughter and the families of many a nobleman of the court. Returning from there, they carried away ten thousand caravans (who were supplying provisions to the Mughals) and came to Wardhangad [6]. They are about 40,000 strong. Hanamantrao [7] and Khandoji [8] Thorat with an army of fifteen to twenty thousand (men ?) have arrived at Chandan [9] Wandan. Madhaorao, [10] Ranoji [11] Ghorpade and Sundar [12] Pant have also come from this side. The Mughals, being in the full know of the thing, have assembled together; but they have lost their heart. The fortress of Satara is fighting courageously and not one amongst us is afraid of the enemy. By God, Aurangzeb shall be defeated. Have no doubts about it.....

P. S.—Sangram [13] Khan, the son of Nahar Khan has been captured and three elephants taken. Similarly, three elephants and seven to eight hundred horses of Bund [14] Khan have been seized. And now the entire army is marching against the Emperor. We have no dread of the enemy. You go on collecting your men, cutting off the enemy's supplies, and keeping us well informed of all the happenings ".

Although the date of the main event described in this letter is not given, it is possible to fix it at least approximately. *Gadadhar Prahlad Shakawali* for the *Shaka* year 1621 says that in *Pousha masa* Dhanaji Jadhav raided the Emperor's camp at Brahmapuri [15]. The *Pousha* month

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1. Dhanaji Jadhav.

2. Malharrao was an important Maratha general of those times. See Rajawade Vols. 8. 61 and 16. 35. He does not appear to be the same person as Dado Malhar who is referred to by Sarkar. Op. cit P. 132.

3. An important Maratha general now serving with Rajaram. See Sardesai: Rajaram P. 40.

4. He was appointed Senasahib Subha by Rajaram and posted on the side of Berar. Seee. Idem P. 44.

5. On the southern bank of the river Bhima, some 20 m. from Pandharpur. Aurangzeb made Brahmapuri his head quarters for over four years from May 21, 1695 to Oct. 19, 1699. See Sarkar Op. cit. P. 6.

6. A fortress 7 m. from Koregaon in Satara District.

7. Was he Hanamantrao Nimbalkar or Hanamantrao Ghorpade ?

8. Who was he ?

9. Twin-fortresses about 10 m. from Satara.

10. Who was he ?

11. Son of the famous Santaji Ghorpade.

12. He may be the Diwan of Raja Karna. See Rajwade Vol. 15. 14.

13 and 14. I have not been able to find out the details of the part played by these Mughal Sardars.

15. Shivacharitrapradip, P. 67.

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in this *Shaka* year commenced on Dec. 12, 1699. The letter, again, was written on Dec. 22 and the siege of Satara to which it refers did not begin till the 9th of that month.[1] It is obvious that when the Maratha generals saw Auranzeb personally conducting the siege operations, they took the opportunity of pouncing upon his remaining camp at Brahmapuri and distracting his attention. This most successful feat must have, therefore, occurred about Dec. 15, 1699.

This episode should not be passed over as a mere raid. It is true that it was not a decisive event in the Maratha-Mughal war. But it should not be forgotten that, to the Marathas it was a life and death struggle with the all-powerful Emperor. If the Maratha army could precipitously descend upon the Emperor's camp and take prisoner even his daughter, what moral effect the achievement must have had ? Could it fail to inspire the Marathas with hopes of ultimate victory ? How else could Parasharam Trimbak prophesy that " Aurangzeb shall be defeated " ? Politically the event may be described as a raid, but morally it was a great victory for the Maratha arms. It is from the latter point of view that the importance of Parashram Trimbak's letter is to be judged.

Any way, who was this daughter of the Emperor that was taken prisoner by the Marathas ? What happened to her ?

MORE LIGHT ON THE LAST DAYS OF THE SANGAMA DYNASTY OF VIJAYANAGARA.

BY

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With the death of Devaraya II in 1446 Vijayanagara History takes a turning point under the Sangamas. The meridian of glory had been reached and now came the set back. Provincial misgovernment, palace intrigue and maladministration became a chronic political disease. In the apocryphal work *Vidyarayasaka*, a part of *Vidyaranyakalajnna*, it is said "There will be great commotion in the kingdom. Then three kings will rule with difficulty. The last of this dynasty will be persecuted by enemies and will run away crossing a river and disappear in distant country."[2] It is the purpose of this paper to throw some additional light on the events following the death of Devaraya II.

Immediately after the death of Devaraya II, he was succeeded by his son, Mallikarjuna, though Sewell places this event three years later.[3] It may now be definitely said that there was no gap between

1. Sarkar Op. cit. P. 162.

2. Vidyaranyakalajnana, pp. 32-33 ; Mysore Archæological Report ; 1932, p. 114.

3. Sewell, A Forgotten Empire, p. 80 and 96.

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the death of Devaraya II and the accession of his son Mallikarjuna.[1] No other king in Vijayanagara history has been given such a variety of names as this new king, and it is for this reason that there has been not a little confusion in the writings of historians. Mallikarjuna was variously known as Immadi Devaraya, Immadi-Praudha-Devaraya and Vira-Pratap-Praudha-Devaraya.[2] Other inscriptions refer to him as Immadi Praudha-Bhupati[3] or Bhupala[4] and there are also many other names given to him, the enumeration of which is not essential for the purpose of this paper. Mallikarjuna's reign seems to have come to a close on the 3rd November, 1465, the date of the latest inscription so far discovered. This record does not refer to his death ; in fact it says that he was "pleased to rule the earth".[5] From this date starts a dark period in the history of Vijayanagara. What happened to Mallikarjuna? Did he die or abdicate ?

The Srisailam Plates of Virupakasa, the son of Pratapa Raya who was a brother of Devaraya II, dated on the 5th *Tithi* of the dark fortnight of the month Kartika in the year *Parthiaa* corresponding to the S'aka year 1388, *i. e.*, 8th November, 1465[6] state, that. Virupaksa "made on the occasion of his coronation" a gift of a village after having "seated upon the throne of his ancestors."[7] It is obvious from this that Mallikarjuna was succeeded by his cousin Virupaksa as the Emperor of Vijayanagara. This is corroborated by other inscriptions many of which give Virupaksa the usual imperial titles borne by the Vijayanagara Kings.[8] Within five days this new king seems to have gained an empire. There is no evidence to prove that Mallikarjuna was dead in 1465 and everything points out the fact that he was probably alive. If so, how is it that his cousin Virupaksa was on the throne a few days later ? Was there a successful war for the throne waged by Virupaksa resulting in either a voluntary or compulsory abdication by Mallikarjuna ?

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1. Epig. Carn., VIII, Nr., 65 ; III, Sg., II, ; Mys. Arch. Report., 1925, p. 100; Gangadasapratapavilasam, Sources of Vijayanagar History, p 65, ——all these prove the above statement. It is not necessary to suppose that just because a Devaraya is mentioned in 1449, there was a Devaraya III ruling between Devaraya II and Mallikarjuna, as is presumed by Sewell, op. cit., p. 80.

2. Gadre, Onduru Copper-Plate Grant of Emperor Mallikarjuna, Annals of the Bhan. Orient. Res. Inst., XVI, p. 12ff. Other inscriptions giving these names are Ep. Carn., VIII, Tl., 206 ; Mys. Arch. Rep. 1923, pp. 78 and 81 ; 144 of 1901; 24 of 1904 ; 97 of 1887 ; 67 of 1907, 346 of 1912 etc.

3. Ep. Ind., XVI, p. 352.

4. Catalogue of Copper-Plate Grants in the Government Museum, Madras, p. 46.

5. Ind. Ante., XXI, p. 322. For date, see Kielhorn, A list of Ins. of Southern Ind., Ep., Ind., VII, No. 499.

6. Indian Ephemeris, V, p. 134.

7. Ep. Ind., XV, p. 24.

8. Ep. Carn., V, Bl, 135 ; 130 of 1901 ; South Ind. Ins., VII, No. 320.

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Having ascended the throne in 1465, Virupaksa seems to have continued "to rule the kingdom in happiness"[1], at least for some time. Inscriptions belonging to the early years between 1465 and 1468 give him all imperial titles, e.g., maharajadhiraja, rajaparamesvara etc.[2] In 1465 the Srisailam Plates refer to him as "having *obtained the kingdom by the power* and having conquered his enemies with his sword."[3] The Somalapuram Grant of 1467 states that Virupakas "acquiring the kingdom through his own prowess attended with all kinds of prosperity, and conquering all his enemies with the point of his sword, he, as the playgound of heroism, rejoices"[4]. The Sajjalqr Plates of 1474 refer to the acquisition of the kingdom "*by his own prowess*" on the part of Virupaksa[5]. An usurpation of the throne could not have been suggested in more unmistakable and clear terms. And Virupaksa is stated to be "seated upon the *simhasana* of his ancestors"[6] As if to give a legal as well as a moral colour to his otherwise unlawful claims we find no reference to Mallikarjuna in the Srisailam plates at all. After mentioning Devaraya II's brother Pratap-Raya who is the father of Virupaksa III, the record refers to Virupaksa ; and Mallikarjuna is deliberately left out. This is significant. Attention was drawn to this fact by Dr. S. K. Aiyangar[7] but while the learned author was correct in so far as drawing attention to this usurpation, he was mistaken when he assigned[8] the incidents mentioned in the work Prapannamritam of Anantarya as having happened in the reign of Virupaksa III when they actually must be assigned to Virupaksa II who for a short period was the emperor after the demise of Harihara II in 1404. It is undoubted then, that in 1465, Virupaksa succeeded in usurping the throne and diverting the regular and lawful course of succession. Dr. S. K. Aiyangar,[9] Mr. Krishna Sastri[10] and Mr. Gopinatha[11] Rao rightly regard Virupaksa as a usurper and place the date of this event in 1465.

How exactly the usurpation took place, it is not possible to state. Fernao Nuniz writing his chronicle in Circa 1535[12] wants us to believe that Mallikarjuna was murdered by a nephew but, as will be seen later, it is doubtful whether Nuniz should be relied on. Perhaps there was a local skirmish ending in the victory of Virupaksa but Mallikarjuna did not die in 1465 as some records refer to him after 1465.

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1. South Ind. Ins., VII, 320.
2. South Ind. Ins. VII, No. 320; Ep. Carn., V. Bl., 135; Ep. Ind., XVII, p. 203 ; South Ind. Ins., VII, No. 373 Ep. Carn,, VIII, Tl.. 143.
3. Ep. Ind., XV, p. 24. Italics are mine.
4. Ibid., XVII, p. 203. Italics are mine.
5. Ep. Carn., III. ml., 121. Italics are mine.
6. Ep. Ind., XV, p. 24.
7. Aiyangar, Sources of Vijayanagar History, p. 68.
8. Ibid., p. 6, Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume, p. 262.
9. Ibid., Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume, p. 258 ; A Little Known Chapter of Vijayanagar History, p. 13 ff.
10. Madras Ep. Rep., 1913-14, p. 96.
11. Gopinath Rao, Srisailam Plates, Ep. Ind., XV, p. 17.
12. Sewell, op. cit., pp. 302-303-304.

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Sewell[1] as well as Gopinatha Rao[2] believe that Mallikarjuna died in that year. However, several inscriptions, mostly found in the South-Eastern parts of the Empire, dated between 1466 and 1485 conclusively prove that though Mallikarjuna was forced to abdicate the throne, he must have retired to the Southern regions where he was recognized as a ruler though with reduced territories and glory. A record found in the South Arcot District refers to him in 1466[3]; and the next year another from Bowringpet refers to a grant made by a subordinate of Mallikarjuna "for his welfare[4]. There is another inscription of the year 1470 coming from the Tanjore District[5]; and six years later a record from the Salem District explicitly refers to him as the son of Pratapa Devaraya "who received tribute from all countries and from Ceylon and witnessed the elephant hunt",[6]. In 1478 he is given the title of Mahamandalesvara by an inscription from the Madura District[7]. In 1483[8] and again in 1485[9] he has also been alluded to in records from North Arcot and South Arcot District, respectively Since these inscriptions dated after 1465 have been found in the southern parts of the Empire we hazard a conclusion that Mallikarjuna must have been recognized in the South while Virupaksa, his rival, was the Emperor ruling from Vijayanagara.

Virupaksa was not to enjoy for long his ill-gotten gain peacefully. When he was "ruling the empire in peace and wisdsm" from Vijayanagara, in 1468[10], a son of Mallikarjuna, by name Rajasekhara claimed the throne. Had there been no usurpation by Virupaksa, Rajasekhara would have ascended the throne in the natural course of events as he was the son and heir of Mallikarjuna. Virupaksa in total disregard of the legal claims of Rajasekhara had occupied Vijayanagara and a young prince like Rajasekhara would not have approved of this action. Mallikarjuna himself was not interested in attempting to regain his throne or perhaps he left it to his son and heir to do this. Hence his son must have made an attempt to regain his ancestral throne. This can be inferred from an inscription from South Canara which not only gives Rajasekhara all the usual imperial titles but states that he was "ruling the kingdom from Vijayanagari."[11] Rajasekhara or his supporters must have made a bold attempt to regain the throne, succeeded in ousting Virupaksa from the

1. Sewelt, Historical Inscriptions, p. 225.
2. Gopinatha Rao, loc. cit
3. 84 of 1919.
4. Mys. Arch. Rep., 1916-17, p. 48.
5. 487 of 1912.
6. Rangacharya, Madras Inscriptions, II, Salem, No. 90; 195 of 1910.
7. 610 or 1823; South Ind. Ins., V, No. 286.
8. Rangacharya, op. cit., I., North Arcot, No. 630-A; 611 of 1904.
9. 422 of 1925.
10. Ep. Carn., VIII Tl, 143.
11. 610 of 1893; 168-E of 1901; South Ind. Ins., VII, No. 371 The date of inscription is Saka 1390, Sarvadhari, Magha, Su., I, Monday, equivalent to Saturday, 14th January, 1469. Indian Ephemeris, V, p. 140.

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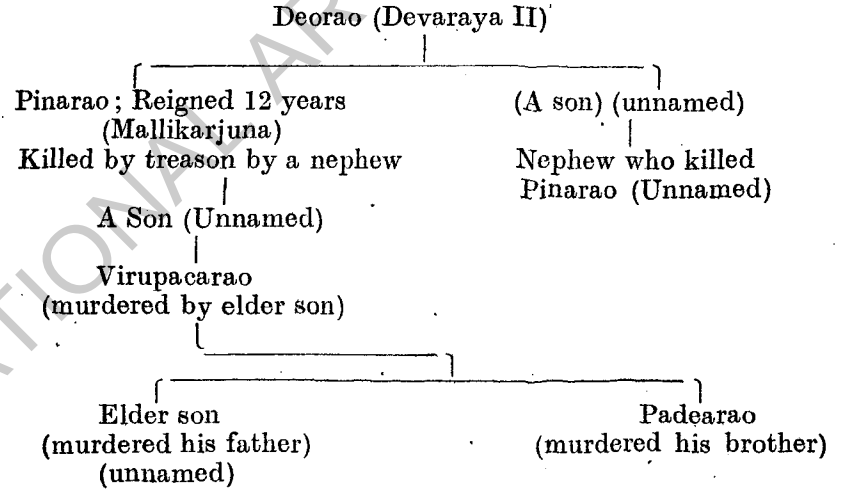
city and ruling, at least for a short while, from there. Two months later a record from the North Arcot District gives only the title of 'Mahamandalesvara' to Rajasekhara whose name is coupled with that of Saluva Narasimha[1]. It seems that one of the most powerful generals in the kingdom, Saluva Narasimha, was espousing the lost cause. Very soon Rajasekhara must have been defeated for in the same year, 1469, Virupaksa is given all the imperial titles again[2] and is said to be "seated on the throne of Vijayanagari" protecting "all the Varnsarama dharmas"[3] Later records belonging to Rajasekhara are all found in the Southern Districts of the empire[4] where perhaps he joined his father never again to claim the throne.

It is doubtful whether Virupaksa who dethroned Mallikarjuna or Rajasekhara who was ousted by Virupaksa ever shed blood in the course of this war of succession. All of them were alive after these dark events, if one can rely on the records. Yet Fernao Nuniz[5] says that after Devaraya II's death, he left a son called Pinarao (*i. e.* Mallikarjunaraya) who reigned for 12 years. Pinarao was murdered by his nephew who in turn was murdered by the populace. A son of Pinarao inherited the kingdom and on his death, his son Virupacarao succeeded him. Virupacarao was a despot and hence unpopular and was murdered by his elder son who, feeling remorseful, gave the throne to his younger brother Padearao. This Padearao instigated by his advisers, killed his elder brother. But he was not a better ruler and that was the reason for another usurpation, the story of which does not concern us here. According to Nuniz the genealogy is as follows :—



1. 4 of 1896 ; South Ind. Ins., V, No. 867.
2. Mys. Arch. Rep., 1922, p. 12.
3. 142-A of 1901 ; South Ind. Ins ; VII, No. 334.
4. 121 of 1921 ; Madras Christian College Magazine, IX, pp. 637-68.
5. Sewell, Op. cit., pp. 302-306.

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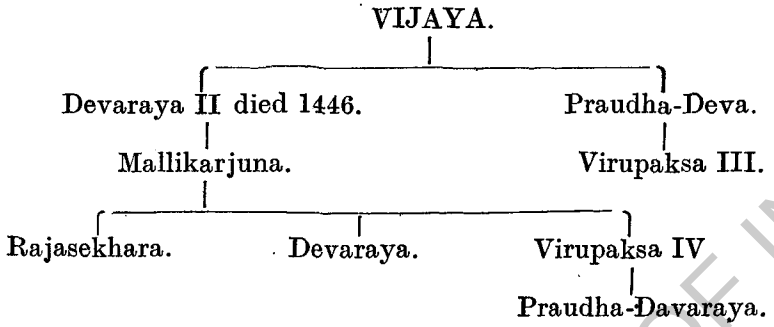
The above genealogy given by Nuniz conflicts with the one supplied by the inscriptions, according to which it is this :



Nuniz is of the opinion that Mallikarjuna (Pinarao) reigned for 12 years which is not true for the inscriptions state that he ruled from 1446 to 1465 after which he was still alive though not as an Emperor. The nephew who attempted Mallikarjuna's life must be Virupaksa III who is a cousin and not a nephew, but no inscription seems to refer to this event. He succeeded only in ascending the throne. Nuniz states that this nephew (Virupaksa) was slain by the people[1], clearly a wrong statement as Virupaksa was alive for a longer time than is presumed by Nuniz[2]. He also states that Mallikarjuna (Pinarao) had a grandson Virupacarao who was murdered by his elder son. From the genealogy Mallikarjuna had a son of that name and the Padearao or Praudha Devaraya referred to by Nuniz is a grandson and not a great grandson of Mallikarjuna. Nuniz's account consists of so many murders one following the other in such rapid succession that it is hard to rely on those facts. His account has to be rejected when epigraphical evidence is so obviously strong.

In conclusion, it can be stated that after Devaraya II's death he was succeeded by Mallikarjuna who ruled till 1465 when he was forced to give up the throne to his cousin Virupaksa. Some time after the latter was deprived of his throne for a short time by Rajasekhara the son of Mallikarjuna. But Rajasekhara was not destined to rule for long as Virupaksa again was triumphant. Virupaksa then continued to rule while Mallikarjuna and his son Rajasekhara lived like Mandalesvara in the southern extremeties of the empire. Such seems to be the outline of the history of the Vijayanagara empire during the last few years of the Sangama dynasty when as a result of this confused politics a final usurpation of power was to be made by one of the powerful noblemen of the Empire resulting in changing the course of politics in the history of the Empire.

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1. Ibid., pp. 302-04.
2. His latest inscription278 of 1931-32.

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SHAYISTA KHAN AND THE ENGLISH MERCHANTS IN BENGAL.

I

1664-1677 A.D.

By Mr. Abdul Majid Khan, University of Calcutta.

In 1633 the English having promised to help the native merchant ships on the high seas , were permitted by the Mughal governor of Orissa to trade freely and also to ' take grounds and to build houses where they shall see convenient '. A factory was founded at Balasore in the same year which opened up trade with Bengal. Within a few years they are said to have obtained a Farman from Shah Jahan allowing them to trade in Bengal[1] but their ships were restricted from plying in the inland waters beyond Pipli on the mouth of the Ganges. Along with Balasore this became their clearing port from which they sent ' buyers up the country '. In 1651 an inland factory was founded at Hughly for the convenience of the trading activities, it having been the most important trading centre in Bengal since the days of the Portuguese and also far the convenience of despatching goods overland to Balasore, lower Bengal being then infested with Portuguese and Arakanese pirates. Their liability to pay a customs rate of 4 per cent. on all goods cleared at port towns ended when a Nishan from Prince Shuja, the Viceroy of Bengal obtained in 1652 [2], in consideration for a sum of Rs. 3,000, exempted them from all dues.

The sum was paid from the Company's accounts and the Nishan was granted to free 'all Company's goods ' from the customs and anchorage charges. But the privilege was so much abused by the Company's servants that the Madras Council was forced to 'complain that the sums which the Bengal factors paid to be exempted from dues and customs will counterbalance the profits of the trade and will be rather a benefit to their own private trade rather than to the Company's investments '. ' The King's Munsebdars' who were the governors at Hughly and who ' were put in by and answerable to the Nabobs of Bengale' were helpless against such flagrant abuses of privileges. ' Complaints made against the King's officer took place particularly in favour of Strangers '. So unprofitable did the Company's business in Bengal become that the Madras Council in 1657 contemplated of withdrawing from the province altogether. But about the same time the Bengal factors represented that " Bengal is a rich province. Raw silk is abundant. The taffaties

1. Ascoli in the Fifth report says that it was granted in 1634. Moreland gives the date 1638. President Methwold remarked on 28-4-1636 that the Farman could not 'inforce' them on Pipli. Wilson is sceptic about it. Streynsham Master designated it as a 'Pretended Phyrmaund' in 1676. The Farman, if at all granted, could not be traced later.

2. The copy preserved in Streynsham Master's diary has the date 1656. See for discussions Wilson, Early Annals I pp. 27-28, fn.

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are various and fine. The Saltpetre is cheap and of the best quality.... Our operations are growing so extensive that we shall be obliged to build new and large warehouses'

In the same year many changes were brought about in the Company's affairs at home. The rival Company was amalgamated with the original one and the Charter was renewed by Cromwell. These changes were followed by a re-arrangement of factories abroad. 'A commission was appointed in Bengal to inquire into the misdemeanours and corrupt practices which had been going on there; and to prevent further irregularities'. 'Inferior agencies were founded at Balasore, Cossimbazar, and Patna' in subordination to Hughly. Private trade was officially prohibited, but this was hardly observed.[1] By the time, however, the Company had made rearrangements of its own affairs both at home and in Bengal, things changed in Hindusthan. Shah Jahan fell ill in September, 1657 and he was deposed and succeeded by his son Aurangzeb. Prince Shuja made a vain attempt to seize the throne for himself from his brother and died a fugitive's death in Arakan.

These political changes had a far-reachiug effect on the Company's trade in Bengal. The Nishan remained legally inoperative till confirmation by the new King and Viceroy. In 1658 the governor of Hughly, in fact, declared the Nishan null and void and insisted on an annual payment of Rs. 3,000 in lieu of customs. In the following year the deputy governor of Balasore began to charge anchorage for English ships. Mir Jumla, the next Viceroy stopped the English petre boats at Rajmahal, unlicensed as they were in their trade. The example set by the governor of Hughly and repeated by the Viceroy must have encouraged others to exact local and market dues which they could customarily demand. The situation became desperate for the English who 'on every side found themselves oppressed and trade vexatiously hampered'. Accustomed as they were to favoured treatment by Shuja's government they could not tolerate these. The Hughly Agent retaliated by seizing a native vessel. This high-handedness of the traders, however, infuriated the Viceroy who threatened to 'destroy the out-agencies, seize the factory at Hughly and expel the English totally from the country unless the boat was immediately released. The Madras Council became alarmed and forthwith ordered the Hughly Agent to release the boat and seek the Viceroy's pardon. The agent submitted and was pardoned by the Viceroy. He further granted them a Parwana temporarily legalising the English trade in terms of Shuja's Nishan but made them agree to pay an annual sum of Rs. 3,000 at Hughly as King's customs. Mir Jumla, however, could not find time to make some permanent arrangement with regard to the English as he soon became involved with other important state and military matters and died in March, 1663. Mir Jamla's concessions, however, failed to satisfy them and they were still hankering after the same privileges which they enjoyed under Shuja and wished for an Imperial Farman to that effect. They advised their President of the Surat Council to try for a Farman for Bengal granting

1. Wilson, Early Annals, I, 33.

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'privileges.....formerly enjoyed under the quondum Prince of Bengal, Sha Shuja'. The Farman, they made it clear, was to be like that of the Dutch Company, but it was to contain exemption from all dues to which the latter were therein made liable. Evidently the arrangements made by the Viceroy were temporary on the undertstanding that the English would obtain the Farman in due course. In the same despatch to Surat the Bengal factors further wrote: 'Although this year, with much expence and fair promises that within a small time wee should produce the King's phirmaund, wee have carried on our Master's businesse, yet the next wee cannot hope to escape an absolute obstruction in our affaires without it, or else an immensurable and vast expence. Wee have obtained from the present Nabob (Doud Caune) a liberty to defer the present of 3,000 rupees annually given in this place and brought to King's accompt and hope to prolong the time'.[1] They probably hoped to obtain such a Farman within three months and the Nawab was persuaded to postpone the enforcement of the temporary agreement for a further period by the King's Dewan. In January, 1644, the Farman in the meantime not having been produced and the grace of three months allowed by the Nawab having expired, the governor of Hughly realised the government dues by seizing the Factory-in-charge of Hughly.

In 1664 Shayista Khan arrived at Rajmahal as Viceroy of Bengal. The English became busy about winning his favours. William Blake, the Hughly Agent went to meet the Nawab. The result of this mission is given in a letter from Hughly to Surat written in June of the same year: 'after one month giving his attendance at court continually, and with no little charge, soliciting the Nabob, obtained his perwana wherein he grants us the privileges we enjoyed under the Prince's (Shah Shuja's) and his predecessor's times. Charnock added his own remarks to the letter when it passed through Patna; 'Mr. William Blake visited the Nabob at Rajamall and procured his dustuck long since, but it is of no value in this place only in Bengall'.[2] The Parwana, therefore, only granted the privileges in Bengal. Even if this Parwana, which in any case could not be traced later, really granted exemptions, it did not abolish their liability to pay the annual sum of Rs. 3,000 at Hughly, which they themselves admit to have paid either in cash or kind. The exemption from the King's dues granted in his capacity as King's Viceroy could not be applied to what was his own personal revenue as a Jagirdar. Hughly and later Balasore also being his assignments the customs revenue in these ports could not be treated on the same footing as the King's revenue from other unassigned sources.

In 1667 the Surat factors while applying for a reduction of customs rate at Surat prayed for a Farman granting the right of free trade in Bengal. In the Farman, they received, however, while the Surat duties were reduced from 3 to 2 per cent. no special mention was made about Bengal, the obvious intention being that the new rate of tax was to be applicable throughout the empire.

1. Foster, Factory Records, 1663, 293.
2. Foster, Factory Records, 1664, 394-96.

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There was thus as yet no solution of the problem facing the Bengal factors, namely the want of a legal right to trade with or without payment of dues. This perhaps could still be solved by their voluntary acceptance of the Surat rates which would then place their business on the same footing as that of their colleagues on the west. But this they were not willing to do not so much for the Company's interest as for their own private trade for which the liability for the 2 per cent. tax could not possibly be shown on the Company's account and would, therefore, be a definite loss to themselves. When the Surat Council sent an attested copy of this Farman, Blake and his associates replied: 'the coppie attested to the King's phirmaund....having persued, and though (wee) find it much in favour of our buisynesse in your parts,..yett therein being mentioned the paying of two per cent., wee dare not produce it, either to the Nabob's view or Governor (of Hughly), unlesse Shausteh Ckaun should proceed in demanding and exacting custome, when it may be much advantageous'[1].

There was an accident at the Dutch factory at Hughly in 1672 as a result of which there was a temporary stoppage of all foreign trading activities in the province. The Chief Baniya of the Dutch died while heavily in debt to his employers. The Dutch officials at Hughly caused his widow to be beaten in order to extort the sum due to their masters. Two days later the widow died. The matter went to Dacca and the Dutch after suffering many indignities, were eventually fined Rs. 2,00,000. The English having in this process also suffered for no fault of their own appealed to the Nawab and obtained a Parwana which purported to be a confirmation of the rights enjoyed under Shuja and Mir Jumla. Inclusion of Mir Jumla's name, however, suggests that the annual payment of Rs. 3,000 in lieu of customs, which was a sort of private arrangement between the English and the Nawab was not discontinued. That this was so is proved by an entry in Streynsham Master's Diary of 1676[2] noting the governor's demand for the annual payment of Rs. 3,000 which the English argued was payable in December. In Autumn of the year 1676, Streynsham Master came to visit Bengal and wrote to the Company about the status of the English trade in Bengal. Temple gives a very brilliant summary of his letter in his introduction to the Diary of Streyusham Master: 'so far, their servants had traded in the provinces "custom fee" but he (Master) had ascertained that all that they could produce in support of their claim to do so was a Nishan or signed document by Sultan Shuja'a, second son of Shah Jahan, dated 1656, purporting to be grounded on a "Pretended Phyrmaund" (farman), royal grant or letters patent from the Mogul ruler, confirming their privileges. Master had good reasons to be alarmed at the validity of the Company's claims. All their trading grants had been lost by Weldgrave, their agent in Bengal, about the year 1654, and from evidences still extant there are grounds for believing that the Nishan of 1656 could not be relied on as being anything more than an inaccurate replica of the lost original.

1. Ibid, 1668, 166.
2. Streynsham Master's Diary edited by Temple, II, 65.

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Master next states that the only other documents on which the English could base their privileges were parwanas or official letters from governors of Bengal subsequent to Shah Shuja'a. Unfortunately for the English the fact that they had either never possessed or could not produce, their farman was well known, and Master points out to the Court that this had " of late years occasioned great lets and disturbances to your business, to your charge and damage " '. About the status of the Dutch in Bengal Master ' found that they had a Farman allowing them to trade on payment of 4 per cent." on all traffic ". And besides this customs rate the presents exacted by the local governors from the Dutch was " ten times as much as ours ". Master, further states that Shayista Khan had applied to the Emperor ' for orders how to deal with " the English who had traded so long ".

It was probably on this application of the Nawab that the order came in November, 1676 permitting him to realise 2 per cent. as customs on all English imports and exports. This was in effect legalisation of their trade, but they not only failed to take advantage of it but tried to evade payment by all means, although the Chief of the Dacca factory considered it to be better '. The English bribed the Nawab's Cullumbardar and Vakil of the governor of Hughly at Dacca with only Rs. 200 and managed to have the despatch of the copies of the royal order to Hughly and Balasore delayed sufficiently to enable them to load their ships and sail away and thus evade at least that year's customs duty. In order to obtain permanent non-enforcement of this order in future the Madras agent instructed the Bengal factors to bribe the Nawab's officers. The Madras Council with Streynsham Master at the head ' having with sorrow considered the ill consequences thereof (2 per cent. tax at Hughly and Balasore) ordered their servant Harvey to proceed to Dacca ' that he uses all meanes to smooth up Ray Nund dellol, the Nabob's duan, by acquainting him that the Persian horses are on their way ' should, however, the King or the Nawab 'insist any such demand '.

At the time Shayista Khan left Bengal in 1677 the English were thus undoubtedly in enjoyment of unusual privileges. A resume of the Nawab's relation with the English shows that he treated them with kindness and favour. During Shuja's time the English had just come and their business was not very profitable as the contemplation of their withdrawing from the province in 1657 suggests. But after him the English trade had increased considerably in volume resulting in the foundation of subordinate factories. The arrangement of annual payment of Rs. 3,000 made by Mir Jumla as temporary measure was equitable both for the English as well as for the State. During Shayista Khan's government the English Company's trade made a steady progress. In 1668 the stock of the Company's trade in Bengal valued at Rs. 262,000 or £ 34,000 In 1671 a separate sum of Rs. 40,000 was alloted to silk for Japan. Four years later the total stock rose to Rs. 680,000 including Rs. 160,000 to be raised locally at interest. In the year Shayista Khan left Bengal their stock rose to Rs. 800,000. For such a flourishing trade the Nawab being the Jagirdar of the port towns of Hughly and Balasore, was entitled personally to a considerable revenue as customs duty had

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he realised from them either at the rate of 4 per cent as from the Dutch or 3 to 2 per cent as from the English at Surat but he forewent all that for an insignificant sum of Rs. 3,000 per year. This sum not only exempted the Company's trade but the private trade of the factors as well which also was no less flourishing. The example of William Blake, the Hughly Agent in 1664, may be cited who ' in four years here extracted 130,000 out of nothing '. The Nawab granted them Farwana as temporary measure on the understanding that they would procure the Farman in due course. Entries in the Factory records of 1668 show that the government officials were pressing them to obtain a Farman, but the English hardly showed any serious concern for it. They wanted a Farman which would exempt them totally from amy dues either royal or the Nawab's personal, an impossible demand as both the foreign and local traders were subject to such dues. Finding the English evading the question of procuring the royal Farman the Nawab himself at last wrote to the Emperor for directions.

The English were determined not to pay anything for their trade and they characterised the Nawab as ' covetious ' and the annual payment as ' forced payment '. The Nawab, of course, in the beginning wanted to monopolise the saltpetre trade which was a cause of early bitterness, but he had before the close of the year 1664 dropped the idea. Later he encouraged his officers at Hughly to invest annually a sum of two to four thousand rupees among the traders of the town, but that did not affect the English trade which were, on the admission of Clavell in 1676, allowed all their privileges. The English were much more favourably treated by the government than the Dutch even though being both requested by the Nawab to help him in his wars against the pirates and Arakanese, the former evaded the question and the latter gave active help with men, munitions and ships. Moreover, Pratt, who was seen by Tavernier in the early part of 1666 acting as the English representative at Dacca and whom the Nawab appointed as his superintendent of shipbuilding and munition factory returned treachery for favoured treatment. He was given a sum of Rs. 10,000 to be carried to the Emperor, but he took the money and with several Portugues fled by boat and got to a frontier fort of the King of Arrackan. In his way he engaged some of the Nabob's vessels and did some mischiefs, carrying away two of them, and since (by report) hath entered with a power this King's contrey and retaken a place which the Moores had formerly taken '. And when the Nawab demanded his recall from the English, they disclaimed responsibility with regard to him and wrote ' he was not the Company's servant ' though the records and Tavernier's accounts testify to the contrary. Presents formed a separate source of income and all public officials of all ranks were entitled to it. And on this account also, on their own admission, the English paid a tenth of what was paid by the Dutch. And yet with such advantages the annual payment of Rs. 3,000 was an eye sore to the traders and as early as 1664 the Madras Council on the report of Blake wrote to the Company: " unless they be a little bitten us, that they may understand, if they impeede us by land, it lyeth in our power

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to requite by sea", a statement not suitable for mrerchants pretending to be 'peaceful traders'.

Contemporary records contain numerous instances of the low level of morality of the English factors. All of them were unanimous against the Nawab in their condemnation. We have already seen how anyone from the Madras Agent to the petty factor in Bengal conspired to defraud the Nawab and the State of their legitimate dues. Instances are not lacking of their highhandedness ,one of which resulted in the death of Raghu Poddar in 1763. The poddar was a servant of the Company and he was beaten and kept confined at the Cossimbazar factory for his debts to the Company by a native servant of the English, if not at the express order of the chief certainly with his connivance. The case having gone to the notice of the local governor was eventually compounded for Rs. 13,000 which was paid from the Company's account. While explaining the loss of such a big sum the factors wrote to the Company by charging the government with their crime and concluded with a bitter remark on the administration ; 'wee live in a Countrey ware wee see every day such and worse practices on the Natives, the King's subjects and now of late is become a fashion to abuse Strangers in this nature'.

Writing in his Diary dated the 29th December, 1676 Streynsham Master recorded : 'Bengala is at Present in very bad condition by means of great exations on the People. The Nabob being ancient and extremely covetious and his officers long experienced in the business of the Countreys, there are no ways of extortion omitted whereby to gratifie their masters humour ; and Hughly being his Jaggear for his own pay and that and Ballasore being under one mans government make merchants business very troublesome'. He was merely voicing the accusations which Clavell and his Bengal colleagues heaped upon the Nawab's administration.

The Nawab learnt too late of the fraud, treachery and ugly selfishness of the English, a lesson learnt at a great personal cost which affected his relation with them when he came again as Viceroy of Bengal for the second time in 1679-80. Little fault can be found with the Nawab if he called the then factors 'a company of base quarrelling people and foul dealers'.

A HISTORIC DOCUMENT

BY

MR. BRAZ A. FERNANDES

Nuno da Cunha had succeeded as Governor of the Portuguese territories in India in 1529. His first object seems to have been to take possession of Diu on the Kathiawar Coast. Having been told

1. Bassein was apparently considered by the Sultan of Gujarat as important place. It had a garrison of 3,000 infantry and 500 cavalry in 1529, but afterwards in 1533, when the Musalmans were to some extent prepared for the Portuguese, there were no less than 12,000 troops there—Nairne's *Konkan*, in *Bombay Gazetter*, Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 36.

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that Bahadur Shah of Gujarat had fortified Bassein,[1] a course which was calculated to upset his designs, he advanced with a fleet of 150 sail manned by 4,000 men, against the fort. Seeing the strength of the Portuguese, Malik Tughan who was in command of the Bassein garrison, made overtures for peace, but Nuno da Cunha's terms were so hard that he was forced to refuse them. The Portuguese then landed, scaled the ramparts, rushed on the enemy and put them to flight. This happened in 1533. Nuno da Cunha, however, did not hold the place, he raized the fort to the ground, and retired to Goa with 400 captured pieces of artillery, to pursue his designe against Diu.

About this time Bhadur Shah had marched in the Deccan, and on his way to besiege Ahmednagar, had entered into romantic alliance with the Raja Baharji of Baglan by marrying his sister.[1] He had taken Ahmednagar, and peace was made with Birar and Bidar. He had returned to his capital happy and proud of his success, but these military achievements brought the animosity of Humayun who now threatened to invade Gujarat. On the other hand the Portuguese were threatening to capture Diu. Bahadur Shah found himself between the devil and the deep sea, but choosing the lesser of the two evils, and hoping to obtain military aid from the Portuguese, he entered into alliance with them and ceded Bassein with its dependencies by sea and land, to Nuno da Cunha in 1533. Martim Affonso da Souza[2] arrived in time with a fleet to take possession; he met the Gujarat Ambassador Khwaja Shaikh Iwaz on 23rd December 1534, the treaty was drawn and signed on board the galleon *Sam Matheos* which was lying in the port with Nuno da Cunha on board. Besides the signatures of the two high contracting parties—Martim Affonso de Souza and Khwaja Shaikh Iwaz—it bore the names of Fernao Rodrigues de Castello Braco[3], Khwaja Perkuli[4], Marcus Fernandes[5], and others, as witnesses to this historic document. By this treaty Bahadur Shah gave and bequethed to the King of Portugal from that day forth for ever the city of Bassein, its territories, islands and seas, with its revenue in the same way as he, the Sultan Bahadur Shah of Gujarat held them before, provided all vessels from the kingdom of Gujarat bound for the Red Sea should first call at Bassein for passes and on return voyage call there again in order to pay duties under penalty and risk of seizure.

The Gujarat Ambassador in the name of Bahadur Shah surrendered the country, after sounding a trumpet amidst the people, to whom

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1. M. S. Commissariat, A *History of Gujarat*, (Bombay 1938), Vol. I, pp. 321-322.
2. Martim Affonso de Souza was Admiral of the North.
3. Fernao Rodrigues de Castello Branco was *Ouvidor Geral da India* (Chief Justice).
4. Khwaja Perkuli was a Persian Musalman. He was interpretor to Bahadur Shah.
5. Marcus Fernandes was translator of Persian to the Portuguese.

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was shown the chapa (plate) of grant. The assembly took the oath to obey the King of Portugal just as they had obeyed Bahadur Shah, bending their heads to the ground, and each thanadar[1] presented a branch from a sweet-smelling plant to the Feitor, or chief of the Factory, in token of allegiance. We translate the historic document as given by Simao Botelho[2].

THE DOCUMENT.

In the name of God amen. Know all who come to see this instrument of contract, agreement, and assent of peace that in the year of birth of OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST, 1534, on the twentythird day of the month of December, at Cambaia[3], in the port of Bacaim, on the gallean *Sam Matheos*, on board of which was present the most Magnificent Senhor Nuno da Cunha, of the Council of the King our Lord, and there also being present Xacoes[4], Ambassador of the King Bahadur Shah of Cambaia, in the presence of me, Gaspar Pires, acting now as Secretary, and of the witnesses hereinafter named, it was declared by the Governor that it was true that he; by the order of the King of Portugal, and in his name, he waged and ordered to wage war against the said King of Gujarat in all his kingdoms and dominions, since he came to these parts and was led to do so for just cause. And that the said King Bahadur, through the said Xacoes, his Ambassador, has now requested him to grant perpetual peace with the conditions containing in certain notes which are hereinafter declared; and that they having seen how many ills and dangers are resulting from the war, and wishing to see the said King of Gujarat in friendly relations, maintaining full peace and love with the King, his Lord, and with his vassals, in the name of the said lord he was pleased to give him (the King of Gujarat) the said peace and to make it perfect and true in order that henceforth peace and firm concord shall always exist among the said Kings and their vassals without difference and dispute, with the following conditions and declaration :

(1) Firstly, that the said King of Gujarat gives for ever from this date to the King of Portugal, Bacaim with all its territories, islands and seas, with all its jurisdiction, its revenues, royalties and other income, in the same manner as he the King Bahadur of Gujarat held them before, and that from this date the King Bahadur gives up for ever the rights he had over the said territories, islands, and seas; that he delivers to the King of Portugal to whom it is applied (and that all is taken as delivered to the King of Portugal), and that he will soon be pleased to see that the King of Portugal orders his officers to take possession of all that is mentioned above.

(2) And with the condition, that all the ships leaving the kingdom and dominions of the King of Gujarat, which run from the gates of the

1. Thanadar—Magistrate.

2. Tombo do Estado da India. A summarised version of the treaty is given in Diogo do Couto, Decada IV.

3. Cambaia—Cambay. Cambay was generally the name given to Gujarat by the Portuguese. The Sultan of Gujarat was usually called by them King of Cambay.

4. Khwaja Shaikh Iwas.

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Straits[1] to the interior, shall start from Bacaim, and shall come there to take their letters of safety from the Captain of the Fort[2], and on their return voyage they shall return to the same port of Bacaim to pay duties ; and that likewise, all the ships coming from the Straits shall also come to the said port of Bacaim to pay duties; and that by sailing the said ships for Mecca without the letters of safety and by not coming to Bacaim on their return voyage, they shall be forfeited to the said Lord, and they shall be considered as prize of war. The said King of Gujarat shall have no right to claim and contest.

(3) And with the condition, that all other ships of the said kingdom and its dominions sailing for any port of their choice, excepting the said Straits of Mecca, shall navigate with the letters of safety from the Captain of the Fort, and these ships shall not be charged more than one tanga[3] each as a tax, and they may go and come back to any port of their choice with no further obligation than obtaining the letters of safety. This (condition) shall not be applied to cotias[4] and small crafts which may ply along the coast as these (cotias and small crafts) will navigate without the letters of safety.

(4) And with the condition, that in the said kingdom of Gujarat and in all the territories of the said King no warships shall be built, and those that have been built shall not navigate but shall remain laid up. They shall, however, be permitted to build as many ships as they like for the purpose of trade and commerce.

(5) And with the condition, that the King Bahadur shall not shelter nor shall he order to give shelter on all his kingdom and dominions and ports, to Rumes[5], nor shall he give them provisions, favours, assistance and anything else that may be in his territories, nor shall he allow his people to serve them.

(6) And with the condition, that all the money due at the Bacaim Collector's office as revenue of the said lands, and remaining as arrears and which Meliqueiaz[6] would have collected from the beginning of the

1. The Red Sea is meant.
2. The proposed fort of Bassein.
3. A tanga was a Portuguese copper coin of 15 reis, equivalent to $1\frac{1}{4}$ anna. There was also a silver tanga which varied in value from about 8 annas to 12 annas. The silver tanga is probably meant here.
4. Cotias,—Small boats used in river navigation.
5. The Turks of Romania and Egypt pretended to be the descendants of the Roman conquerors, and the Indians gave them and their auxiliaries the name of Rumes. The Turks are here meant in a general sense. Regarding the Rumes, Maffei says. "A Byzantio ferme evocantur, quo translatum and urbe Roma quondam imperium est ; corrupta Graeca voce Rumes, quasi Romae os appellant."—Maffei, Hist. Ind. (588), p. 70.
6. Malik Ayaz, the Governor of the District under Bahadur Shah. According Joao de Barros, Malik Ayaz was a Russian slave who had renounced Christianity for Mohamedanism. He was presented to Sultan Mahmud I, by a Turkish slave dealer. For his bravery and military abilities, he was granted freedom and received the title of Malik. He was a sworn foe of the Portuguese.

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Mohammedan year, the Governor can order its collection for the King of Portugal, his Lord[1].

(7) And with the condition, that the said King of Gujarat shall soon order to deliver to the Governor the four Portuguese who are imprisoned at Champanell[2], namely, Diogo do Mesquita, Lopo Fernandes Pinto, Manuel Mendes and Joao de Lima[3].

The said Xacoes, according to the sufficient powers conferred upon him by King Bahadur, which powers are herewith attached, he binds himself to have, and maintain, to fulfil, and keep the seven conditions mentioned above, fully and absolutely, without mistake and with care, and with full truth and assurance on behalf of the King. And the same Governor, in the name of the King of Portugal, his Lord, and in virtue of the sufficient power he has from His Highness, accepts and receives the said territories with the conditions mentioned above and hereafter described.

And the same Governor declares, that in the name of King of Portugal, his Lord, and in virtue of the powers he holds, he is pleased to make the said peace with the said King of Gujarat under the conditions mentioned above, and also to comply with the following extra conditions, which the said King directs to be embodied, for the better understanding and friendship.

(8) That all the horses coming from the Straits and Arabia shall, three years after the Fort it completed, be brought to the port of Bacaim, in order that the said King and his vassals may purchase them. They shall pay to the King of Portugal the duties in the same manner as they are paid in the city of Goa, and that the horses shall not be taken

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1. As it was the custom of Bahadur Shah to receive the revenue half-yearly from his subjects, the Portuguese got all the revenue due for that half-year beginning, according to native computation, with the 9th June.

2. Champaner.

3. "As one day he (Bahadur Shah) was walking on the seashore a ship came from Div. The people of the vessel said that some Firangi ships had arrived at Diu and the Kiwam-ul-Mulk had imprisoned all the Firangis and taken their property. The Sultan on hearing this went to Diu when Kiwam-ul-Mulk produced the Firangis before him. The Sultan offered them the choice of Islam and all of them adopted the religion of Islam".—Mirat-i-Sikandari, (Faridi's translation), p. 159.

Portuguese historians deny the conversion, and rightly so. The fact is, a galleon Camorim Grande, commanded by Lopo de Mesquita was driven to the shores of Diu by the stress of whether. The Musalmans tried to capture the galleon and in the fight which ensued, Lopo de Mesquita was killed and four of the crew were captured. The rest escaped with the galleon. Bahadur Shah imprisoned the four men at Champaner, but subsequently they took part in Bahadur Shah's compaign against Chitor and gained his goodwill by distinguishing themselves. When they were liberated under the terms of the treaty, Bahadur Shah gave Diogo da Mesquita 1,000 gold *pardaos*, and to each of the other three, 300 gold *pardaos*. There was also a woman with them by name Ignez Pinta, a Malabar Christian, who had accompanied the Portuguese as their cook. She received from the Sultan, 100 gold *pardaos*.

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to Malabar, nor to the Deccan nor to Bijnagar.[1] And the aforesaid horses after having been disposed at Bacaim, they shall then be free to take the remainder wherever they like.

(9) And with the conditions, that any ship coming from the aforesaid kingdom of Gujarat, from the land of Arabia, or from any other part with horses for the King of Portugal, no duty shall be paid, and this shall apply to sixty horses only.

(10) And with the condition, that any ship coming by high seas to the kingdom of Gujarat from any part other than Straits, she shall not be allowed to proceed unless puts in the part of Bacaim.

(11) And with the condition, that the five thousand *larins* which were formerly given and are deposited for defraying the expenses of the Mosques at Bacaim be paid out of the aforesaid income, as always they shall be paid ; and no inovation shall be made in respect of the aforesaid Mosques and of preaching made therein[2].

(12) And with the condition, that the two hundred *pardaos* which are paid as *moxara*[3] to the *lascarins*[4] of both the Forts which exist between the territory of Bacaim and that of Reysbustos[5], be paid out of the revenue of Bacaim, as they have hetherto paid and they are known as Anira ane Coeja[6].

(13) And with the condition, that as soon as the four above mentioned Portuguese arrive in Bacaim, the Governor shall send to the King of Gujarat one Captain with a detachment of men[7]. The Governor in the name of the King of Portugal, and according to the powers he holds, binds himself to fulfil and maintain the above mentioned conditions, fully and absolutely, without cunningness and with care. And Xacoes declares that he also accepts the conditions in the name of the said King, his Lord, and in virtue of the above mentioned powers he holds; he binds himself to have the aforesaid peace for which the aforesaid King will swear as soon as the aforesaid captain arrives there; and

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1. Vijayanagara.

2. From other sources it appears that according to agreement the Portuguese had to set aside 5,000 *larins* to provide oil of the lamps in the Mosques of Bassein. It is not known how many Mosques existed in the country, but there was certainly one near the landing place where the Portugueses had established their Factory. Very likely this Mosque was abandoned as there were no Musalmans in the place after it was occupied by the Portuguese. As the town grew up, the Mosque was removed and the Matriz of St Joseph was buit in its place. The 5,000 *larins* were later on divided between the Jesuits and the Franciscans. As far as our present knowledge goes, there are no Mosques in Bassein District which can be dated to pre-Portuguese times.

3. Moxara,—A word probably derived from the Persian 'mashahora. It is also used in Marathi, and is written मूशारा It means pay, or stipend.

4. Lascarins—Laskars.

5. Reysbustos—Rajputs.

6. Anira is Arnala, north ot Bassein. Goeja is Kolak on the mouth of the river Kolak in Pardi taluka. The Gujarat Sultans had forts at both these places.

7. This was the miliary aid promised to Bahadur Shah.

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that in case he fails to swear on account of any impediment, this contract of peace shall remain firm and valid, with all the clauses, conditions and declarations mentioned or written therein. The Governor has sworn on the HOLY SCRIPTURE by laying his hands on it to the effect that he will keep and fulfil that which is applicable to him and be bound to keep. Xacoes and the Governor declare that they will make the aforesaid peace firm and valid from this date for ever in the name of the aforesaid Kings, their Lords, and they bind themselves, to the effect that the aforesaid Kings will fulfil and keep entire the conditions of this contract, and in the conditions therein declared by both the parties.

In testimony of the truth they shall make this deed, of which two copies were made, in which they have both signed. One copy which remains with me, the Secretary, and the other has been given to Xacoes. The following witnesses are present: Martim Affonso de Souza, Naval Chief Captain, Fernandines de Couto Maior, Tristao Omem, Fernao Rodrigues de Castello Branco, Chief Magistrate, Simao Ferreira and Coje Perculim,[1] a Persian, Marco Fernandes who serves as interpretor and who translated the full contents of this deed, and Xacoes, Coje Mahmmad and others; and I the aforesaid Gaspar Pires wrote this, and I was present at every stage, and with my usual mark I sign this, together with the above mentioned witnesses, on the day, month, and year above mentioned; and the said contract was transcribed from the original which is in my handwriting, and given to the aforesaid Ambassador as he declares that the original copy which was given to him has been lost in the camp.

A SUMMARY OF THE PAPER ON THE BATTLE OF THE GODAVARI 1740.

BY

PROFESSOR S. V. PUNTAMBEKAR, Benares.

This battle took place in 1740 in the early months of 1740 (January and February). The opponents were Bajirao I and Nasir Jang, Deputy Governor of the Mughal Deccan during the absence of the Nizam-ul-Mulk at Delhi from 1737 to 1740. Though its causes and consequences are more or less known, we do not know as yet (1) what was the course of the battle, (2) whether there was a final decisive battle on the Godavari at any particular place, (3) what were the forces engaged on opposite sides, (4) who were the associates on each side, (5) what was the nature of negotiations and the final treaty and lastly, (6) who defeated whom.

Contemporary Maratha letters written from the theatre of war do not support the view that there was any decisive battle between

1. Khawaja Perkuli.

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Bajirao and Nasir Jang themselves, though their forces were fighting each other under their generals in other theatres of war in the south of the Godawari where Marathas defeated the Mughals. I have here analysed and examined these authorities and stated the conclusion of Bajirao's final success.

SOME CONTEMPORARY EVIDENCE REGARDING THE ASVAMEDHA OF SEVAI JAISING OF AMBER IN A HINDI WORK ON DIETETICS OF A. D. 1739 (SAMVAT 1796).

BY

MR. P. K. GODE, M. A.

Curator, Bhandarkar, Oriental Research Institute, Poona.

(Summary)

I have so far published three papers on the Asvamedha performed by Maharaja Sevai Jaising of Amber (1699-1743), refuting the view of certain scholars who doubted the performance of this Asvamedha by Sevai Jaising. The sources discovered by me and used in these papers are both contemporary and subsequent ones. The present paper discloses for the first time a Hindi source dated A. D. 1739 and it is the *earliest definitely dated source which describes the Asvamedha* in question. This source enables us to refute the view of Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sircar that "Jayasingh may have performed the Asvamedha after 1739 and before 1744." The author of this Hindi source was a favourite of Sevai Jaising as expressly stated by him in this source, which is called the Bhojanasara or a book on Dietetics describing the methods of preparation of several dishes actually current in the royal kitchen of Maharaja Sevai Jaising. It is proved by this source that the Asvamedha was performed at Jaipur before A. D. 1739. Dates ranging from A. D. 1714 to A. D. 1744 have so far been proposed for this Asvamedha by several scholars.

RACHOL AND RAICHUR.

BY

MR. G. M. MORAES.

(Summary)

In his *Chronica dos Reis de Bisnaga*, Fernao Nunis has given a detailed account of the siege and capture of a fortified city called Rachol by Krishna Deva Raya, the Emperor of Vijayanagar. Sewell's identification of this city with Raichur had long been accepted until it was

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questioned by Rev. H. Heras, and though efforts have since been made to support Sewell's opinion the contention of Fr. Heras that "Rachol is for the Portuguese nothing else but Rachol the fort city of the peninsula of Salsette", has not yet been met. An examination of the Portuguese sources by the present writer has led him to the conclusion that Sewell's identification is correct.

SOME COURT POETS OF 'ALI 'ADIL SHAH II OF BIJAPUR.

BY

DR. K. K. BASU.

(Summary)

The present paper deals with some court pacts of 'Ali 'Adil Shah II of Bijapur, such as, Mian Nusrati, Mian Hansi and Mirjan Marsiya Khwan, who wrote in Deccani Urdu. Besides the two memorable works Gulshan-i-Ishq and Ali Nama, Nusrali composed numerous Qasidahs and Diwan-i-ghazal full of beauty and virility. Mian Hansi's solid contribution to literature are his story of Yusuf and Zulaikha, Ghazals and other poems of verse. Mirjan Marsiya, the third notable poet and writer wrote verses in praise of the Prophet, Hasan and Hussain and the Imams.

SOME NATIONAL AND LIBERAL ASPECTS OF MUGHAL RULES

BY

PROF. M. L. ROY CHAUDHARY SHASTRI.

(Summary)

In this paper " Some National and Liberal Aspects of the Mughal Empire " have been presented. It is doubtful if the words nationalism and patriotism were understood by the Muslims of the earlier period in their modern connotation, though the words " Muluk" (Country), "Qaum" (National), "Habbul Watan " (Love of Country) were familiar terms in Arabic lexicon. The infiltration of non- Islamic influences were so complete and political necessity was so pressing that the old ideas of life and government in Mughal India often changed yielding place to new conceptions as demanded by time and circumstances. I have discussed in this paper points of mutual adoptions by the Hindus and Muslims in Mughal India, of each other's Laws, Dress Language, Manners, Customs and Social-intelletual approaches, and assigned their place in the development of a united Mughal India.

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The process of fusion began from the time of Humayun though for a time it was checked by Aurangzeb, it could not be altogether obliterated. Had Dara succeeded Shah Jahan, or if the westerners would not have supplanted the force of Indo-Muslim civilisation in India, the Chagtais might have left to the East an heritage as great as the Romans had left to the West.

A PEEP INTO THE ECONOMIC HISTORY OF THE MOGHUL INDIA.

BY

PROF. SATYA PRAKASH SRIVASTAVA, M. A., (Hons), Sahitya Ratna.

Summary.

Society in Moghul India had a feudal structure ; at its apex was the king, the executive head, who worked as the real guide of the destinies of the kingdom. Below him in the social strata were the nobles, who rolled in wealth and indulged in extravagances. Their standard of living differed from that of the common-folk, who, as Abdul Fazl points out at one place, could not afford to put on even woollen clothes and shoes. The nobles, on the other hand, played ducks and drakes with the money they had, thinking that their states and properties would ultimately lapse to the state and the crown. This is why, the nobles could afford to use ice throughout the year while the people of all ranks used it only in summer. (Ain-i-Akbari.)

Francisco Pelsaert at one place remarks about the honours which the shopkeepers of those times enjoyed and this fact very well points out that some of them enjoyed good position in society. They were, on the other hand, required to sell their ārticles at cheap prices specially to the imperial officers.

Babar's Memoirs' and the "Humayun Namah" of Gulbadan Begum also refer to the economic prosperity of the times. It has at one place been mentioned that at Amarkot, the birth-place of Akbar, four goats could be purchased for a rupee. Shershah introduced certain economic reforms, the most important of which were the reformation of the currency by making a clean sweep of the lod currency of mixed metal and also by issuing a new copper coin known as the ' Dam ' with its sub-divisions of halves, quarters, eighths and sixteenths.

Under Akbar the ' dam ', 'paisa' or fulus continued as a copper currency and formed one-fortieth part of a rupee. For account purposes the dam was divided into twenty five parts, each of which was called a 'Jaital'.

All mercantile transactions were done in the empire in round mohurs, rupees and dams, and there were excellent quantities in silver and gold coinage. This continued even after Akbar's time. The value

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of the rupee in its English currency value was generally 2sh.3d., and it contained 175 grains of silver.

The Ain-i-Akbari of Abul Fazl also gives us an exhaustive list about the wages of labourers, which shows that the wages were not high. The unskilled labourer received two dams, while a first class labourer seven dams per day. But it must be remembered that the low wages did not affect the people very much because the foodstuffs were extraordinarily cheap.

Mr. Moreland rightly opines at one place that the masses, speaking generally, lived on the better economic plane than it is now.

India is par excellent, an agricultural country and crops form the pivot round which the entire population revolves. The important crops growing in northern India in Akbar's time were cereals, rice, wheat, barley etc.

Though there was no intense specialisation of crops (as in the present day), yet some sort of it was not totally absent for Bengal supplied sugar to many parts of India and indigo was to a great extent produced in two places, Biana and Sankhoj (in Gujerat).

Agricultural implements were almost the same as are used in the present day,—ploughs and hos, water lifts and other minor implements. There were no good engineering works for irrigation. Babar also noted the absence of irrigation cannals in India.

There were but few inundation channels in Akbar's time and these were, perhaps, responsible for the outbreak of severe famines in the 16th and 17th centuries, the severest of all being that of 1630-31. But the relief measures adopted by the Moghul sovereigns were commendable.

Besides affording encouragement to manufacturers in various parts of the country the Moghuls also did the work of pioneers in the maritime spheres. The European trading powers used Indian-made ships for their mercantile and fighting needs.

In the 16th century India had a considerable foreign trade. She imported certain articles and also sent out her valuable exports. The imports consisted of gold, silver and other metals along with perfumes drugs etc. India exported her various textiles, fabrics, peppers etc. in exchange.

Under Aurangzeb the economic outlook of the country became gloomy and the bankruptcy of the administration coupled with the incessant wars and the consequent financial exhaustion of the empire greatly affected the industries of the country.

These evils increased during the eighteenth century and India experienced greater economic stress during that century. But normal conditions were soon restored in the British regime. The country, neverthless, lacked that outlook of society which it had in the Moghul times.

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The Moghul society, in short presented a civilsation which was in every respect true to the principles of faternity and goodwill in the major part of the period and consequently foretold the national welfare of the age. Not only were the elemental needs of life satisfied, but its luxuries were also provided; the civilization had its basis burried deep into rural economy but steadily developing into urban form with all possible amenities, trade, arts, crafts etc.

It is, to sum up, trade, craft, industry and agriculture that created most favourable background for the intellectual outburst in the Moghul Period.

A NEW SOURCE OF SHAHJAHAN'S INVASION OF NURPUR (KANGRA)

BY

PT. RAM KUMAR CHAUBE (Benares)

Summary

The reign of Shahjahan was much troubled by the rise of two Hindu States, the Bundela State and the state of Mau and Patan, under Raja Jagat Singh.

Padshahnama as is well-known gives a very detailed account of the invasion of Nurpur by Shahjahan's officers from a Mohammedan point of view. Dr. B. P. Saksena in his learned "Shahjahan" gives a full Bibliography of his reign and Prof. Sri Rama Sharma in his Bibliography of Mughal India gives a list of about one hundred sources. The new source, the subject of this paper is "The poems of Gambhir Rai" a Hindu Court peet of Jagat Singh. This has not been noticed by the previous learned scholars. John Beams in the Proceedings of the Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal makes a mention of it and publishes the translation with the original only 4 pieces and deals it from Philological point of view. He got a copy of it, as he says, through Blochmann of 100 pages in rude and sometimes illegible hand. He says, "It is not a chronicle or connected History. It is a series of Chants or rhapsodies, short panegerics or songs sung by the family bard at the court of the Rajput princes whom he serves. He calls himself Gambhir Rai. Other bards are also introduced in some pieces; Kalyan Rai, Mansaram Kavi and Kavi Chand. The majority are by Gambhir Rai."

The present paper shows that Gambhir Rai gives an account of that Muslim invasion from the Hindu point of view. A study of the rhapsodies shows that the martial spirit of the Rajputs was never lost and that an undercurrent of Rajput chivilary and political ambition continuously flowed and found occasional outbursts even under the great Moghals. It is manifested at one time in Raja Sanga and Maharana Pratap, at another in the Bundela Chiefs and Jagat Singh of Mau and later in the Rajput rising at the time of Aurangzeb. Copies of the poem seem to be very rare but it deserves a careful study.

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SOME ASPECTS OF THE QUTB SHAHI ADMINISTRATION OF GOLCONDA.

BY

Prof. JAGDISH NARAYAN SARKAR,

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Summary

(1) The influence of the harem, as seen in the appointment of Shah Muhammad Peshwa and Mansur Khan Mir Jumla, worked prejudicially to the efficiency of administration. Appointments were made, inspite of the good intentions of the Sultan, not on considerations of efficiency, but favouritism. A successful and highplaced officer was exposed to the risk of losing the Sultan's favour, due to the machinations of his personal enemies. Indications exist of rivalries between the Persian elements and non-Persian (Abyssinian) elements in the court.

(2) There was no separation of civil and military functions. The Peshwa, as prime minister, had to conduct foreign relations, but also discharged the duties of the diwani. Again, the duties of the Mir Jumla were not purely civil or financial but included military and police functions as well. His influence depended on an extensive power of patronage exercised subject to the approval of the Sultan. The Sar-i-khail, like the Mir Jumla, had to discharge civil and military duties and presumably officiated for the Mir Jumla from 1628-'34. An able Sar-i-khail could keep his subordinates under control, but under a weak and inefficient Sar-i-khail, the latter were tempted to abuse their influence and power. The Havaldari of Masulipatam was a stepping-stone to the office of Sar-i-khail.

(*A*) PESHWA :—

1. Nawab Allahmi Fahmi
   Mir Muhammad Momin. (died. temp. Md. Qutb Shah.)
2. Shah Muhammad (1626-April, 1629.)
3. Nawab Allami Shaikh Md. (April 22, 1629, (?) Perm. 16 Decem. ber, 1635) Also diwan May-June, 1631 (offg.)

(*B*) MIR JUMLA :—

1. Mansur Khan Habshi (1626-1628) [Vide Sar-i-khail No. 5-8, 1628-34].
2. Shaikh Muhammad (29 March, 1634-
3. Mir Muhammad Sayeed.

(*C*) SAR-I-KHAIL :—

1. Khwaja Afzal Turk (c. 9 years. dismissed towards close of reign of Md. Quli.)

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2. Mir Muhammad Taqi Tabataba.
3. Mirza Rozbihani.
4. Khawza Afzal Turk.
5. Mulla Md. Taqi Taqrishi (Oct, 12, 1628-May 11, 1631) [Shaikh Md. Peshwa officiating May-July, 1631].
6. Mirza Ahmad Astarabadi (July, 14, 1631-October 19, 1631).
7. Mirza Rozbihani Ispahani (October 19, 1631-August 20, 1632.)
8. Mir Fasihuddin Md. Taqrishi (August 20, 1632-29 March, 1634.)
9. Shaikh Md. Tahir (29 March 1634-17 December, 1635).
10. Abdullah Khan Mazadarani (17 March, 1636-23 June, 1637).
11. Mir Md. Sayeed (23 June, 1637-).

(*D*) HAVALDAR OF MASULIPATAM :—

1. Mulla Muhammad Taqi Taqrishi (c. 1627-8).
2. Mir Fasihuddin Md. Taqrishi (c. 1628).
3. Mirza Rozbihani Isqahani (Sar-i-khail) 1630-2)
4. Mir Kuhammad Sayeed (from 1635).

THE HISTORY OF "THE NAGORE SETTLEMENT".*

BY

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Historical Records Officer (in charge of research) Pudukkottai State.

In June 1773, the Nawwab Muhammad Ali Walajah pressed upon the consideration of the Madras Council the need to reduce the Maratha principality of Tanjore. He complained that Raja Tulzaji had defaulted in his payment of *peshkash* to the extent of ten lakhs of rupees, and that he was in correspondence with the Marathas of Poona and Haider Ali Khan of Mysore, which offered sufficient justification for the measure he advocated. Obviously the Madras Council viewed the question as one involving the safety of the entire Carnatic, which was bound up with the interests of the Company, and in the month of August, directed the army stationed at Trichinopoly to march into the Tanjore kingdom under the command of General Smith.

Before the commencement of hostilities, the Nawwab wrote a friendly letter to the Dutch Governor at Negapatam requesting him not to send any help to the Raja of Tanjore. The Dutch Governor sent

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*Nagore is now a small town four miles to the north of Negapatam.

1. Rous's App. XXVII, 1107.
2. M. C. C. 1773, No. 129.

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a polite answer with many protestations of warm friendship with the Nawwab. Anticipating trouble from the Nawwab, the Tanjore nobles had sent their families and valuables to Negapatam where the Dutch gave them a safe asylum.

Lieutenant-Colonel Vaughan entered the fort of Tanjore on the 17th September ; Raja Tulzaji and his family were taken prisoners, and the Nawwab took possession of Tanjore.

The Nawwab discovered that the Dutch Governor had obtained from the Raja sanads granting to the Dutch the nine *maganams* or minor revenue divisions of Kivalur, Sikkil, Tevur, Sembiyanmahadevi, Palakkuchi, Magile, Killukudi, Adiyakkamangalam and Tiruppundi besides the seaports of Nagore and Topputurai, in liquidation of money which the Raja had borrowed from them. It was also evident from the reports that the Nawwab had from the Raja's advisers that the Dutch had paid the Raja only part of the money fixed as consideration for the sale, while the balance was to be paid to a Dutch gentleman, probably towards adjustment of some prior debts of the Raja.

The Nawwab, therefore, wrote to the Presidency on the 21st September, requesting the aid of English troops to recover Nagore and the other villages that had passed into the hands of the Dutch. He pointed out to them that Tanjore without its ports was not worthwhile possessing, and that the acquisition of useful territory and ports would so much strengthen the power of the Dutch as to constitute a menace both to the Company and to himself. The Presidency advised the Nawwab to try conciliatory measures before taking military action, and accordingly the Nawwab wrote to the Dutch Governer at Negapatam a polite but firm letter demanding the return of the territory that the Raja had made over to him. The Nawwab's second son Mohammad Munawwar Madarul-Mulk Amirul-Umara, who was in charge of the expedition, also sent envoys to Megapatam, but the Dutch put them off with fair words promising to send one of the members of Council to negotiate with the Nawwab, while all the time they were making preparations to oppose the Nawwab and were expecting reinforcements from Malaya. The English Admiral and the General in command at Tanjore supported the Nawwab's plea. Madarul-Mulk was getting restive and was pressing upon the Nawwab the need for immediate action before reinforcements poured into Nagapatam; and the Nawab in his turn wrote to the Company suggesting to them that the 'passiveness' of his 'friends', meaning evidently the representatives of the Company, had resulted in the Dutch 'acquiring great arrogance'.

The position of the Company could be summed up in the words of the Madras Governor "....there is a Treaty of Peace and Friendship

3. M. C. C. 107 (Enclosure).
4. Ibid 104.
5. Ibid 129.
6. Ibid 104.
7. Letter from the English General to Madarul-Mulk dated the 20th October.

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existing between the Crown of Great Britain and the States General of Holland, which the subjects of both Nations are bound duly to observe, and accordingly as a subject of the former Nation bound by that Treaty while that Treaty continues in force, I cannot avowedly, that is to say as a principal, act hostilely against the subjects of the latter Nation except such act shall proceed from the necessity of self-defence—Your Highness's second question is whether, not appearing myself in the chastisement of the Dutch, will I assist you with the Company's soldires. To which I answer ; if Your Highness's meaning in this question be whether I will assist you with the Company's Troops, if attacked in any sh ape by the Dutch, my reply is, most undoubtedly, I will assist you to the utmost of my power, but if it be, as I conclude, whether I will send the Company's Troops in the character of auxiliaries to Your Highness to act offensively against tbe Dutch, I answer I cannot, until either by open hostilities on their part, or otherwise on the surest grounds their hostile intentions against the tranquillity of the Carnatic shall be fully proved ". The Presidency ultimately decided to give the Nawwab the help he desired, and ordered General Smith to march behind the Nawwab's army so as to be in readiness to assist in case of necessity without himself taking the initiative.

Madarul-Mulk's forces were reinforced by a detachment of 200 horse and 4000 foot despatched by Raya Raghunatha Tondaiman of Pudukkottai under the command of Sardar Sadasiva Rayar, Annavayyan and Adinarayanayyan. The combined armies which had encamped at Tiruvarur threatened to march upon Nagore. After a feeble show of resistence the Dutch relinquished the territories of which Madarul-Mulk took possession, "without a shot being fired actually on either side", and the Dutch Company was afterwards reimbersed the money it had paid the Raja.

In 1776, the Court of Directors totally disapproved of the reduction of the Tanjore Kingdom, and severely condemned all the proceedings of the Presidency, and directed Lord Pigot, who had been appointed Governor in succession to Mr. Alexander Wynch, to restore to the Raja of Tanjore his sovereignty over his kingdom. A new agreement was demanded from the Raja, the terms of which are not relevant to our present investigation. The Nawwab had recourse to all expedients in his power to prevent the restoration or at least to have it postponed until he could appeal to and get from the Board a reversal of their order. The order of the Board being peremptory, Governor Pigot proceeded to Tanjore and proclaimed the restoration to Tulzaji of his Raj including the territories recovered from the Dutch. To show his gratitude for his reinstatement the Raja offered the Company the lands

8. M. C. C. 149.
9. M. C. C. 149.
10. Pudukkottai Inam Records Vol XIV11. Rous's App. 1281.
12. Ibid 1372 ; also letter to the Court of Directors, dated May 14, 1776.
13. Love ; Vestiges III—pp. 143.
14. Aitchison : Treaties 243.

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round Devikottai. The Governor thought that the port of Nagore was more desirable; and sent Mr. Petrie to sound the Raja, who readily agreed to the substitution. On the 19th June, 1778, the Raja gave the Company a *sanad* delivering the town of Nagore and adjacent torritory, estimated to yield a revenue of 2½ lakhs of rupees. A slight readjustment was made; twentyone villages comprising the *maganam* of Valivalam were substituted for the port of Topputurai and the eleven villages of the *maganam* of Tiruppundi, originally included in the 'Nagore Settlement'. Petrie was the first Resident of this 'Settlement'.

The Raja had hardly established himself in his Raj when Haidar Ali, who had descended into the plains of the Carnatic, crossed the Coleroon in February 1781 and entered the Tanjore country. Unable to proceed further south for want of provisions and transport, General Coote was delayed near Cuddalore. A detachment of Haidar's army marched to Nagore, and with the object of isolating the English settlement, laid waste the surrounding country. Meanwhile Tirukkattupalli, Pattukkottai and Tiruvarur had fallen into the hands of the enemy, who took possession of the territory of Tanjore excepting the capital. When the English detachment at Nagore embarked to join the main army stationed further north, a detachment of the Mysore infantry under the command of a French officer took possession of the settlement. Haidar Ali then concluded a treaty of alliance with the Dutch Government at Negapatam, and as a token of his friendship, ceded to them the erstwhile British settlement of Nagore.

The British victory at Porto Nove on the 1st July, and the subsequent movements of the forces of the English and their allies turned the tide of fortune in their favour. Colonel Braithwaite was wounded during an engagement at Pattukkottai in August 1781, and made over command to Colonel Nixon, who, in September, took the forts of Mannargudi and Mahadevi-pattanam, and defeated the enemy at Alangudi. The enemy's forces that retreated from Mannargudi were rounded up by the Tondaiman's men, who were stationed in the neighbourhood to prevent the Mysore detachment at Pattukkottai sending help to their confreres at Mannargudi and other places on the road to Negapatam. In October preparations were made for the siege of Negapatam, and Colonel Nixon advanced against Nagore. Major-General Sir Hector Munro, who had by then taken command of the Southern Army, arrived off Nagore on the 20th October in the fleet of Admiral Sir Edward Hughes. He landed at Nagore the next day with a detachment of marines, and on the 29th started operations against Negapatam, which finally capitulated on the 11th November. This victory finally eliminated Dutch power in South India.

15. Pudukkotai Palace Records—Colonel Wood's letter to the Tondaiman.
16. Wilson's Madras Army II pp. 59-62.

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CAPT. C. M. WADE AND ALEXANDER BURNES'S MISSION TO KABUL.

BY

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Summary.

The last word on Captain Burnes's mission to Kabul (September 1837—April 1838) has not been said. So far Kaye's account in his 'History of the War in Afghanistan' has been regarded as final and authoritative. But Kaye wrote it under the stress of strong emotions roused by the shameless garbling of the historical dispatches. So that in exposing the dishonesty of the British Government, Kaye, in his generous indignation, attributed the failure to Lord Auckland and failed to point out the deficiencies of Burnes.

I hold that Burnes was more responsible for the failure of his mission than Lord Auckland. He was vain and a poor diplomat. Then Dost Muhammad, the Amir of Kabul, though by no means hostile to the British Government as the garbled dispatches represented him to be, was certainly determined to take advantage of the English need of him as an ally for warding off the Russian danger—a danger unduly and undiplomatically magnified by Burnes's ridiculous behaviour at the arrival of the Russian agent to Kabul. He insisted on having Peshawar before he would ally himself with the British. Peshawar had been seized from the Afghans by the Sikhs, the age-long allies of the English. Dost Muhammad had made two unsuccessful attempts te recover it. These attempts convinced him that he needed British support if he was ever to regain Peshawar.

Captain Burnes was sent to Kabul nominally on a commercial mission, but with ulterior political designs. Lord Auckland, the Governor General, had given him no instructions regarding the Afghan-Sikh dispute over Peshawar. Auckland's policy was to treat the Afghan-Sikh dispute as of no concern to the British Government. That was a mistake because the Amir of Kabul was not willing to discuss any commercial or political matters with the British agent independently of his dispute with the Sikhs. Ever since the loss of Peshawar (1834) he had sought British mediation. Lord Auckland aught to have realized at the beginning that if he wanted any favours from the Amir, he must be prepared to deal with the Peshawar question.

Burnes reached Kabul on 20th the September without any specific political instructions. But that did not prevent him from discussing politics at his first interview with the Amir. He discussed the Peshawar question from his own point of view which was quite different from that of the Government of India. He suffered from an excessive dread of Russia and in order to ward off the Russian danger he wished to con-

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solidate Afghanistan under Dost Muhammad. He wanted to give to Dost Muhammad Hirat, Kandahar and Peshawar. Lord Auckland, on the other hand, under the influence of Captain Claude Martin Wade, the political agent at Ludhiana, and in charge of British relations with the Sikhs and Afghans, had come to believe that the existing disunion of the Afghan chiefs was an element of security for the British. Hence his policy was not to consolidate Afghanistan under Dost Muhammad. He was not willing to put any pressure on Ranjit Singh to surrender Peshawar. He considered it inadvisable to provoke the powerful Sikhs in order to conciliate an inferior power like that of Dost Muhammad.

In September 1837, Auckland came to the conclusion that the British Government would have to interfere in the Afghan-Sikh dispute. In his dispatch of 11th September, Lord Auckland instructed Burnes as to how he should proceed. Burnes was to offer Dost Muhammad British mediation for the establishment of peace with the Sikhs. But this mediation was to depend entirely upon his relinquishing all connections with Russsia and Persia. Burnes was instructed to belittle the British fear of Russia, and to give a clear warning to the Amir that if he tried to play off England against Russia, Shah Shuja and the Siks would be encouraged to march on Kabul.

Lord Auckland's policy, clearly, was to intimidate Dost Muhammad into identifying his policy with the British Government. That was the only way to bring Burnes's mission to a successful issue as it was not possible to win his alliance by concession. Peshawar which the Amir asked for was not of the British to give and would have alienated the powerful Sikhs.

Burnes failed to carry out this policy because he was an incompetent diplomat and because he was a month in advance of his instructions. Before Lord Auckland's despatch of 11th September reached Kabul, Burnes had started political discussions with the Amir. Thus the Government policy, of not negotiating with the Amir till he had given a formal pledge of relinquishing all connections with Russia and Persia, could not be put into effect. Then instead of playing upon the Amir's fear of Sikhs and Shah Shuja, the foolish Burnes allowed the astute Dost Muhammad to act upon the English fears of Russia. Easily out-manoeuvred, Burnes informed the Amir that Ranjit Singh intended to make some change in the management of Peshawar, and might be induced to restore it to Sultan Muhammad Khan, from whom the Sikhs had captured it. This belief of Burnes had no foundation in fact and Ranjit Singh had no intention whatsoever to part with Peshawar, which was his by right of conquest. Dost Muhammad at once siezed the opportunity and proposed to hold the city himself tributary to Lahore. Burnes not only agreed to forward the proposition to the Governor-General, but even encouraged the Amir to hope that his modest terms would be accepted by the British Government.

Dost Muhammad's terms, as forwarded by Burnes with a strong recommendation in favour of their acceptance, were quite unacceptable

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to the Government of India. Lord Auckland believed that not even a threat of war would induce Ranjit Singh to part with Peshawar; moreover, he had no intention of increasing the power of Dost Muhammad which would diminish the means of restraining him. The existing division of power was decidedly the most benificial to British interests. Dost Muhammad was asked to give up his ambition to possess Peshawar, and be satisfied with the good offices of the British in preventing further encroachment on his territory. (Govt : to Burnes 2nd Dec. 1837.)

But Dost Muhammad Khan believed that he was in a position to get better terms. In December 1837, a Russian agent, named Vitkevich, had reached Kabul. His arrival completely overpowered Burnes, who abandoned himself to despair. According to Masson, the English news-writer at Kabul, Burnes "bound his head with wet towels and handkerchiefs and took to smelling bottles." There might be some exaggeration in this statement, but it is certain that Burnes was greatly alarmed as is shown by the tone of his letter of 23rd. December. To show such alarm was only to play into the hands of Dost Muhammad.

However, according to Lord Auckland's letter of 2nd. December, 1837, Burnes advised the Amir to waive his claims to Peshawar and be satisfied with whatever arrangements Ranjit Singh might make with Sultan Muhammad Khan. By way of a compromise it was then suggested that Peshawar be delivered cojointly to the Amir and Sultan Muhammad. This proposal was also rejected, and no attempt was made to settle the Peshawar question on the basis of this new proposal. Burnes left Kabul on 26th April 1838, and Dost Muhammad Khan received in his favour the Russian agent, Vitkevich, whom he had till then kept at a distance.

Burnes's mission to Kabul had failed. Its failure led to the First Afghan war, which ended in the most terrible disaster to the Company's arms. The Government of India failed to threaten Dost Muhammad into submission mainly because its policy was not carried out by Burnes. Burnes had entered into political discussions with Dost Muhammad without waiting for instructions from headquarters. He had no business to exceed his authority. Then, by his lack of diplomatic reserve he laid open to the Amir the British fears of Russia and the importance attached to the establishment of British influence at Kabul. An incompetent and vainglorious man was chosen to conduct delicate negotiations, hundreds of miles away from the seat of the Government, hence his failure is not surprising.

ANNEXATION OF PEGU

BY

PROF. ANIL CHANDRA BANERJEE, M. A., City College, Calcutta.

Summary.

This paper is based on official documents, published and unpublished, and it seeks to narrate in brief the circumstances relating to the annexation of Pegu after the Second Burmese War.

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Lord Dalhousie was anxious to annex this province for various reasons. The climate of Pegu was excellent, its soil was fertile, and it contained valuable forests of teak. Its occupation would give the British merchants complete command over maritime trade in the Bay of Bengal and the Indian Ocean. The popoulation of Pegu would gladly welcome British rule, for the Talaings were tired with 'the cruel tyranny of the Burman rule'.

The Governor-General's recommendation, supported by the members of his Council, was accepted by the Court of Directors, but the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors put the Governor-General into trouble by insisting that Pegu should not be retained 'without bringing the war to a conclusion, either by a treaty with the King of Ava, of which that cession should be the basis, or by the entire subjugation of that Power'. The military operations had already come to an end, Pegu was under the control of the British army, but the King of Burma was not prepared to conclude a treaty, nor was it possible, for military reasons, to send an expedition to Upper Burma to force the King's hands. Lord Dalhousie expressed the view that a treaty with the Burmese King was not only unnecessary but also harmful, for a treaty would impose upon thd British Government 'the necessity, either of interfering upon every occasion on which a faithless and overbearing Power disregards the stipulated rights of our subjects, or of avoiding the perpetual risk of quarrel by overlooking such disregard of our subjects' rights and neglecting to enforce them'. Yet Lord Dalhousie made repeated attempts to persuade the King of Burma to conclude a treaty, but he failed. Pegu was annexed by Proclamation, and Captain Phayre became its first Commissioner.

In December, 1852, a palace revolution resulted in the deposition of King Pagan Min and in the accession of Mindon to the Burmese throne. As long as he lived Mindon could not reconcile himself to the loss of Pegu. At first he tried to persuade the British Government to revise its decision. In December, 1854, his envoys saw Lord Dalhousie in Calcutta and requested him to restore Pegu. The Governor-General replied, "So long as the sun shines.....these territories will never be restored to the King of Ava". After this rebuff Mindon fondly believed that Napoleon III, Emperor of France, would influence the Queen of England in his favour. He sent two Embassies to Napoleon III, and after his fall Burmese envoys concluded a commercial treaty with the Republican Government of France. The increasing friendship between Burma and France alarmed England, and it was perhaps the most important cause of King Thebaw's downfall in 1886.

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SECTION VI

LOCAL HISTORY OF ALIGARH

SHARWANIS AND THE PART PLAYED BY THEM IN HISTORY OF INDIA.

BY

MR. MOHD. ABBAS KHAN SARWANI.

The first question in connection with the Sharwani clan, which played an important part in the Indian History, during a period covering more than 4 centuries is their nomenclature and their native place in Afghanistan from which they migrated into India.

They are called Sharwanis after their first ancestor Sarwani, son of Syed Shah Hussain—a noble man of Ghaur country and Bibi Matto who was daughter of Qais Abdur Rashid—the first Muslim Pathan convert of Afghanistan. Sharwanis resided at a place known as Daraband or Deraban called after a small stream of the same name and flowing near the eastern foothills of the Suleman Range and to the south of Ghazni Khels. This village was thus situated in the country known as Rah extending right up to the North-Western Frontier of India in which the Pathans were later on settled by Shahabuddin Mohd. Bin Sam Ghauri, the first founder of the Muslim Empire in India.

The Sharwanis consisted of 52 or 104 'Khails' or minor sub-divisions and though possibly they may have visited India before the Tughlaq Sultans of Delhi but the first Sharwani of note, about whom we hear, was Malik Qabul Khan, Governor of Badun, during the reign of Firoz Shah Tughlaq, and then later on, about the end of the Tughlaq Dynasty, we find that Malik Yousuf Sharwani was included as a Commander in the army of Tamurlang that overran India up to the Gangetic plain and even up to Jalali in the district of Koil—the present Aligarh. This seems to be the first acquaintance of Sharwanis with the Aligarh District in which they now reside in such a large number.

Progressing further one Sikandar Khan Sharwani, a valiant fighter and skilled bowman, rose into prominence, just after Bahlol Lodi had established himself as Sultan at Delhi in the 9th Hijira. It was this Sikandar Khan Sharwani who, along with others, defended the besieged fortress of Delhi wherein the families of Bahlol Lodi and other Pathans were confined at the time of the invasion of Mohmood Sharqi, king of Jaunpore, while Bahlol was away in the Punjab and engaged upon reducing Dehalpore. Bahlol Lodi, realising his plight, invited many Pathans from the Roh to help him, holding out promises of rich rewards and a good living in a fertile country. Among others Sharwanis responded to the call in large numbers and henceforth we hear of Omer Khan Sharwani, the son of Sikandar Khan, and other Sharwani leaders. Omar Khan and his son Ibrahim assisted Bahlol's son Nizam Khan in quelling the rebellion of Tatar Khan Lodi and consequently Omar Khan

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replaced the latter as Governor of the place and at the same time he (Omar Khan Sharwani) received extensive Jagir lands in Sirhind, Shahabad in Karnal Districts, Payalpore and its vicinity in the Punjab.

Omar Khan Sharwani also suppressed the rebellion of Ahmad Khan Bhatti of Sindh and now bore the title of Khan Azam. He was instrumental in helping Hassan Khan Soor, the father of the future Sultan Sher Shah Suri, in securing a foothold in India in as much as Omar Khan allotted some villages out of his own Jagir to Hassan Khan and also got for him more lands from one Kamal Khan Sarang Khani. Later on. Omar Khan bestowed a village on Fareed Khan the future Sher Shah, for his maintenance. Sharwanis now appear to have been settled in Rapri, District Mainpuri as well, where their military duties must have taken them as the country round about this locality was the scene of constant battles between the Delhi and Sharqi Kings. A "mohalla" in Rapri is still known as Sharwani Khel though now there are no Sharwanis at the place.

A diwine-Shaikh Sadar Jahan migrated from Roh into the Punjab during Bahlol's reign and settled on the bank of the Sutlej where Maler Kotla is now situated. In view of his piety, Bahlol gave him his daughter in marriage and bestowed on her 11 villages which now form the neuclus of this state. The Ruling family of the State are said to be descendents of Shaikh Sadri Jahan, and they played an important role during the Sikh regime.

After Bahlol's death in 1489, a dispute arose as to succession to the throne. The Sharwanis and in particular Omar Khan, supported Bahlol's second son, Nizam Khan, who was elected as King near Jalali in Aligarh District under the title of Sikandar Lodi. He now profusely rewarded the Sharwanis and their leaders. There were fresh arrivals of Pathans from the Roh in Sikandar Lodi's reign including one Saif Khan, a Sharwani pertaining to the Aja Khel branch as distinct from Omar Khan's Gakboor Khail. Sikandar Lodi deputed Daud Khan alias Rao Khan Sharwani, after whow Sikandara Rao in this district is known, to suppress the rebellion of Rajputs of Bilram in the Etah District. This Saif Khan Sharwani rose into great prominence as he was now a commander of 5000 and founded a Mohalla after his own name which still exists in Sambhal, District Moradabad, when the place enjoyed the distinction of being the temporary capital of Sikandar. Omar Khan Sharwani's other sons, Haibat Khan and Mohamad Khan, now came to the forefront—the former having been promoted to be a commander of 45000 Cavaly 700 elephants. Omar Khan was employed in various responsible and onerous duties, such as suppressing the revolts of Sultan Ashraf Jalwani at Biana and the Rajputs of Jaunpore who rebelled at the instigation of Hussain Shah Sharqi. After the latter's flight, Sikandar's brother Barbak was put in charge of Jaunpore but, having proved a failure, was deposed and put under the supervison of Omar Khan Sharwani and his son Haibat Khan. The latter's sons Isa Khan and Ibrahim Khan also served Sikandar Lodi. Omar Khan was now killed in suppressing the revolts of the Jats of Jartauli near Tappal in Aligarh

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District. Shortly afterwards Omar Khan's son Haibat Khan and his son-in-law Said Khan, Governor of Lahore, Derya Khan and other Sharwani leaders were banished by Sikandar Lodi as they appeared to have plotted against him due to a quarrel between Sharwanis and Lohanis on the polo ground, in the course of which a Sharwani was killed while Lohanis were injured in the King's presence. These exiled Sharwanis sought refuge at Malwa Mandu where the Khilji ruler employed an army of Pathans and also Muzaffar's court at Gujrat and at Gawalior. Two of the Sharwanis, Omar Khan's son Mohamud Khan and Firoz Khan, son of Ahmad Khan, appear to have escaped Sikandar's wrath, as the former was probably now appointed at Koil while the latter administrated Rohtak where he lies buried. After the death of Sikandar Lodi in 1518 A. D. the Sharwanis espoused the cause of his son Ibrahim Lodi who was elected king, though opposed by a party who supported his brother Jalal Khan. Ibrahim Lodi now recalled the Sharwanis expelled by his father Sikandar and bestowed rewards and lands on them as they fought against Jalal Khan and in support of Ibrahim. Isa Khan Sharwani was appointed governor of Agra or Delhi while Islam Khan Sharwani governed the province of Kara Manakpore. Mohammood Khan Sharwani, about this time built a fort at Koil Aligarh which still exists and about which an inscription in verse was discovered in 1872. When Prince Jalal Khan escaped from Jaunpore to Gawalior, Haibat Khan Sharwani was deputed in his pursuit but incurred the king's wrath as he failed to capture Jalal Khan. Haibat Khan was thereupon imprisoned at Agra and subsequently died in the prison. This injustified and harsh treatment towards a leader of Azam Humanyun Haibat Khan's standing prompted a rebellion on the part of his son, Islam Khan, and other Pathans and in the course of its suppression by the King's troops both the sides lost about 10000 Pathans. As the Pathan felt much disgruntled at Ibrahim Lodi's dealings with them, they incited Babar who invaded India and defeated Ibrahim Lodi at Panipat in 1526 A. D. Most of the Sharwanis sided with Babar and were rewarded by him. He was guest of Daud Khan *alias* Rao Khan Sharwani at Sikandra Rao, as the latter had faithfully served him. Babar also bestowed rewards on Shaikh Bayazeed Sharwani whose son faught for the Mughal King at Chanderi and also on Mian Ahmed Khan Sharwani who suppressed the Sharwani rebel Qutub Khan of Etawah. Fateh Khan, son of Isa Khan Sharwani, and his son Mahmood Khan were also rewarded by Babar. Another Sharwani Bijli Khan opposed Babar at Hissar but was punished and vanquished. Sher Khan Soor now plotted to out Mughals from India and succeded in his plans after Babar's death. Sharwanis sided with their kinsman Sher Khan who recalled Isa Khan and others who had dispersed after their banishment. Consequently Humayun gave a wide berth to Sharwanis who openly faught against him and sided with Sher Shah. Isa Kkan Sharwani, Saif Khan Sharwani and other Sharwani leaders assisted Sher Khan Soor in defeating Humayun at Chausa and then decisively on the Ganges near Kanauj. Safi Khan Sharwani was also instrumental in enabling Sher Khan to escape from Rohtas Gadhi in Bengal when Humayun invaded the fort. Sher Shah was now persuaded by Isa Khan Sharwani to declare himself king of

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Delhi. Isa Khan also saved the life of Bairam Khan Khan Khana after the battle on the Ganges but refused to be recompensed later on when Bairam Khan was all in all in the beginning of Akbar's reign. Isa Khan Sharwani was Sher Shah's right hand man and was appointed Governor of Sumbhal. He and other Sharwani leaders faught for Sher Shah in various battles and the king appointed him as his "Hajib" too. After Sher Shah, Isa Khan and most of the Sharwanis served his successor Islam Shah Soor with loyalty and distinction, fighting against Islam Shah's opponent and brother Adil Khan. After Islam's death Isa Khan and other Sharwanis supported his successor Adil Shah but the latter's cruelty and egoism appear to have exasperated most of the Sharwanis and other Pathans so much so that they went over to the side of Adil Shah's opponent, Sultan Mohammad, who assumed independence at Delhi. The Sharwanis were at this time much weakened, and, as the Pathan hostility to Mughals continued after the end of the Pathan Rule, on return of Humayun, they seem to have retired from active participation in politics and military career. A fresh arrival in Akbar's days, Mulla Peer Mohammad Khan Sharwani rose into a great prominence but left no Sharwani successor behind him. Akbar, after the revolt of Karranis in Bengal, dispersed Pathans from the Punjab to distant places and it was about this time that the well known Sharwani family of Aligarh district seems to have settled here. We find no mention of members of Sharwanis in Jahangir's reign while there were only 3 petty Mansabdars during the reign of Shah Jahan after which they appear to have sunk into oblivion. The Bhikampor Aligarh family of Sharwanis was ousted at first by Jats and then by Gushains during the reign of Shah Alam II but were restored to the rightful possessions of their lands on the advent of British in 1803 A. D. The Sharwanis of Aligarh are well known for their generous contributions to charities—local as well as those of an all India nature. Sharwanis are now residing in the U. P. and the Punjab and possibly Southern India but have unfortunately lost touch with each other. On the whole and barring a few exceptions are writ large on the face of this clan.

KOIL MINAR—WHO BUILT?

BY

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In a paper entitled "The so-called Balban Inscription of Koil",[1] published in the Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, Lahore 1940, the contributors, Dr. Muhammad Aziz Ahmad and Dr. A. Halim pointed out that the Minar which stood south-east of the present Juma-

1. The inscription is at present in the Mizam Museum History Deptt. M. U. Alig. Deptt.

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Masjid in Bala-i-Qila, upto 1862, was constructed by Bahauddin Qutlugh Khan Balban Al-Shasi, the Governor of the eastern provinces, on the 10th Rajab 652 May 17/1254 A. D., during the reign of Sultan Nasiruddin Mahmud. My friends could not definitely say what purpose the Minar served. They were inclined to believe that it was a tower of victory. The Minar, it must be re-calléd, could serve either of the three purposes. It might have been the minar of a mosque, might have been a watch tower, or a tower of victory. The story of a rider approaching Koil from Delhi with the aid of a beacon light burning from the minar, and his death by exhaustion near the skirts of the city, if true, would make a watch tower. The majority of scholars, Indian and foreign, have pointed out that it was an isolated minar which stood independently of the mosque which was later completed in 1728 A. D. "There is no proof or likelihood", writes Mr. J. R. Hutchinson,[2] of the Coel pillar having been designated as minar for a mosque ; on the contrary, the existence of an inscription over the door-way is incompatible with such a supposition, it being contrary to Mahomedan practice to engrave inscriptions on the minarets of a mosque. The pillar has no connexion with an adjoining mosque, which also is a comparatively modern building, having been founded 500 years after the date of the pillar by Sabit Khan, governor of Coel, in the time of Muhammad Shah, and there are no traces or traditions of a mosque of earlier date having stood on the site of the present one. Hutchinson denies its being used as a watch tower or as the minar of a mosque and thus it could be built as tower of victory alone. Mr. Hutchinson's argument is based on the fact that such an old pillar could not form the part of a comparatively modern mosque. According to Akhbarul Jamal,[3] the only local history of Koil, the Sabit Khan mosque is the fifth of its kind built on the same site. The first was constructed by Qutbuddin Aibak, soon after the capture of Koil, perhaps on the site of a temple. The mosque, it appears, was not completed so that within sixty years it had to be re-constructed[4], by Bahauddin Qutlagh Khan and provided with a minar, in which fragments of Hindu pillars and idols were used. The mosque was built a third time in 737/1336 during the reign of Muhammad Tughlaq.

As regards the objection of Mr. Hutchinson that minars attached to mosques do not contain inscriptions, I may point out that Bahauddin was keen to associate his name with a magnificent structure, since the mosque was not wholly constructed by him, and hence he inscribed his own name with that of the Sultan. It became a proof and symbol of his authority as the supreme governor of the eastern provinces of the empire. From the authority quoted, it is clear that this minar was the part of a mosque. It is not necessary that the 'muazzin' should ascend the fullest height to call the faithful to prayer.

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2. Aligarh Statistics, 1856, 339 page.
3. Raje Muhammad Kolvi, p. 205.
4. Ibid p. 205.

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I cannot conclude my discussions on the minar without commenting on its destruction. It was a colossal structure of two storeys, 54 feet high in the first while only 20 ft. of the second remained at the time of its destruction. The base was octagonal and built of block kunkar 80 ft. in circumference. The minar was round in shape, the first storey was built of red-sandstone, the second of bricks. A spiral stair-case of block kunkar led to the top and balconies and apertures admitted light within. Its walls were six feet thick at the base and gradually diminished to 4¼ feet at the end of the first storey. The demolition of this majestic historic ralic was sanctioned by Sir George Edmonstone the Lieutenant-Governor of N. W. P., on the plea that the minar menaced the mosque by its dilapidated condition. The real cause of its demolition was the presence of some Hindu images which were clearly visible in the stair-case. The Hindus advanced a claim for the possession of the minar. They said that it was built for Padmavati, the widowed daughter of Raja Mangal Sen of Koil who after return to her father's house had become a devotee of the Ganga, so that that lofty tower was built for her. Another version of the storey claimed that Padmavati was murdered alive in the column. The Hindus were vigorously agitating for the restoration of the images. Hutchinson[5] wrote in 1856 thus. "we will conclude our account of the pillar by expressing a hope that either the local authorities, or the government may be induced to interpose in behalf of this relic of antiquity. It ought to be restored either wholly or at all events repaired and covered in from the weather. Though vastly inferior to the Kootub Minar in size and beauty, it is of almost equal historical interest and deserved to be rescued from the grasp of Decay's effacing fingers. The Muslims of Koil having taken a prominent part in the Sepoy Mutiny were punished with the confiscation of their land most of which they held in rent-free tenures. The destruction of the minar was a part of the punishment meted to the Muslims for their share in the Mutiny. Mr. Thomas in his chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi blushes with shame to admit that this 19th century Vendal who was responsible for the destruction of this relic was a European and an Englishman.

A NOTE ON THE PLACE OF SULTAN SIKANDAR LODI'S ENTHRONEMENT.

BY

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In an article entitled "Sultan Bahlul Lodi, the place of his death and duration of his reign, contributed to the Journal of Indian History Madras, (Vol. XVII, 1933), I pointed out on the authority of the Muslim University manuscript of Nizamuddin's Tabaqat-i-Akbari that Sultan

5. *Aligarh Statistics* p. 341,

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Bahlul Lodi may have died on the 13th Shaban, 1517, in a village named Milauli or Malauli, in the present Etah District of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh while on a march to Delhi from Gwalior. The Sultan's dead body was sent to Delhi, for burial and prince Nizam Khan was coronated on the 17th Shaban, 1517, 16th July, 1489, in an old building of Firoz Shah Tughlaq, which stood on a mound near Jalali, on the banks of the Kalinadi.

The circumstances of this unusual coronation are as follows. While Sultan Bahlul's illness was giving cause for anxiety, a consultative meeting on the choice of a successor was held in the camp, but no decision could be arrived at, because the nobles were split up as supporters of prince Barbak Shah who held the governorship of Jaunpur and was the eldest of the sons, and Prince Nizam Khan, the second son who held the governorship of the Punjab with a portion of Delhi and the Doab. The Sultan expired but the news of his death was kept secret. A second meeting ended in tumult but Khanan took an oath of allegiance to prince Nizam Khan. Meanwhile as soon as the death of the Sultan took place, Bibi Sonari the mother of Prince Nizam Khan, Umar Khan Sharwani, the prime minister and Khan Khanan Nuhani, a warm supporter of the prince, sent for him through a secret courtier. The prince marched post-haste and joined the party encamped near Salali, which was then a link in the highway to the east. The luxury of a pompous and formal ceremony in Delhi had to be dispensed with to avoid a rival coronation, as the legal position of the nominee to the throne was not very strong, he being the second son, and that too through a goldsmith's daughter. So a halt was made and a site near Jalali was chosen as the venue of the coronation for various reasons. An encampment near the river would solve the problem of water for men and beasts whereas the vicinity of Jalali would make the procurement of supplies for the occasion easier, and make the civilians witness a purely military ceremony and a party affair at best. The place selected was an old edifice of Firoz Shah situated on mound. For long since I was in search of this site and so long I did not get any satisfactory information from the people of the locality. Recently I went out with two of my students with the intention of locating the site. The following are the results of my observations. At the western end of the bridge called Chhatrikpul, there existed a small canopied hall with four openings, perhaps, a hunting pavilion which collapsed 10/15 years back due to an inundation. Its foundation can still be found intact just on the back of the present Dharamshala on the road side. It cannot be the building alluded to because it is not situated on an elevation. Near Jalali there are several mounds, the most prominent ones being two or three, one situated on the eastern side of the western end of the bridge, and visible from the road. The mound is barren except an old grave and does not reveal any sign of its occupation at any time. It is not near the river too. There is another mound on the west of the eastern end of the bridge on which is situated the village of Azadpur visible from the road. On the third mound stands the village of Paharipur whose inhabitants are described by Ibne Batuta as mountaineers,

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because of his rendering of the Hindi 'pahar' into Arabic 'jebel'. If the site was Paharipur, it would have been mentioned, because it was a well-known'' locality centuries back. On the western side of the village of Azadpur, I found heaps of tiles of an old design strewn over a vast area. At about 3/4 furlongs to the east of this village there exists a small canopied hall with four entrances, and having an upper storey without a stair-case. It also stands on a level with Azadpur village. My first impression was that it was the very building alluded to, but on examination, I have been convinced of its comparative modernity. The arches are graceful, the ceilings and walls though of tiles look very fresh and betray no sign of decay. The upper storey is plastered. In my opinion, it is a building of the later Mughul period and must have been used as a 'Shikar' pavilion. The presence of bricks in Azadpur strewn on the surface and strongly imbedded in the earth in a systematic way convinces me that that edifice of Firoz Shah stood on the site of the village of Azadpur. In the whole of the village there is only one pucca house belonging to the Mukhia and that too in 10″ × 5″ bricks, and the villagers cannot account for the presence of old bricks (tiles) in the villages. They were terrified at our enquiry and took us for policemen. We gave all possible assurances to allay their fears still they feared that one day their village would be excavated and they would all be ejected. They say that if proper digging is made, a huge quantity of bricks would come out of the 'Khera'. From the presence of bricks scattered over a wide area, it appears that the building which stood upon it was quite big, and from its proximity to the river and from the presence of another pavilion nearby, I am led to believe that the palace alluded to was a shikar pavilion for fishing or duck or big game shooting, The Kalinadi flowed then as now only a few yards away. I also think that the pavilion to the east of the village which stands intact and is visible from long distances, was constructed out of bricks of the ruined Firoz Shah building which stood in Azadpur. Innundation may have played a part in its destruction. I feel convinced that the excavation of the site will reveal the foundations of this building and will lend strength to my argument. That the coronation took place in the vicinity of Jalali is proved beyond dispute by the presence of the village of Sikandarpur near the western end of the bridge, which took its name from Sikandar Lodi, perhaps to commemorate this historic event. The site of the village may have been used as a camping ground. The villagers themselves say that in accordance with an old custom, five horses used to be always kept in the village at state expense. Its antiquity may go as remote as the reign of Sikandar Lodi.

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MUSLIM CONQUEST OF KOIL.

BY

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and

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Contemporary historians have given a very sketchy account of the Muslim conquest of Koil. From written sources we do not know of any detail of the conquest, not even the name of the Raja or the prince who held the fort. But there is current to this date a fairly reliable tradition of the Muslim conquest of Koil which fits in with written testimony.

Baran (Bulandshahr) and Kol were held by the Rajputs of the Dor clan who appear to have been tributaries to the Tomaras of Delhi. Chandra Sen appears to have been the ruler who lost Koil to the Muslims After the occupation of Delhi in 693/1293 by Qutbuddin and the consolidation of the conquest of the town in the same year, Qutbuddin had to pay a visit to Ghaznin in obedience to a call from his chief Shahabuddin Muhammad Ghori. After his return in the same year, Qutbuddin moved his banners to the east for conquest. He could not keep such a strongly fortified place as Koil was in the hands of his enemies, neither could he feel secure of his hold over Delhi, unless he had subjugated Koil. The latter was the spring board of his march to the east. He crossed the Jumna in the same year with a formidable army, appeared before the Koil fort without meeting any opposition on the way. He invested the Koil fort which is described by Hasan Nizami as 'one of the strongest places in India'. Its pinnacle 'touched the vault of the sky'. The Muslim army invested the fort, it appears, from almost three sides. The fort having the advantage of situation on a high mound, and protected, in addition, by high and thick walls and deep and broad ditches, held out obstinately. An idea of the depth of the ditches may still be had by any body passing through the road running below the bridge in Bala-i-Qila which was once a ditch. The fort was repaired by the Muslims and long remainded in use, at least upto the middle of the 18th century. The ditches are converted into or included in the areas of residential houses. The fort put up a very strong resistance and baffled all attempts to take it by storm. Qutbuddin held a war council in which a suggestion was made to him to seek the blessings or Sheikh Nizamuddin Abul-Muayyad[1], a holy man who accompanied the Muslim army. The latter was the sister's son of Amir Syad Nasiruddin Mubarak[2], of Delhi (and grand-father of Shamsul Arfin Shaikh Jamal, the premier saint of Aligarh) both of whom were present with the Muslim army.[3] It is quite possible that like other prosylitising saints, he selected a place for prayer and meditation in the very place where his tomb is situated, in Shah

1. Akbarul Jamal, Raje Muhammad Kolvi, p 6-8.
2. Akbarul-Jamal, Raje Muhammad Kolvi, Habibganj Mss, p. 8.
3. I have not come across any statement of Muhammadan historians to suggest that Shaikh Jamal took his station in Koil as the van-guard of the Muslim army for which he acted as a spy.

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Jamal, a little to the west of Koil. According to tradition Qutbuddin Aibak himself paid respects to the saint and asked for his help and blessings. The saint suggested him to change the commander of his army and give the command to the man or men whose camp stood erect in the teeth of a swift dust-storm which had been blowing or had just blown. On arrival in the camp, the general found only two such camps, —those of Alauddin and Nasiruddin. They were put in command and were detailed to lead a fresh assault on the fort. According to Hasan Nizami [4], the defenders fought with great courage and obstinacy, but as soon as a breach was made in the walls, the storming party scaled them in large numbers. A large part of the attackers were killed by the defenders in the course of the hand to hand encounter that followed within the citadel. A large number of tombs in the Bala-i-Qila, situated in the form of an are from the Delhi gate side in the Balai Qila upto Mamun-Bhanja Muhalla, belonging to those who took part in the assault testifies to the magnitude of the attack. A very clear idea of the defences of the fort and the position of the attackers may be had from the Muhalla Atashbazan right upto the Delhi Gate. The Muslims carried the fort by assault but in course of the attempt Alauddin and Nasiruddin the two new generals lost their lives. Their tombs exist in the Shah Jamal enclosure. The Muslims obtained a large booty including one thousand fleet-footed horses of very good pedigree.[5] And thanks, to this day Aligarh has retained its reputation as an important breeding-centure of a very good type of horses much prized in Northern India. It was after the conquest of Koil that Qutbuddin decided to transfer the seat of his newly conquered empire to Delhi. Local tradition thus points to the capture of Koil in the summer months, and since on written testimony we know that the fort was captured in 590 Hijra, therefore the capture of the fort would fall between May and June 1194. The conquest of Koil opened the gate to the east to the Muslims. Soon after the conquest of Koil, Qutbuddin joined his victorious forces with those of his master and presented him with two elephants, one caparisoned in gold clothing and another in silver and 300 hundred Turkish horses. Qutbuddin joined his master some distance away from Koil. Both of them then proceeded to the east to take the field against Jai Chand of Kanauj and Benares. The latter was defeated and killed in the battle of Chandwar and his territories captured by the Muslims. Following this the Muslim army proceeded further east conquering and subjugating the whole tract upto the frontiers of Bengal. On his way to Delhi, Sultan Shahabuddin inspected the Koil fort and gave it in charge of Hisamuddin Aghalbak, who thus became the first governor of Koil. Shahabuddin proceeded to Ghaznin leaving Qutbuddin in Delhi in charge of his Indian territories. Hisamuddin secured his hold over Koil by suppressing a very powerful tribe in the vicinity, might be the Thakurs of the Doab. It was during the first flush of Muslim victory that Qutbuddin laid the fonndation of a mosque, it appears from trust-worthy sources, on the highest ground of the fortfied area.

4. Tajul-Maasir, p. 270.
5. Ibid 271.

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FOUNDATION OF CHANDAUSI TOWN—AN EPISODE IN THE ROHILLA ANNALS.

BY

Pt. Ram Kumar Chaube, Benares.

The town of Chandausi, the well-known centre of wheat of Northern India is situated in the Moradabad District of Rohilkhand Division adjacent to Aligarh. No accurate account of its early history is available though many surmises have been made, e. g. its foundation is ascribed to one Rani Chandravati who is herself unknown to sober History. The Moradabad District Gazetteer dismisses the account of its foundation in a few lines which run thus, "Chandausi appears to be of comparatively recent origin. A market sprang up on the main road from Bareilly to Sambhal and Delhi; its foundation by one Ibrahim Khan taking place according to tradition in 1757." Evidence is produced in the present paper from the Rohilla History that the town came into existence about 1775 on the fall of the Rohilla power which took place between 1770 and 1775. Chandausi was founded by four brothers—Chand Khan, Amir Khan, Bairam Khan and Natthu Khan along with a Hindu Daula Sah, after the death of Dunde Khan Rohilla in 1770, in whose service all the persons named above were. Baisauli, District Budaun, a few miles from Chandausi was the stronghold of the Rohillas under Dunde Khan whose ruined fort still stands there. It was named after Chand Khan, the eldest of the four brothers. Daula Sah was the treasurer of Dunde Khan. He constructed a tank outside the town which existed still recently.

Just before the foudation of the town Asalatpur Jarai, a village 3 miles from Chandausi, was the battle ground of Rohillas in their quarrels with the Maharattas and the English.

Amir Khan, the famous Pinidari Chief, was a resident of the village Serai Tarin in Tehsil Sambhal, District Moradabad, about 8 miles from Chandausi. In his early age, it is interesting to note he served a merchant in this town, only a little after its foundation. In 1805 he came to Chandausi, when he was creating a havoc all round the country but spared it under the sentiment that he had eaten the salt of this town, though the District Gazetteer of Moradabad asserts that he extracted a lot of money from its rich merchants.

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GOSVAMI TULASIDASA.

(The date of his renunciation was 1604 of Vikrama Era. His mother, Hulasi, was born at Tari in the district of Etah.)

BY

PANDIT RAMDAT BHARADWAJ, M. A., LL. B.

I

I contributed to the fourth session (1940) of the Indian History Congress a paper on RATNAVALI AND TULSIDAS, which mentions that Gosvami Tulasidasa renounced the world in 1624 of the Vikrama era. But the date should have been 1604 V. E. An effort was made to correct the error immediately after the submission of the paper and before the session of the Congress ; but in vain.

Ratnavali is the only evidence in the matter so far. She wrote some couplets (dohas) of which, as has already been mentioned in the aforesaid paper, there are two collections—the one of 111 and the other of 201 couplets which include the former. Both the collections have two manuscripts each. The smaller is not relevant to the present purpose. Of the two manuscripts of the larger collection, the one was made by Gopaladasa in 1824 V. E. and the other by Gangadhara in 1829 V. E. ; but the latter was discovered earlier.

Gangadhara's reading of Ratnavali's couplet is erroneous :

सागर कररस ससि रतन संवत भो दुषदाइ

पिय वियोग जननी मरन करन न भूल्यो जाइ । ४२ ।

The transcriber Gangadhara has given a variant सी (for सि in ससि) in the right hand margin. It seems that the transcriber himself was in doubt as the interpretation of the year mentioned in the couplet ; so were his readers, one of whom probably thought of correcting the ष to क as the expression षर was meaningless, of course with caution and hesitation. The ink shows that the tail '़' of 'क', is a later addition. If the ष were changed to क, the year in the couplet would mean 1624 which however is wrong, for the reason given below.

Gopaldasa's manuscript, though earlier, was discovered later, and I had not the opportunity to go through the whole of it carefully before submitting the paper; hence the mistake. Gopaladasa is quite clear :

सागर ष रस ससी रतन संवत भो दुषदाइ

पिय वियोग जननी मरन करन न भूल्यो जाइ । ४२ ।

Sasi means one ; rasa, six ; sa, zero ; and sagara ; four. The date of Tulasi's renunciation, therefore, was 1604 of the Vikrama Era.

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II

I embrace this opportunity of inviting attention to a verse of one Kanharai Brahmabhatta, a poet who resided under the patronage of a Chief, Karna Sinha, in the reign of Shahjahan at Tari, a village between the Ganges and the Kalinadi near Sahawar in the district of Etah. Some of the writings of this poet are, as Mr. Kunwar Bahadur Sarma informs in the ' Navina Bharata ' of the 23rd September, 1942, still with Messrs. Narayana Lal Varma and Raghunatha Sinha Solanki. Kanharai has described his birth-place Tari in a few stanzas of which the following lines reveal that Tari was also the birth place of Hulasi, mother of the celebrated Gosvami Tulsidasa :

साहि जहां राज सब सुखारी हैं कान्हराय
त्यौं ही करन राज में तारी सुख धाम है ।
जाके दिसि उत्तर में गंग जुग राजि रहीं
दक्खिन कछु कोस पै करै केलि काली है ।
तुलसी मात हुलसी की जननी जे ताली भूमि
भूप सिंह पाली जासु रच्छक कपाली है ।

It seems that some people who, impelled by the close association of the Gosvami with Rajapur for some time, regarded Tari as the birth-place of the Gosvami himself, and wrongly identified it with a village of the same name near Rajapur in the district of Banda. According to the above extract, Tari should be the birth-place of the Gosvami's mother and be located between the Ganges and the Kalinadi near Sahawar in the district of Etah.

HISTORICAL IMPORTANCE OF SUKARA-KSETRA OR SORON

(Origin of the Calukyas, Sorankis and Baghelas Atranji Khera, Hastinapur).

BY

PANDIT RAMDAT BHARADWAJ, M. A., LL. B.

I.

The Varaha and the Brahma Purana locate Saukarava (Sukara-ksetra, Varaha-ksetra, or Varana-tirtha) on the Ganges. It is said that before the Varaha incarnation it was called Ukala-ksetra. As time went on, the word ' Saukarava' gradually turned, perhaps on philological grounds, into ' Soron ' which too is quite old and traceable to the Prthviraja Raso by Chand and to the Ain-e-Akbari by Abul Fazl Allami. The couplets by Ratnavali, the Ratnavali Carita by Murlidhara Chaturvedi (1829 V. E.) and a mass of other literature reveals that the celebrated Gosvami Tulasidasa belonged to Soron. The

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author of the Carita also tells us that there was once a Soranki king named Soma-datta whose fortress did not exist in the days of the author, but its remains were visible with effort in his days. People say that the Kastriya clan known as Soranki was named after Soron, the word itself being the feminine genetive of the Soron.

Tradition locates Culukia in Soron, which was the site where once in ancient days a Ksatriya did hard penances on the Ganges. God Visnu blessed the site as Culukiya and the Ksatriya as Cauluka; for he had drunk only palmfuls (culukas) of water for some months during the austerities for twelve years. Tradition also runs that Cakravartti Raja Bena built forts at what are now known as Soron (on the Ganges) and Atranji (on the Kalinadi). Tha last tradition is also mentioned in the Gazetteer of the Etah District. Lately Mr. Kunwara Bahadura Sarma has given notice (in the 'Navina Bharta of 23rd September 1942) of a few lines by Bhima Deva Baghela who had retired from service, after the death of Raja Mana Singha of Amera, and settled at his birth-place adjacent to the mounds of Atranji on the Kali and was the author of the Kacchavaha-kula-pradipa and the Cauluka-vansa-pradipa. These lines show that a sub-clan of the Caulukyas was named Soranki after Soram (or Soron) on the Ganges and the Sorankis (Solankis) were further sub-divided; that the Baghelas—a sub-clan of the Sorankis—were the residents of Baghela, a village near Soron; and that Vena, the son of the initial Cauluka who was blessed by God Visnu, built forts at Soron and also at Atranjipura which lay dilapidated as now even in the days of the poet.

It is said that the Caulukyas spread their empires to such distant places as South India, and had in their standards seven emblems such as the image of God Varaha (Boar), the Ganges and the Jamuna. It needs no mention, however, that both the Calukya dynasties of South India had images of the Boar on their coins.

I leave it to learned historians to decide whether the Cauluka, the Calukya and the Caulukya denote one and the same clan of the Ksatriyas.

II

I have visited Atranji Mounds twice—the year before last with an amatur friend and last year with Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, M. A., F. R. A. S. B., Director-General of Archaeology in India. who found some interesting antiquities including the coin-moulds of Kaniska. Atranji is now a barren *khera* or a mass of mounds awaiting excavation. It lies on the Kalinadi in 27°-42′ N. and 78°-44′E, ten miles north of Etah and about seven miles south of Kasganj. In the Ain-e-Akbari it has been mentioned at Sikandarpur Atreji. The District Gazetteer of Etah mentions that it is 3960 ft. long, 1500 ft. broad, and 65 ft. high: but considering the neighbouring areas now covered by hamlets and villages which sometimes yield images on chance excavation, it seems to have been very big and glorious city in the past. "General Cunningham would identify Atranji Khera with the site of 'Pilo-chan-na' visited

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by the Chinese Buddhist traveller Huen Tsang in the 7th century." Who knows it may still be older. We had the opportunity to see four big phallus-images of God Siva. I have lost the measurements ; but I remember that the smallest was not less than 72 inches in circumference and two and a half feet in height ; the rest were not much bigger.

Standing, in my first visit, on one of the many mounds of Atranji, I wondered if it could be Hastinapur of the Mahabharta fame, although Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit has since dissuaded me from going so back. Curiously enough Joppens has, in his Historical Atlas, located the city of the Kurus on the Kalinadi on the basis of the 'Indiche Alterthumuskunde' Vol. I. of the second edition, and also on H. Kiepert's map in the second volume of the same work. Besides. there are some places round about Atranji, which people associate with some places mentioned in the Mahabharata. For example, Kampil (District Farrukhabad) is believed to be the home of Dronacarya, Sahawar, the site of Draupadi's *svayamvara*. In the north-west, Karnavasa on the Ganges is believed to be the residence of Karna, the friend of Duryodhana, and a little further lie Varanavata (or Baran now known as Bulandshahr) where the lac house was erected, and Kundinpur (Ahar, Dt. Bulanshahr) where, it is said, Rukmini, the consort of Lord Krsna was born . In the south are Mathura (Muttrn) and Brindaban, home of the Lord. Some historians can dispute some of these sites. For some reasons. I have not been able te give the consideration it deserves. I have, however, come across a few lines, which cast doubt. The Bhagavata tells us that Lord Bala Rama, brother of Lord Krana tried to destroy the city of Hastinapur by drawing it into the Ganges. The Hitopadesa assigns it to the 'upa-kantha' of the Ganges. Can 'upa-kantha' denote a distance of ten miles[17] from the bank ?

Atranji may not be Hastinapura ; but it is, on excavation, likely to throw light not only on the history of Soron or Sukara-ksetra, but also on the important periods of Ancient India now lying in the dark.

SHAIKH GHURAN, SECOND MUGHAL GENERAL.

BY

QAIYUM ALI KHAN, Masudabad, Aligarh.

Shaikh Ghuran was a resident of Kol [1] Sarkar and a direct descendant of Hazrat Shah Jamal Shamsul Arfin, the premier saint of Kol, being eighth in line from him [2]. A short account of his life is given in the Memoirs of Babar, and the Akhbarul Jamal, a local history of

(1) The old name of Aligarh..

(2) The genealogy runs thus. Shaikh Ghuran son of Shaikh Muhammad, son of Sh. Salam, son of Sh. Budhe, son of Sh. Shahabuddin, son of Sh. Jiwan, son of Maulana Jalaluddin, son of Hazrat Shah Jamal (Shamsul-Arfin).

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Kol. It appears that the harsh treatment of his step-mother compelled him to leave his home and choose a life of adventure. When Babar defeated Ibrahim Lodi in the battle of Panipat, on the 8th of Rajab, 932/20th April, 1526, Shaikh Ghuran was a powerful Jagirdar of the middle Doab with a considerable following. On the 29th Rajab/ 2nd May of the same year, Babar came to Agra which had been seized by prince Humayun. Yet the victory of Panipat or the seizure of Agra did not give the Mughals the control of the Doab. The proud Afghan chiefs though most of them disliked Ibrahim Lodi and many of them had risen in revolt against him, did not surrender themselves to the Mughals. They defied the authority of the conquerors from their fortresses and openly revolted against them. Babar sent one of his officers named Mulla Apaq to Kol, with a 'farman' to be circulated among the armed chiefs of the locality to surrender their fortresses and submit to the Mughals. In response to this Shaikh Ghuran paid respects to Babar and joined his service with three thousand of his armed followers.[3] Shekh Ghuran was mainly instrumental in capturing the fort of Sambhal from Qasim Khan*. After that Shaikh Ghuran and Mulla Apaq were deputed to Gwalior and they captured. The first of Gwalior from Nisar Khan, another Pathan Chief. The fort was left in the custody of Rahimdad and Nisar Khan submitted to Babar. Shaikh Ghuran was present in the battle of Kanwa 16th Jamadi II 933/19th March, 15/27 and commanded the right wing along with other generals. He was one of the few generals who defied the baptism of fire and stood calmly at his post, and thus greatly helped in achieving the 'victory of victories.'

Meanwhile in the middle Doab, the Pathan chiefs counting upon the defeat of the Mughals in the hands of the Rajputs raised once more their head in driving their common enemy clear from India. Ilias Khan, one of the Pathan chiefs seized a considerable portion of the Doab, and occupied Kol after defeating and imprisoning Kuchak Ali, the first Mughal governor of Kol. Shikh Ghuran was sent in the company of Muhammad Ali Jang Jang and Abdul Malik Qurchi to operate against him. Ilias Khan was defeated and brought as a prisoner before Babar, a few days after the latter's return to Agra. Babar ordered him to be flayed alive. [4]

On the first of Muharram, 934/27th Sept, 1527, Babar came to Kol, perhaps on his way towards the eastern Doab. On Shaik Ghuran's request the emperor accepted his invitation, and spent two days in sight-seeing. The entire imperial retinue was feasted by Ghuran, it appears at his country house at Pilakhna. He also gave bifitting presents to the emperor [5] It is narrated in the Akhbarul Jamal, that with a view to commemorating the Imperial visit, Ghuran established a bazar which still exists in Aligarh and bears the name of Babri Mandi.

(3) Mrs. Beveridge, Babunama II 526 Memoris, Porsian Tr p 209.
*Beveridge Babunama II, 528-9.
(4) Memorirs Persian Tr p 214 ; Beveridge II 567.
(5) Ibid „ p 217.
Beveridge II II 589.

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At the present time only a few shops remain, the rest have been converted into private houses. Till 1098/1686, the heirs and descendants of Ghuran lived there.

Sheikh Guuran was next sent, on the 19th Rabi II, 934/12 January 1528, to subdue Mendi Rao, the chief Chanderi, as the vanguard of the imperial army, along with Chin Timur Sultan. On Medni Rao's refusal to surrender Chanderi and take Shamsabad intead, he was ejected from Chanderi.[6] Ghuran accompanied Babar in his campaign to Bihar, in 1528. After subjugating the Pathans in their last rallying centre in Bihar, Babar came face to face with the army of Sultan Nusrat Shah of Bengal. In his campaign Ghuran was given the duty of watching the bridge of boats thrown over, presumably the Ganges. It was after his return to Agra from the eastern campaign that Ghuran sent Babar a basketful of grapes of tolerably good qualities, grown in his own garden.

In 936/1529, Ghuran was sent to Gwalior in the company of Shahabuddin Khusrau and Shaikh Malik Ghaus to reduce Rahimdad to submission, His fault was ultimately pardoned. Thenceforward Ghuran remained the governor of Gwalior till Babar's death. He died in the service of Humayun, in 943/1536, in the city of Mandu where he lived as the governor of Malwa. His dead body was brought to Kol, and buried by the side of the tomb of Shamsul Arfin Shah Jamal. The tomb in white marble with part of the inscription still readable exists at the right side of the entrance to Shah Jamal's tomb.

The mud fort of Ghuran still exists in a dilapidated condition in his country house at Pilakhna, a village about 16 miles north-east of the Aligarh city. In Pilakhna the ruins of his residential house, and a beautiful two-storied mosque costructed by still exist, the latter, in a nice state of preservation. On the main entrance to the mosque, there exists an inscription in a 'ruba-i-ets' whose translation is as follows.

"This mosque was built in order to serve as the meeting place for all,

"By the noble of the noble, Ghuran, son of Muhammad, son of Salam,

"The year of the Hijra wes nine hundred and thirty-five [9],

"And it was during the reign of Zahiruddin Muhammad Ghazi."

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(6) Beveridge Baburnama II 590-96.

(7) Beveridge, Baburnama, II, 688.

(8) Ibid, do, 690, 692.

(8) كرد ايں مسجد بنا چوں كعبۂ ملجائے عام - شرف‌الاشراف كهورن بن محمد بن سلام -

(9) سال هجرت بود قيصدي و پنجم اندر شمار - ظهيرالدين محمد بابر غازي كرام -1598 A. D.

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In Kol (Aligarh) too, Ghuran had a palace, an isolated building known as Hammam, a very fine structure with verandahs and wardrobe rooms, and with a big well by the side. The well is situated on the Bala-i Qila, on the southwest of the Juma Masjid. The building was raised to the ground by the order of the district authorities with the approval of the Lt.-Governor of the Province, in 1861.

Shaikh Ghuran had no male issue. He had only one daughter who was married to Shaikh Mubarak (son of Shah Nizamuddin, real brother of Gharan) Bibi Ajaib by name, who lies in the Shah Jamal enclosure by the side of her father's tomb. The descendants of Shaikh Mubarak still survive in the city and its vicinity,

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"HAS THE TA'RIKH-I-MUZAFFAR SHAHI REACHED US ?"

BY

PROF. SHAIKH CHAND HUSAIN, Deccan College Research Inst., Poona 1.

Summary.

The Ta'rikh-i-Muzaffar Shahi has been refered to as an early authority on the history of Gujarat both by Ferishta and Nizamu'd-Din Ahmad Bakhshi. The author of the Mir'at-i-Ahmadi also utilised the work while writing his book on the history of the Gujrat Sultanate.

Recently, the Gujarat Vernacular Society of Ahmadabad published under its auspices a work under the name of "Muzaffar Shahi". It was edited from a MS. belonging to the Bhola Nath Library, Ahmadabad, by Mawlawi Sayyid Abu Zafar Nadwi in collaboration with other workers from the abovementioued Institute. I reviewed the publication in the New Indian Antiquary; Dr. M. A. Chaghatai also reviewed it in the Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute, Poona.

In the course of his review Dr. Chaghatai raised doubts about the above publication being the original Ta'rikh-i-Muzaffar Shahi which, he asserted, had not reached us. "The real name", according to him, of the above work published by the Gujarat Vernacular Society, Ahmadabad, "ought to have been Fath-i-Mandu", as the author has expressly stated that his motive was to describe the Conquest of the Fort of Mandu—Shadiabad; that in order to "justify its name Muzaffar Shahi, it must comprehensively deal with the whole range of the reign of Muzaffar Shahi", and that the Mir-'at-i-Sikandari, the only comprehensive history of the Gujarat Sultanate does not quote the Muzaffar Shahi but Bahadur Shahi, so far as the particular incident (Conquest of Mandu) is concerned.

In this paper an attempt is made to prove that the Ta'rikh-i- Mozaffar Shahi has survived and that the publication of the Gujarat Vernacular Society is no other than the abovementioned Ta'rikh-i-Muzaffar Shahi. It has been shown that the Ta'rikh-i-Muzaffar Shahi is quoted in both

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the Mir'at-i-Sikandari and the Mir'at-i-Ahmadi in connection with the Conquest of Mandu in A. H. 924, that the account of the incident found in both the Mir'ats is nothing but a clever abridgement from the Ta'rikh-i-Muzaffar Shahi, which the two Mir'ats follow in detail, even quoting actual words and phrases employed in the Muzaffar Shahi. Passages containing the same readings are given from the Muzaffar Shahi and the Mir'at-i-Sikandari.

Finally it is shown that number of copies in MS. of the Mir'at-i-Sik mention the Ta'rikh-i-Muzaffar Shahi as a source of the former and that it is mentioned specifically twice as the authority for the account of the Conquest of Mandu.

MINUTE OF THE ANNUAL BUSINESS MEETING OF THE INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS ASSOCIATION

The annual Business meeting of the Indian History Congress Association was held on Monday, the 27th December 1943, at 3 P. M. in the Strachey Hall of the Aligarh Muslim University. In the unavoidable absence of Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, the President, Dr. R. C. Majumdar, the Vice-President, presided. The following business was transacted:

1. After the minutes of the last meeting were confirmed, the condolence resolution expressing sense of grief on the death of the following scholars was moved from the Chair: Dr. V. S. Sukthankar, Mr. D. V. Apte, Mr. Y. M. Kale, Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Rai, Rai Bahadur Ram Prasad Chanda, Mahamahopadhya. Pt. Kuppuswami Sastri, Sir Aural Stein, and Sir Denison Ross.

2. The General Secretary then read the annual report on the work done, which was adopted by the house.

3. The Treasurer presentend the accounts of income and expenditure during the years 1942 and 1943 which were recorded. The budget estimates of the year 1944 were then presented by the Treasurer and were approved.

4. The General Secretary reported that the Executive Committee had appointed a sub-committee, consisting of Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikhit, Dr. Tara Chand, Shaikh Abdur Rashid and Dr. Bisheswar Prasad, to consider the Rules of Business and report them at the next meeting of the Association.

5. On the recommendation of Executive Committee, the Association adopted the following ammendments to the Constitution:

(*i*) In section 9, substitute "fourteen" for "ten" before 'other membars' and make corresponding changes elsewhere.

(*ii*) In section 9, add "office bearers" after the word "following".

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(*iii*) In section 12, substitute (*b*) for (*a*).

(*iv*) In section 14, add (1) The President for the next session shall be elected at the annual meeting of the Executive Committee. He will hold office from the date he presides over the session till the next President takes over charge.

The section as ammended will now read.

"9. There shall be an Executive Committee to manage the affairs of the Association consisting of the following office-bearers (*a*) a President, (*b*) two Vice-Presidents, (*c*) a General Secretary, (*d*) a Joint-Secretary, (*e*) a Treasurer, (*f*) a Local Secretary and fourteen other members.

"12. (*i*) The office-bearers (*b*) to (*e*) and the Sectional Presidents shall be elected at the 'meeting of the Executive Committee held at the session of the Congress. They will hold office from the date of election till the election of new office-bearers. But they will be eligible for re-election. Their names shall be reported to the Association.

"14. The President shall preside over the meetings of the Association and of the Executive Committee and regulate their proceedings. He shall normally be the convener of the Executive Committee. He shall supervise the work of the Secretary and the Treasurer and be responsible for the observation of all rules, regulations and bye-laws and the proper carrying out of the resolutions of the Executive Committee and the Association. He shall have a vote and, in case of equality of votes, a casting vote.

The president for the next session shall be elected at the annual meeting of the Executive Committee. He will hold office from the date he presides over the session till the next President takes over charge."

6. The General Secretary then reported that the three Editorial Committees appointed at the Hyderabad session had drawn up a final scheme of volumes and chapters of the projected comprehensive History of India, and have allotted chapters to writers. The scheme as drawn up by the Editorial Committees had met with the approval of the Coordinating Committee. It was further pointed out that most of the scholars selected to write chapters to the volumes dealing with Medieval and Modern periods had expressed their willingness to cooperate, and had also commenced work.

The General Secretary next read out the names of the members of the Executive Board and reported that active measures were being taken for the collection of funds. The Universities of Allahabad and Patna promised donations of Rs. 5,000 and Rs. 2,500 respectively, and the Government of India was likely to make a substantial grant.

NAMES OF THE MEMBERS OF THE EXECUTIVE BOARD:

The Rt. Hon'ble Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, P. C., K. C. S. I., LL. D.,

The Rt. Hon'ble Mr. M. R. Jayakar, P. C., LL. D., B. C. L.,

Hon'ble Sardar Sir Jogendra Singh, Kt.

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Dr. Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan, Kt., D. Litt.

Syt. K. M. Munshi, Bombay.

Pradhan Shiromani N. Madhava Rau, C. I. E., Dewan of Mysore.

Sir Mirza Ismail, K. C. S. I., Prime Minister, Jaipur State.

Nawab Ali Yawar Jung Bahadur, M. A., Secretary to H. E. H. The Nizam's Govt.

Sir Abdul Qadir, Bar-at-Law, Chief Justice, Bahawalpur.

Sir S. Radhkrishnan, D. Litt., F. B. A., Vice-Chancellor, Benares Hindu University.

Dr. Sir Ziauddin Amad, D. Sc., Vice-Chancellor, Muslim University, Aligarh.

Dr. Sachchidanand Sinha, D. Litt., Vice-Chancellor, Patna University.

Prof. Amaranatha Jha, M. A., Vice-Chancellor, Allahabad University.

Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukerji, Calcutta.

Dewan Bahadur Dr. S. Krishnaswani Aiyanger, M. A., Ph. D. Madras.

Dr. R. C. Majumdar, M. A., Ph. D., Calcutta.

Dr. R. P. Tripathi, M. A., D. Sc., Head of the History Deptt. Allahabad University.

Dr. S. N. Sen, M. A., Ph. D., B. Litt., Keeper of Imperial Records, New Delhi.

Rao Bahadur Prof. C. S. Srinivasachari, M. A., Head of History Deptt., Annamalai University.

Prof. H. K. Sherwani, M. A., Head of History Deptt., Osmania Uuiversity, Hyderabad.

Dr. Bisheshar Prasad, D. Litt., Allahabad University.

Dr. Tara Chand, D. Phil., Principal, K. P. University College, Allahabad, *Secretary*.

7. The names of the office-bearers, President and Sectional Presidents for the next session, as elected by the Executive Committee were reported : President .. ... Dr. S. N. Sen, New Delhi

Sectional Presidents :—Mr. M. S. Vats Sec. I upto 711.

Mahamahopadhyaya Prof. V. V. Mirashi. II 711 to 1206.

Maulana S. Sulaiman Nadvi. III 1206 to 1526,

Dr. K. R. Qanungo IV 1526 to 1764.

Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad Sec. V Modern History.

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Office bearers for 1944:—President Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit

Vice-Presidents 1. Dr. R. C. Majumdar.
2. Rao Bahadur C. S. Srinivasachari.

General Secretary Dr. Tara Chand.
Joint Secretary Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad.
Treasurer Dr. Banarsi Prasad Saksena.

8. The following were elected members of the Executive Committee:

Prof. Mohammad Habib, Aligarh University.
Prof. K. A. Nilakantha Sastri, Madras University.
Prof. S. V. Puntambekar, Benares Hindu University.
Prof. D. V. Potdar, Poona.
Dr. S. N. Sen, New Delhi.
Prof. H. K. Sherwani, Osmania University.
Prof. Sri Ram Sharma, Srinagar (Kashmir).
Dewan Bahadur Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, Madras.
Dr. M. H. Krishna, Mysore University.
Dr. S. K. Banerji, Lucknow University.
Dr. P. M. Joshi, Bombay University.
Dr. H. C. Raychaudhri, Calcutta University.
Dr. I. H. Qureshi, Delhi University.
Dr. N. L. Chatterji, Lucknow University.

9. The following resolutions were adopted by the Association :—

I. Books presented by the authors or publishers to the Indian History Congress during the year may be exhibited at the ensuing session of the Congress.

2. That the Indian States be requested by the Executive Committee to throw open their record offices to the bonafide research students and afford facilities to them to do their work.

10. The Association thankfully accepted the invitation extended by the University of Madras to hold the next session at Madras in 1944. Proof. K. A. Nilakantha Sastri, Professor of Indian History, Madras University personally conveyed the invitation of the Madras University.

11. The Association them conveyed its thanks to the Universities of Allahabad and Patna for their donations towards the project of the comprehensive history of India.

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12. Dr. S. N. Sen proposed a vote of thanks to Lt.-Col. Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad, Vice-Chancellor of the Aligarh University and Chairman of the Reception Committee, and the University as well as to the office-bearers and members of the Reception Committee for the splendid arrangements they had made for the meetings of the Congress and the comforts of the members attending the session. He also thanked the volunteers who by their untiring zeal and devotion had largely contributed to the success of the session. Prof. Nilakantha Sasri, Prof. Puntambekar, Dr. R. P. Tripathi, Prof. Potdar, Dr. I. H. Qureshi and Mr. B. N. Puri associated themselves with the proposal which was adopted with acclamations. Dr. Majumdar, the chairman, then surveyed the work which had been done by the Aligarh session and expressed his thanks to the Reception Committee and the Local Secretary Shaikh Abdur Rashid.

TARA CHAND,
General Secretary.

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

Held on the 26th December, 1943.

The annual meeting of the Executive Committee was held on the 26th December, 1943 at 6-30 p. m. in the University building at Aligarh, under the chairmanship of Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit. The following members were present :

Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit,
Prof. C. S. Srinivasachari,
Mr. R. V. Poduval,
Dr. R. C. Majumdar,
Dr. S. N. Sen,
Prof. Sri Ram Sharma,
Dr. B. P. Saksena,
Prof. D. V. Potdar,
Dr. M. H. Krishna,
Prof. Shaikh Abdul Rashid,
Prof. H. K. Sherwani,
Dr. Tara Chand,

and

Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad.

(Also present)

Prof. K. A. Nilakantha Shastri.

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1. The minutes of the last meeting were confirmed

2. The Committee expressed its sense of profound grief on the death of the undermentioned scholars and members of the Indian History Congress :

Dr. V. S. Sukthankar
Mr. D. V. Apte
Mr. Y. M. Kale
Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Rai
Rai Bahadur Ram Prasad Chanda
Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Kuppuswami Sastri
Sir Denison Ross
Sir Aurel Stein
Prof. Gulshan Rai.

3. The Committee considered the report for the year 1943 presented by the General Secretary and recommended it to the Association for adoption (Report in the Appendix).

4. The Committee considered the accounts of income and expenditure for the years 1942 and 1943 presented by the Treasurer and passed the accounts subject to audit by the Auditor.

5. The Committee adopted the budget estimates of income and expenditure for the year 1944 as presented by the Treasurer.

6. The Committee appointed a sub-committee consisting of the following members to consider the rules of the Business and report them at the next meeting :

Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit
Dr. Tara Chand
Mr. Shaikh Abdul Rashid
Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad

7. The Committee recommended the following amendments to the constitution for adoption by the Association :—

(*i*) In Section 9, add "office bearer" after the word "following" and delete (*g*) before "ten other members".

(*ii*) In Section 12 substitute (*b*) for (*a*)

(*iii*) In Section 14, add (1) The President for the next session shall be elected at the annual meeting of the Executive Committee. He will hold office from the date he presides over the session till the next President takes over charge ; and number the present paragraph as (*ii*)

(*iv*) In Section 9, substitute "fourteen" for "ten" before "other members", and make corresponding changes elsewhere in the constitution.

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8. The Committee considered the resolutions proposed by the members for the meeting of the Association and recommended the following for adoption by the Association :

(*i*) Books presented by the authors or publishers to the Indian History Congress during the year may be exhibited at the ensuing session of the Congress.

(*ii*) In view of the exceptional importance of Greater India studies, the Provincial Governments and the Universities of India be earnestly requested to create followships, travelling scholarships and, if possible, chairs for stimulating such studies.

(*iii*) The Government of India be requested as soon as funds permit to create a Central Library of Greater India studies at a convenient place for encouraging advanced studies in that field.

9. The Secretary reported the receipt of a letter from the Madras University inviting the Indian History Congress to hold its next session, 1944, in Madras. The committee recommended that the invitation may be thankfully accepted.

10. The following office-bearers were elected for the year 1944 :

President	..	Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit
Vice-Presidents	..	Dr. R. C. Majumdar, and Rao Bahadur C. S. Srinivasachari
General Secretary	..	Dr. Tara Chand
Joint Secretary	..	Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad
Treasurer	..	Dr. B. P. Saksena.

11. The following were elected as Presidents and Sectional Presidents for the 1944 session :

President—Dr. S. N. Sen

Sectional Presidents

I Mr. M. S. Vats,
II Prof. V. V. Mirashi
III Maulana S. Salaiman Nadvi
IV Dr. K. R. Qanungo
V Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad

12. The Committee appointed Messrs. G. P. Jaiswal, Allahabad to audit the accounts for the years 1942-1943 and authorised the payment of a remuneration not exceeding Rs. 50/-.

13. The General Secretary in consultation with the President was authorised to take necessary action for getting printed the Proceedings of the Sixth Session of the Indian History Congress held at Aligarh.

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14. It was resolved to open an account in the Imperial Bank of India in the name of the Treasurer and that Dr. B. P. Saksena, the Treasurer, be authorised to operate the account.

15. Consideration of the report of the sub-committee appointed in 1941 to consider the proposal for starting a journal was postponed.

TARA CHAND,
General Secretary.

BALANCE SHEET

		Rs. as. p.
Income of 1942.		
Central Fund opening balance	.. ..	665 10 3
Membership fee during 1942	.. ..	186 0 0
	Total ..	851 10 3
Expenditure of 1942.		
Pay and Allowance ...	.. ..	205 0 0
Printing	.. ..	101 14 0
Stationery	.. ..	11 4 9
Postage and Telegraph ..	.. ..	64 7 0
Miscellaneous	.. ..	6 4 0
Bank Commission ..	.. ..	5 6 0
	Total ..	394 3 9
	Total Income ..	851 10 3
	Total Expenditure ..	394 3 9
	Profit ..	457 6 6

Detail of Rs. 457-6 6

With Imperial Bank, Allahabad	.. ..	397 6 0
With Office as cash ..	.. ..	60 0 6
	Total ..	457 6 6

BISHESHWAR PRASAD
Joint Secretary.

B. P. SAKSENA
Treasurer

STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS FOR THE PERIOD FROM JANUARY 1943 TO THE 20TH DECEMBER 1943.

	Dr. Rs. as. p.	Cr. Rs. as. p.
Central Office fund a/c	..	457 6 6
Membership Fee a/c	..	1535 0 0
Imperial Bank of India a/c ..	1,133 2 0	
Pay and allowance a/c	305 0 0	

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	Dr. Rs. a. p.	Cr. Rs. a. p.
T. A. Bills a/c	168 8 0	
Printing a/c	102 12 0	
Stationery a/c	30 12 0	
Postage and Telegrams a/c ..	198 0 0	
Furniture a/c	0 8 0	
Miscellaneous a/c	50 0 0	
Bank Commission a/c	18 4 0	
Sale of Proceedings	..	20 0 0
History of India Fund a/c ..	..	..
Cash with the office	5 8 6	
Total ..	2012 6 6	2012 6 6

BISHESHWAR PRASAD,
Joint Secretary.

B. P. SAKSENA,
Treasurer.

Budget Estimate for 1944.

Income.

	Rs. as. p.
Opening Balance in 1944..	1,133 0 0
Membership Fee during 1944	2,200 0 0
Total ..	3,333 0 0

Expenditure.

Office Establishment	400 0 0
Postage and Telegrams	200 0 0
Stationery	50 0 0
Printing	150 0 0
Arrangements for the next session	100 0 0
Printing of Proceedings including Postage ..	1,350 0 0
Miscellaneous	50 0 0
Audit	50 0 0
Total ..	2,350 0 0

B. P. SAKSENA
Treasurer.

ANNUAL REPORT—1943.

The Indian History Congress has completed 8 years of its existence. During this period it has held six sessions and made steady progress in the achievement of its main object *viz.* to promote research in Indian history on scientific lines, to coordinate the work of scholars and

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to prepare a scientific and comprehensive history of India. The increasing number of its members and the growing volume of its transactions which contain learned papers by eminent historians testify to its growing popularity.

The Congress has endeavoured to stimulate historical research both by providing a forum for unbiassed discussion and by encouraging the scholars of different shades of opinion and belonging to different areas to come together and deliberate on the main problems of history. It has also striven to facilitate research by drawing the attention of the Government of India, Provincial Governments and Indian States to the need of opening their archives to bonafide research students and of establishing well-equipped Record Offices. The response of the various authorities has been encouraging and it is a matter of gratification that the Government of India have made their records till the year 1880 available to research students, and some more Provincial Governments have framed rules for the examination of their records. Much remains still to be done in this direction. The records of the Imperial Record Department of a date later than 1880 should be thrown open to inspection and the earlier records should be published as early as possible. The Governments of the United Provinces, the Central Provinces and Bihar need regular Record Departments which should bring their scattered records at one central place. Many Indian States whose old records will throw a flood of light on medieval and modern history, have not yet organised regular Record Offices and have not yet opened them for the use of the researcher. Efforts in this direction will have to be continuously made. Another matter which requires attention is the publication of earlier records and the preparation and publication of the catalogues of records in the various Record offices. The beginning made by the Imperial Record Department in this direction is commendable.

The Congress has also urged the need of securing photo or typed copies of the records relating to India in foreign countries. It has emphasised the desirability of establishing a central national copyright library and of amending the Copyright Act so as to make it obligatory for every publisher to deposit one copy of every book published in the Library. No action has so far been taken in this direction, but unceasing efforts must continue till we succeed in establishing a central institution of the type of the British museum or the Biblictheque Nationale.

In this connection it is necessary to draw attention to two matters, (1) the search for manuscripts, and (2) the cataloging and description of works of art, including paintings.

It is true that there are Societies which are interested in the search of manuscripts in Sanskrit, Hindi and other languages. But their efforts lack thoroughness. Some note is made of manuscripts that are discovered, but little effort has been made to collect them or to obtain copies of them. In many parts of India there is no agency for the collection and recording of manuscripts and much valuable material is being lost. It is essential that a thoroughgoing search of all such material should be undertaken

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and micro-films of manuscripts should be made and kept in a central library. (2) Numerous works of art lie scattered all over India, and like architectural monuments and sculpture they are of great value for the history of Indian Culture. But no attempt has been made to make a record of them. It is high time that an inventory of such material should be started and accurate descriptive records with photographs should be prepared.

In this connection the Congress may consider the desirability of approaching Governments and States, and requesting them to legislate if necessary, to prevent the transfer of works of art which are a national heritage to countries outside India.

The realization of the third object, the preparation and publication of a comprehensive History of India has been the constant preoccupation of the Congress. The expoloratory preliminaries resulted in the preparation of a draft syllabus in 1941, which was based on the suggestions received from various members. At the last session a definite step forward was taken by appointing three Editorial Committees for the three periods of our history and a coordinating committee to coordinate their work and to secure uniformity in treatment. These committees have been engaged in selecting authors and have completed their task. The Editorial Committees carried on much of their work by correspondence. Some members of the Medieval History Committee, however, met in April 1942 and revised the draft syllabus and drew up a tentative list of the writers of various chapters and sections. The scheme was then circulated to the other members for their approval, and final decisions were taken at a meeting held at Aligarh. Similarly some members of the Modern History Committee met in October 1942 and reconstructed the scheme of chapters and drew up a list of writers. It was circulated to the other members and their approval was secured. Again in May 1943 a majority of the members of this Committee met in Delhi and revised the earlier syllabus and list of writers. And now the lists of contributors have been finally settled. The same procedure has been followed in the case of Ancient Period. So that now the whole scheme has been finally settled. On the basis of the approved lists, the consent of a number of writers has been secured. It is a matter of gratification to note that with very few exceptions the scholars approached have offered their ready cooperation to our project of the History of India and have agreed to write. Judging from th e willing response of the Indian scholars, it is hoped that the History of India will soon be a reality, and will be a worthy monument of Indian historical scholarship.

The Hyderabad Congress also appointed an Executive Board to arrange for the publication of the History and secure necessary funds for the purpose. The Rt. Hon'ble Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru had kindly consented to be its chairman. Its members, include prominent public-man, Vice-Chancellors of the Universities and Dewans of Indian States, besides the members of the Coordinating Committee. The Board has approached the Governments of India, Provincial Governments, prominent Indian States, the Universities and a number of industrialists for

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contributions. Their response is highly encouraging. The Allahabad University has given a donation of Rs. 5,000 and the Patna University of Rs. 2,500. The Delhi University has promised a donation, and it may be expected that other contributions will soon follow from Governments, Princes, Industrialists and Universities. Now that the volumes and chapters of the history have been finally planned and the list of writers finally adopted, the task of collecting necessary funds will be greatly facilitated and I hope that within the next year we shall be able to collect the necessary funds to proceed with the work of printing and publication. An appeal for a sum of Rs. 3 to 4 lacs has been issued and in the course of the next year deputations will go round to collect the funds.

In this connection it is necesaary to make a mention of the efforts made to coordinate the various projects of the History of India and to secure unity of action. At the last session it was the general wish of the members of the Congress that efforts should be made to secure coordination with the Bharatiya Itihas Parishad. Unfortunately political conditions made it impossible to make much progress in this direction. Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit discussed the matter with members of the Parishad in Agugust 1943 but owing to the absence of the Rector and the Secretary, it was not possible to come to any decision. Our efforts with reference to the other scheme have proved fruitful. Mr. K. M. Munshi who sponsored a scheme of a History of India has agreed to cooperate with the Indian History Congress in bringing out a comprehensive History of India. We are grateful to him for his cooperation and for his ready response to our appeal for unity in the noble cause of promotion of knowledge. I have also to report that the Indian History Congress has now become a body registered under Act XXXI of 1860.

Session.

The Indian History Congress was invited by the Muslim University to hold its sixth session at Aligarh in 1942, but owing to the disturbed political conditions in the country, and the inability of the University authorities to arrange for the session in 1942, no meeting could be held last year. Thus we were compelled to have a break of one year, but we hope that in future annual sessions will be held.

The transactions of the Hyderabad session including the proceedings have been published and are laid on the table.

Sectional Presidents.

There have also been some changes in the list of Sectional Presidents. Owing to the sad and untimely death of the late Dr. V. S. Sukthankar in January 1943, a vacancy occurred in Section I. As the arrangements for the session proceeded, Mahamahapadhyaya Prof. V. V. Mirashi, expressed his inability to preside over Section II owing to the pressure of his official duties as Principal of the Morris College. In the month of November we were informed by Dr. Qanungo, President of Section IV, and by Rao Bahadur G. S. Sardesai, President of Section V that owing to their serious illness they would not attend the session

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and preside over their respective sections. Thus in the course of the year four Sectional Presidentships out of five fell vacant. The Executive Committee has filled these vacancies requesting Dr. P. C. Bagchi, Dr. Rama Shankar Tripathi, Principal Sri Ram Sharma and Dr. K. K. Datta to preside over the respective sections. I am grateful to these gentlemen for their cooperation and response to our request.

The number of the members enrolled during the year is 206 The membership still appears to be session wise, for generally members renew their membership only if they are likely to attend the Congress session. May I hope that the members will maintain their association with the Congress continuously, even if they are unable to attend the session, by renewing their membership every year and paying their annual subscription ?

As in the past, this year also the Indian Universities, the Government of India, some Provincial Governments and Indian States and many learned institutions have nominated their representatives to attend the session. The Government of Poland has also been gracious enough to send its representatives to our Congress.

I am thankful to the authorities concerned for the cooperation.

We are grateful to the Aligarh Muslim University and Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad, the Vice-Chancellor, for their kind invitation and for the elaborate arrangements they have made for our meetings.

I have to express my sense of gratitude to Rao Bahadur C. S. Srinivasachari, the President, and Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, the President-elect, for their unfailing support and willing cooperation. I have to thank Shaikh Abdur Rashid, the Local Secretary for his zealous and untiring efforts for the success of this sixth session.

The income during the years 1942 and 1943 has been Rs. 2,406-10-3 and expenditure Rs. 1,267-15-9.

TARA CHAND,

General Secretary.

EXHIBITION

Report of the Historical Exhibition held at Aligarh on the occasion of the Annual session of the Indian History Congress.

The Reception Committee had appointed a Committee consisting of the following members to organize an Exhibition of historical documents, paintings and manuscripts etc.

Khan Bahadur M. Zafar Hasan, O. B. E....(President).

Mr. Wahidul Haq Siddiqi, Principal, Training College.

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Mr. Abdul Mujib Khan, Lecturer, Training College.
Mr. Sajjad Husain, Lecturer, Training College.
Mr. Abdul Waheed Kureshy, Lecturer in History.
Mr. S. Bashiruddin, Librarian.
Mr. Hafeezur Rahman, Lecturer in Law.
Dr. S. M. Tahir Rizvi, Reader in Geography.
Mr. Sh. Abdur Rashid, Lecturer in History.
Mr. S. Moinul Haq, Lecturer in History (Secretary).
Mr. Mahmudul Hasan, Research Scholar (Jt. Secretary).

The undersigned sent a circular letter to the owners of private libraries and institutions besides Govt. Museums to lend selected articles from their collections for the exhibition, and he is glad to be able to mention that the response was very encouraging. The members of the Committee were anxious to make the exhibition representative in character rather than large in size. As it was not possible to put up for exhibition all the Mss. and documents that had been received, it was decided to reduce considerably the number of books that had originally been selected from the various sections of the Muslim University Library.

In addition to the documents of the Indian Historical Records Commission, the State Museums of Hyderabad, Rampur, Baroda and Cochin and the Govt. Museum of Delhi were kind enough to lend some of their very precious articles. The most striking feature of the Exhibition was a fairly large and extremely fine collection of the Holy Qurans from Hyderabad, the private library of Khan Bahadur M. Zafar Hasan and the Lytton Library, Aligarh. In the manuscripts section the most remarkable set was that from Rampur.

The members of the Reception Committee are grateful to His Highness the Nawab of Rampur, the Pro-Chancellor of the Muslim University for his kindly opening the Exhibition and also for permitting the authorities concerned to send some of the finest manuscripts of the State library. After opening the Exhibition His Highness was pleased to see the various collections of unique documents.

The Exhibition remained open throughout the week and attracted a very large number of visitors every day. It was visited by almost all the distinguished scholars who attended the sessions as well as the professors and senior students of the Muslim University.

I am thankful to Khan Bahadur M. Zafar Hasan Sahib for the keen and active interest that he took in making the Exhibition a success. Indeed he spent most of his time in remaining there and explaining the nature and importance of the various documents to the visitors. I must also thank all those gentlemen who assisted me in arranging and setting up the exhibits, particularly, Messrs. S. Bashiruddin Abdul Waheed Kureshy, Abdul Mujib Khan and Mahmudul Hasan from

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Aligarh, Maulvi Ashfaq Ali Sahib and Qazi Abdul Wahid Sahin of Delhi, Maulana Imtiaz Ali Arshi of Rampur and Mr. Subahdar from Hyderabad.

A complete list of the manuscripts and other documents received and exhibited is attached as an appendix.

S. MOIN-UL-HAQ,
(Lecturer in History,)
Secretary, Exhibition Committee.

List of members of the Indian History Congress, 1943.

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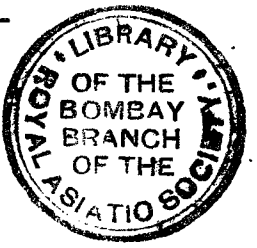

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